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AMERICANA

(ILLUSTRATED)



VOLUME XXXIV

January, 1940—December, 1940



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CAPITOL BUILDING OF THE TEXAS REPUBLIC IN HOUSTON, 1837-38 AND 1842

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AMERICANA

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JANUARY, 1940

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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, Inc.
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JANUARY, 1940




Antique Ontario

BEING THE FAMILY CHRONICLE WRITTEN BY MARGARET AGAR,
1848-1935

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY J. E. MIDDLETON,
TORONTO, ONTARIO

Editor's Introduction

N the year 1935 a woman of eighty-seven drifted out of consciousness and gradually out of life. She had been active in mind and body; never robust, but usually in health, at one hundred and five pounds. She had looked upon the life about her with a fiery interest and with unfailing humor. Mostly her humor was the product of surprise at the doings and sayings of people. She was an expectant soul; every new day revealed to her some human oddity or stupidity which sustained her cheerfulness, or some special Providence which nourished her spirit of thanksgiving. She was pious in the high manner; that is to say, she was brimful of joy. There never was a happier woman or a more decisive one. She was intense in all her doings, and in all her refusings; though still with courtesy.

In her later years she kept a diary; in earlier time she had been too busy. But when she had passed eighty she set herself to write the story of her life for the pleasure of her descendants. She had no thought of a wider audience; she would have laughed at the suggestion. That would have been another of those surprises which had burst upon her from day to day.

The manuscript is written in fair and well-formed characters, becoming in one who had been a school teacher. The sentences are

ANTIQUE ONTARIO

direct and clear and the story has a style which reflects perfectly the personality of the writer. That is, it has literary quality. Yet she had no literary pretensions. She had never contributed to the Poet's Corner of a weekly newspaper, although at a pinch she could fashion light rhymes for golden weddings, christenings, birthdays and other occasions of commanding importance—to her.

She had respect for books and authors and had been a persistent reader since her girlhood. Her first gift to her clerical husband before they were married was Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul." Her last gift was Peter McArthur's "Around Home," which deals philosophically but blithely with the recalcitrant cow, the irrepressible steer, and the farm pup Bildad, "the shoe-height." So she had climbed through the years to the peak of piety, which is to be genuinely happy—to enjoy God and his amusing creatures forever.

Her passions were simple rather than complex. She was in love with religion in all its phases. She did justly, she loved mercy and she walked humbly. Perhaps the humility was suspended from time to time as she thought of her husband, or of her mother and grandmother, both the possessors of every good Irish trait and none of the bad ones. Pride of family may be forgiven when it rests on admiration for diligence, honor, resourcefulness and cheerful content.

Her hates were definite. Hypocrisy and meanness roused her scorn. A lazy man or a shiftless woman vexed her. The whiskey business made her brown eyes flash with disdain. To her the fifty-two aids to play were all Knaves. Bridge, Euchre, Forty-five, Pedro, Piquet, and even the mathematical though humble Cribbage were alike diabolical. In her "eighties" a card table was sent to her house by a young girl who boarded with her.

"What's this?" she asked the delivery man.

"A card table, for Miss Jones," was the brisk answer.

"How very nice," she said with a pleasant smile. "But there must be some mistake!"

"Oh no!" The delivery man was positive.

"It doesn't belong here," she continued, smoothly. "We don't play cards in this house. You must take it back."

Back it went, and Miss Jones never had the courage to complain. The old lady mentioned the incident in the privacy of her diary and

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doubtless smiled as she wrote. But she never spoke of it, even to the girl.

Yet she was not a spoil-sport. She played Chess; a neat game, too; quick and courageous, like herself. She enjoyed good music and despised jazz. Her house had always been a delight to young people. Love and laughter interested her and her hospitality was abounding.

She was born in 1848 in the hamlet of Newton Brook, nine miles north of King Street in Toronto. Her father was a shoemaker with a journeyman and two apprentices to help him. Her mother kept a general store and helped to look after two acres of orchard and garden. That mother also milked two cows, made her own butter, baked bread in the outdoor brick oven and tended a large family. She had two stepsons, for she had married a widower. Her own children were six, five of whom came to maturity. So the larder had to provide for father and mother, grandmother, seven children, the journeyman and a maid, who, generally, was a niece. There was in the house "a prophet's chamber" for itinerant preachers were always welcome. Generally a round dozen of folk sat down at table.

It was not a prosperous family, but real poverty never touched it, for the expenditure was rigorously kept below the small income. One son and three daughters became school teachers; the son stepping from the schoolroom into the Methodist ministry. The youngest, a son, was apprenticed to a wagonmaker at Richmond Hill, learned the trade, and then saw the trade desert him as machinery came into freer use. Spokeshaves and draw-knives might become obsolete tools, but the tongue is a fire. The wagonmaker used his tongue to make a comfortable living as a salesman.

So great have been the changes within a single lifetime that a record of sixty years ago has the flavor of antiquity. People of today can visualize only with difficulty the environment of 1850 and of two decades following. Even in 1870 the transatlantic vessels carried auxiliary sails, in doubt of the engines, and a ship of 4,000 tons was a giant. All transportation has been transformed. The fairy story of the Seven-League Boots is not only a reality but a commonplace.

Where, in these days, will one find a shoemaker, measuring the feet of his neighbors and clothing them by clever handicraft? What

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single man can make a wagon? Even the tailor is disappearing. The man with tools, who used to be independent, is now sitting beside a machine or before a traveling belt, and gradually forgetting what he learned in five or seven years of apprenticeship.

Current history and politics show even greater changes. Tories of today are wild Radicals in comparison with Sir Allan MacNab. Our Reds—and even Pinks—are more “advanced” than the Jacobins of France in 1789 who horrified the world.

The professions have been liberalized and transformed; only a few lawyers walk in the old paths. The doctor of 1860, frock-coated, top-hatted and bewhiskered, was an ignoramus, compared with the sixth year students of today. Even the clergymen nowadays are scientists and psychologists rather than dogmatists. A Jesuit priest is one of the foremost meteorologists and astronomers of the United States. A Detroit priest challenges the social order. Protestant ministers are finding out the spirit of the Gospel as related to common life, and neglecting to mention the slaughter of the Amelekites as the warning of an angry God to Richard Roe and John Doe, trembling in their pews. Only a minority are still calling hysteria to serve as the hand-maid to religion—as if a hobgoblin should be chosen to brush and braid the golden hair of a princess.

So to get a glimpse into past time and to behold great souls in action, we get us to the record of Margaret Agar, sometime of Newton Brook, in the township and county of York, Upper Canada.

A Chronicle of Old Times

For the satisfaction of those of my family who may live after me I have decided to place on record what I know of my ancestors; not because they achieved great things or were in high places, but to show how God guides and cares for those who give themselves to His keeping.

Grandmother Brown, whose maiden name was Margaret Carmichael, was of Scottish descent. She was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1788, and early in life married Robert Brown, a weaver of linen. He was a fine man and a strong Protestant; a member of the Presbyterian Church. They had six children: Jane, Anne (called



MRS. MARGARET (AGAR) MIDDLETON (1848-1935), THE DIARIST

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Nancy), Isabella, Margaret (my mother), Robert and John. They lived in their own cottage-holding at Ardstraw Bridge, eight miles from Strabane.

Soon after the youngest child was born my grandfather died. After his death a distant relative whom Grandmother trusted, named James Ray, got her to sign a paper which lost her the right to the cottage. Times were hard and work was scarce, so she resolved to go to Canada. It happened that Grandfather owned a large "History of Ireland" which had been in the family for many years. The parish priest had offered a considerable sum for it, but Grandfather would not sell. After his death, when Grandmother needed money to emigrate, she went to the priest and sold him the book. So she got the money to pay her passage to Canada. This was in 1832.

The oldest daughter, Jane, had married a Mr. Lucas and gone to live in Scotland. She was the great-grandmother of Judge Frank Denton, of Toronto. The second daughter had married William McAleer. (There is a lawyer and financier in Hammond, Indiana, who is of the fourth generation.—*Ed.*) Grandmother gave the three younger children in charge of their sister and left Isabella, who was a young woman, to take care of herself.

So she set out, all alone. She was getting ready to leave the ship at Quebec when a French officer said to her: "Do you know those people you are going with?"

"No, sir," said she. "I ne'er saw them before, but they ha'e offert me a hame so I thocht I wad go wi' them."

The officer said: "They keep a house of ill-fame."

"Weel, I'll no' go there," replied my Grandmother in alarm. "Do ye know where I'd get a decent place to stay, sir?"

"I think my wife would like you for a maid," the officer said.

So began her first employment, two years as a lady's maid. Grandmother could not speak a word of French, and her mistress knew very little English, but both she and her husband were very kind. "Pauvre femme!" the lady would say when Grandmother was lonely for her children. The French lady smoked, as many women of the time did, and often asked Grandmother to fill and light her pipe. Soon she had a pipe of her own, and said that it had helped her to bear the loneliness. Letters were scarce for at that time postage was paid accord-

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ing to the number of miles the letter had traveled and collected from the one to whom it was addressed. One letter which had gone astray cost her 8s. 7d.

In 1834 Grandmother came west to serve in the home of Mr. Steen, a farmer who lived near Streetsville. She and Mrs. Steen were friends until the day of her death. Afterwards she went to keep house for Dr. Adams of Bolton, remaining there until 1847, when she came to live with my mother shortly before I was born.

Three years after her arrival in Quebec she had sent money to Ireland to pay the passage to Canada of Mr. and Mrs. McAleer, Isabella, Margaret and the two boys. Seven years after their arrival she assisted Mrs. Lucas and her family to come to this country. So the family was reunited. She was very industrious and thrifty; saved every scrap of goods and kept them in boxes under her bed. When the year's knitting was done she would bring out these scraps and piece a quilt in her room. When it was done she would show it to Mother, saying, "See, Margaret, here's a quilt I jist made oot o' naething. Pit a thing by for seven years and it'll aye come useful."

Grandmother Brown was of short stature but plump and well-formed. She had blue-grey eyes, light brown hair and clear complexion. She wore a white cap with a double border all around edged with narrow lace. She would wash it and then do it up on an Italian iron. This was a round and pointed piece of iron about five inches long and an inch thick, with a long handle. She would heat the iron in the coals, place it in a sheath, and flute the border of her cap on it.

She wore a white handkerchief folded around her neck inside her dress. About the house she usually wore a dressing sack over a short, full skirt, and slippers which she knit for herself. When she went abroad she wore a black silk dress, with a full waist edged with scallops and bound with black velvet. Her bonnet was of black satin, lined with white satin which fitted over the cap-border. She had a large cloak or shawl and buttoned boots.

I remember her carding the wool into rolls, spinning it into yarn, dyeing it red or blue and knitting it into stockings for the family. While she was spinning on the little wheel—a linen-wheel that she had brought from Ireland—she would sing softly some old Irish or Scottish ballad with the hum of the wheel as an accompaniment. Here is

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one about the boy who had been condemned to transportation to Botany Bay for theft:

My name is Jamie Riley
In Glasgow I was born;
My place of habitation I
Was forced to leave in scorn.
From the place of my re-SI-dence I
Was forced to gang awa
So fare ye weel, ye hills and dales
O' Caledonia.
'Twas on a Monday mornin'
Me heart bein' torn wi' grief
Me friends all standin' roon' me
Could grant me no relief.
In heavy chains they bound me
Lest I should rin awa;
So fare ye weel, ye hills and dales
O' Caledonia.
Etc., etc., verse after verse.

Sometimes her song would not be so sad. I remember a nursery rhyme that was a favorite:

The doo-doodle dit, and the doo-doodle dam
I'll lie by my rock and I'll play wi' my lamb.
If my lamb's black, and if my lamb's white,
There's no' a lamb in a' the toon that my lamb's like.

She had a store of Irish songs and fairy tales which we loved to hear. She was a gay body, cheerful and never severe. Every year she went to Streetsville to visit, and invariably on her return she would say: "They were that glad to see me that they flew on me and kissed me." She died in 1875, eighty-seven years old, and was buried at Willowdale.

Margaret Brown the Second

My mother was only thirteen years old when grandmother left for Canada. Since the death of her father there was work to be done, even for a child, and she had had only six months of formal schooling. But there was a Sunday school of a sort. It was for the purpose of learning Bible verses. All the children would stand and in turn recite,

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giving chapter and verse. Any one who failed sat down. So chapter after chapter was learned. The child who could recite a whole Book got a prize.

My mother learned the whole of the first three Gospels before she could read; from hearing the others recite. Later she won a prize of a Bible by reciting accurately the whole of the Epistle to the Romans. They were going to give it to her when some of the children said, "Please, they have a Bible; Isabella got one." So the Bible had to go to some other home where there was none; for Bibles were scarce in those days.

The little girl of thirteen had to herd cows, scutch flax, turn peat in the bog and do many other things, first for the Johnsons "of the Rock," whose sixteen-year-old daughter was very unkind, and then for the Bradens, who were weavers and very busy people. Bob Braden was crazy but harmless and called her Lady Margaret. At first she was afraid of him. But while she soon got over that feeling, living in the same house with him was not pleasant. No doubt she was glad when the money came from her mother to bring the children to Canada.

They set sail from Londonderry and were thirteen weeks at sea. The captain, a jolly fellow, was a drinking man and lost his bearings. After three weeks they had made no headway. Provisions ran low and only one pint of water was allowed to each family for cooking. They used seawater for washing. That, with the cold, and with insufficient food, gave mother salt-rheum in her hands which bothered her all her days.

Her privations at sea gave her such a clear idea of the value of food that she could not bear to see a crust wasted. So we were taught both by her and grandmother that waste was sinful. They would say "Wilful waste makes woeful want"; "You may some day wish you had what you throw away now"; "Many a child would be glad of what you won't eat."

When they landed at Quebec there was still before them the long journey by water; first by the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa and the Rideau Canal to Kingston and then by lake to Toronto. The weather was cold and the way was long, for the canal boat was drawn sometimes by oxen, sometimes by horses at a slow walk. They stopped at

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night and next morning would be frozen in so that they could not get started until ten o'clock.

At Merrickville a Mr. Smith came on board to look for a maid. He asked Isabella if she would go but she would not, so mother said: "Would I do for you?" She was only sixteen and small for her age.

Mr. Smith looked at her and said: "What could you do?"

"Perhaps not much," said mother. "But I could learn."

"If you're willing to learn," he replied, "I think you'll do." So she went with Mr. Smith for she had got tired of the journey and suffered so much from the cold that she was glad to leave the boat. She stayed with Mrs. Smith, who was a delicate woman and needed constant attention, for nearly a year. She might have stayed longer but she was homesick for a sight of her mother, then living near Streetsville.

On her way she stopped at Kingston to visit her sister Isabella, who was keeping house for Mr. Burchill, a widower with some little children. Afterwards Isabella became Mrs. Burchill and moved with him to St. Vincent Township in the county of Grey, where they farmed.

After the reunion with grandmother at Streetsville, mother went to the neighborhood of Brampton, where Mr. and Mrs. McAleer were helping to run the farm of Andy Neelands, a bachelor. She was at Churchville for a while and then went to Brampton to live with Mr. and Mrs. William Lawson. They had moved from Toronto in 1834, had bought a farm in the county of Peel and had started a crossroads store. In Toronto Mr. Lawson had started the Primitive Methodist Church on Bay Street.

Mother lived with them for two years in the country. When Mr. Lawson started another business in the city she was sent there to keep house until the family moved in, and continued with them two years more. She was counted as one of the family, was married from their home, and was a lifelong friend. While in Brampton she had been converted in meetings held in the little church the Lawsons and others had started there.

The Yorkshire Shoemaker

My father, James Agar, born in 1802, was the youngest son of Thomas and Frances Agar, of Cottingham, near Hull, in Yorkshire.

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When a lad of fourteen he was apprenticed by his parents to a shoemaker to learn the trade. Although his parents had to pay a sum of money for the privilege the boy lived with his master for seven years and had to serve in many ways. He got his board, but very little money.

While there he sometimes shared his bed with John Oxtoby, a noted Methodist preacher, who prayed so much that his knees were calloused. Often he would rise at four o'clock and pray for an hour or two at a time. The boy was impressed by the character of the man and at last went to a class-meeting and was converted. After working as a journeyman for some years he resolved to go to Canada, and in 1829 sailed from Hull in the A 1 copper brig "Dapper," of two hundred and nine tons. His companions, both strong Methodists, were Thomas Thompson of Driffield and John Lacup. A fellow-passenger was Mrs. John Barron. Mr. Thompson in after years founded the Mammoth House, a large dry goods store on King Street, Toronto.

They reached New York after about six weeks at sea. Father stayed at Albany and worked for about a year, but not liking it there, came on to Toronto, arriving in 1830. He found his friends of the voyage and joined them in the Primitive Methodist class that Mr. Lawson had started. In 1832, when the Bay Street Church was opened, my father led the singing. In the same year he married, but his wife died in 1841, leaving him with two boys, Thomas, aged six, and James, about four years old. He got a housekeeper who was a poor manager; changed to another who was no better, and with waste in his home he could not get along.

Rev. William Lyle, who was the minister at Bay Street Church at the time, advised him to marry and said: "Go and see Margaret Brown. She is living with Mrs. Lawson and would make you a good wife if you could get her." The result was a marriage which was prosperous and happy, though he was about fourteen years older than mother. She was twenty-five.

Soon after their marriage they bought two acres of land from the corner of Daniel Cummer's farm and built a cottage of mud-brick, rough-casted and whitewashed outside, and plastered smooth inside, making a very thick wall with deep window-seats. In the south wall

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of the parlor was a large fireplace with a brick-paved floor in front. The cottage was roofed with handmade shingles. At the south corner of the lot facing Yonge Street was the shoe shop, with a bedroom at the back for the journeyman. The brick oven which was built behind the cottage was heated by burning in it long sticks of pine. Then the ashes were raked out and eight double-loaves of bread were put in. After half an hour the door was opened and six or eight pies were put in. At the end of the hour all were beautifully baked.

My father was a very active Christian. My earliest remembrances are of church services in a little log schoolhouse on Yonge Street a little north of our home. It was a square room with long benches without backs. It was lighted by tallow candles on the preacher's desk and set in tin candlesticks about the walls. The candles had to be snuffed while the collection was being taken.

We had Sunday school in the morning at nine o'clock, where we recited the Bible verses we had learned through the week. For each ten verses we received a small ticket with a Scripture text on it; ten of these gave us a larger ticket, and for a number of the large tickets (I forget how many) we could get a Bible. One of the first hymns I learned there began:

Here we suffer grief and pain,
Here we meet to part again.
But in Heaven we'll part no more,
 Oh, that will be joyful, joyful
When we meet to part no more.

My father was superintendent of the Sunday school and also leader of the class which met at ten o'clock. He would go around to each member and ask how he or she was getting on spiritually; for they believed in going forward; there could be no standing still in religion.

In the afternoon each Sunday father would get his flute and the old "Sacred Harmonist" and gather the children about him to sing hymns. In the evening we would go to the service and hear a sermon. My father would lead the singing without instrument or choir. The flute had no place there. I never knew him to play the flute on a week-day or to breathe through it any music but church hymns. Ordinary songs he considered frivolous, therefore sinful, and we children

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were careful not to sing in his hearing any song-scrap we had picked up from other children or from grandmother. He was even-tempered and just but he demanded and received obedience. Everyone in the village respected him—and loved mother. We children knew how strong was his affection for us, and returned that affection. But we were careful not to displease him. As we grew older we became more and more proud of him, and it was a great shock to us when he died in 1867, the result of an internal injury caused by a fall from his horse. He was only sixty-five years old and had always been healthy.

My Timid Childhood

One of my earliest memories is the marriage of Mary Lucas, my cousin, who had lived with us for seven years. Mother preferred one of her sister's daughters as a helper rather than a stranger. After Mary's marriage to William Denton, Catharine Burchill came, then Isabella McAleer, then Fannie Burchill and Jane McAleer. When no other nieces were available Jane Little lived with us for three years. She was very slow at work, but trustworthy. Three dollars a month was her wages; which, in time, rose to four dollars. Five dollars a month was considered very good wages.

Mary Lucas was married in our "front room" as the parlor was called; she was only twenty-one. There were a number of guests at the wedding and they played games. Brown Denton, William's elder brother, kissed me to pay a forfeit and I felt so ashamed that I cried and had to be put to bed. The next day in the store some one touched my face and said, "See; the kiss is there yet." I really thought it was, and was afraid it would always show. I was of such a timid, shrinking nature that I was afraid of everything.

One day my elder sister Jane and Mary McFarlane, who lived across the street, were playing by the creek which ran through the back of McFarlane's and Sankey's places, then through a stone arch under Yonge Street into McBride's place. There was a single plank bridge over the creek. While Jane and Mary were jumping on it to make it teeter, I stepped on it, was thrown into the water and almost drowned. Afterwards I was troubled with ague and intermittent fever and could not attend school until I was nine years old. This made me backward in everything, and I was considered stupid.

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So I lived to myself and had many imaginings. I had to go to bed early. When I was supposed to be asleep I was thinking of imaginary characters and weaving a story about them. I would begin where I had left off the night before, and would give them the most beautiful times I could conceive of. But not a soul in the world ever knew of it.

After my half-brother Thomas had married and left home, Thomas McDonald, the school teacher, boarded with us for three or four years, and thought he had the right to manage the children at home as well as at school. As his discipline was very severe, he did not make it very pleasant for us. We were glad when the trustees decided it was time for a change and engaged Asahel Clark.

Mr. Clark taught five years in the section; to his painstaking efforts to develop the minds of the children we owe a great deal. His salary at that time was \$400 a year. For the first year he lived in a room at the back of the school with Mrs. Clark and their first-born boy, who was named Egbert after one of the Saxon kings. Before the birth of their second son, Harold (also a Royal name), they moved into a small frame house across the street from us. The rent at first was \$36 *a year*; then it rose to \$48. We became very intimate with the family, and both in school and out Mr. Clark was ever teaching, and leading us in the paths of learning. (Dr. Egbert Clark of Washington, District of Columbia, and Dr. Harold Clark of Toronto, dental surgeons of eminence, remember their father with pride.—*Ed.*)

One Sunday Mr. Higginbotham of Toronto, a local preacher, took the morning service at our church and came to our place for dinner. He took a fancy to me and wanted to adopt me, send me to school and do well for me. I was about fourteen years old then. Our folks wouldn't give me away, but mother said that she would like me to have a chance of going to school in Toronto. So it was arranged that I would go to live at Mr. Higginbotham's home on Louisa Street, help with the children night and morning and go to school in daytime.

I went to a private school on Cruickshank Street (now Shuter Street), a few doors east of Yonge Street. Massey Music Hall now covers the site. The Misses Christie, who kept the school, were three maiden ladies living with a bachelor brother. One of the ladies kept house; the other two taught all the ordinary subjects of study, and in

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addition fancy work and embroidery, French, drawing and music. A few of the girls boarded in the house, but most of them were day-pupils. The rates for ordinary branches were \$6 a term of eleven weeks; \$6 extra for music and \$4 for French.

Father wanted me to take music, so I made a beginning, but had not much chance to practise on the school piano and none at home, so I did not make much progress. I was at Mr. Higginbotham's over a year; after I went home I took music lessons from Miss Hattie Johnson for which mother paid \$4 a quarter, but as we had no instrument at home I never became very proficient.

Brother John had begun to learn the shoemaking trade but he disliked it for he had felt that he ought to be a minister. He laid aside the tools and attended the Richmond Hill Grammar School, driving there and back every day. In the evenings he studied Latin and Greek under the tutorship of Rev. Mr. Stark of Thornhill. In due time he was admitted to the Wesleyan Methodist ministry.

Sister Jennie had attended the normal school and won a second-class certificate. She started to teach at Oak Ridges at a salary of £60 a year and remained three years. John taught school at German Mills while preparing for the ministry.

I was doing the housework at home during the day and studying in the evenings with Mr. Clark in preparation for the examination of the county board of education. In the summer that I was eighteen I wrote the examination at Richmond Hill and won the highest grade of second-class certificate. Mr. Clark had moved to Klineburg to take charge of a two-room school. He asked me to go as his assistant at a salary of £50; I could board with them and he could continue helping me with my studies. I gladly accepted and was with them for two years.

Thomas had married and gone farming on land that father had bought for him, one hundred acres in Grey County; only sixty acres being cleared. Some time after, Brother James wanted to go farming. Father bought the land near his brother, but had to borrow the money to pay for it. As it was Russian War time he had to pay twelve per cent. interest. That debt kept us poor for years so we girls were glad to get away and earn our own living. While at Mr. Clark's I was only once overcome with homesickness. I had not seen

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my mother for seven months, so when the holidays came father drove the seventeen miles for me and brought me home to spend the two or three weeks which, at that time, was the length of the summer vacation.

I was called home in the late fall of 1867 to help nurse father. After his death only grandmother, mother and my brother Stephen, then seven years old, were at the old place, but mother was brave and kept the home together although the business of her store had declined. Another store had been opened and the post office was established there. A meeting of the villagers was called to decide upon a name for the post office. Some one suggested Agarsville, but mother objected, saying that some other families had been there before hers. "Call it Newton Brook," she said, "after Newton Stewart, where I came from, and because of the brook running through." So Newton Brook it was—and is "even unto this day."

The neighbors were very kind to mother after father's death. They made a "bee" that winter and brought twelve cords of wood into the yard. She had sold the horse, so when she wanted goods she went to Toronto on the Richmond Hill bus which passed our door, and some neighbor was good enough to bring out her purchases—though she always paid for the carriage; even against their protests.

Teaching in Markham

After I had been two years in Klineburg Mr. Clark saw a school in Markham advertised and advised me to apply. It was the next section to the one where my sister Jane was teaching. Mr. McCollum's daughter Sarah offered to drive me over to see about it, so we started on Friday afternoon and drove from the Ninth Concession of Vaughan to Victoria Square on the Fourth of Markham, a distance of over seventeen miles. The next day Jane went with me to see the trustees, and I got the school at a salary of \$240 a year.

I boarded with my sister at Mrs. Brunskill's, paying two dollars a week for the first year and \$2.25 afterwards. Each of us had a long walk to school; Jane went one mile north, and I, a mile and a quarter south, but the road was good and I could go in twenty minutes. That practice made me a good walker.

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My duties in Klineburg ended with the year and mother engaged Robert Street to drive up for me and my things, and for Jennie's organ which had been lent to me, and was now to go to mother's, since there was an organ at Mrs. Brunskill's. I didn't go with Robert as I had promised to spend Christmas eve at John McBride's. He was to drive me home the next day.

John and I had been very good friends and were supposed to be married sometime, with the proviso that if either of us saw someone we liked better we were free. I think that neither of us could have been deeply smitten. John's sister and other members of the family were very kind and next morning I found my stocking filled to its utmost capacity.

After I went to Markham John drove over once to see me; after that his letters became few and far between. Next summer I decided that our love was not strong enough to carry us through life, so I sent back his letters and gifts, even before I had seen "someone else."

My two years in Markham are remembered with much pleasure. Mrs. Brunskill was a widow with two daughters; Alice, aged sixteen, was a bright, lively girl with brown hair and eyes; Louisa, aged fourteen, had black eyes and hair which hung in ringlets; both had roses in their cheeks. They were Primitive Methodists and attended the Victoria Square Church. I had joined the Wesleyan Church in Klineburg and as my membership had been transferred to the Wesleyan Church in Victoria Square I attended the service there in the afternoon. But I went with the others to the Primitive Sunday School at nine and to the services at ten-thirty and six-thirty, so Sunday was a busy day. A young Primitive Methodist minister had come to Markham for the third year of his probation. I was startled when I saw him for during father's illness he had been at our home, having brought Mrs. Barron, father's old friend, to see him. My sister Fannie and I had gone out to catch a chicken and were not succeeding, when this young man came out of the house and asked what we were doing.

"Get me a handful of grain," he said. So he lured all the chickens into the barn, caught one and killed it for us. Two years afterwards I was afraid he would remember our foolish effort and conclude that I had not much sense. But apparently he wanted a closer acquaint-

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ance. Sometimes he would call at the school on Friday afternoon, drive me home and stay for tea, go with us to the Bible class he taught that evening, and afterwards see me home. I expect he knew I needed someone to think for me, for one afternoon when I was playing the organ in Mrs. Brunskill's parlor he asked if I would live with him and play for him when he was through his probation.

I said "I guess so," being a little nervous and timid as usual. That happened on a Friday afternoon. On the next Tuesday evening, March 27, 1870, he drove me with his horse and cutter through the snow to Markham Village to hear a lecture by Dr. Morley Punshon. After that evening it was not a "guess so" but a surety. On June 20, 1871, we were wed in my mother's "front room," and lived together in happiness for fifty-three years.

The conference had appointed my husband to Peel Circuit near Elora and he had promised to stay over Sunday at Brampton and preach for Rev. Mr. Herridge (grandfather of the former Canadian Ambassador to the United States—*Ed.*). We drove there, twenty-five miles, and on Monday continued our journey as far as Orangeville, where we visited the preacher a couple of days. Then we drove on to our circuit four miles from Elora in the township of Pilkington. We stayed the first night at Mr. Auger's where we received a hearty welcome. Thus ended our wedding tour.

Education and Inner Life

(Editor's Comment)

A second-class certificate granted by a county board of public instruction entitled the holder to teach in any common school within the county. Its duration was for seven years. Before it expired the teacher was expected to attend the normal school and take the course leading to a "First," which was a permanent certificate.

The requirements for the "Second," set by the Provincial Council of Public Instruction in 1850 and revised in 1858 were: To read with ease, intelligence and expression; to write a bold, free hand and to know the rules for teaching writing; to work readily questions in the simple rules of arithmetic, in reduction, proportion and practice and to take a test in mental arithmetic; to know the elements of book-keeping; to know the common rules of orthography and the elements

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of English grammar; to be able to parse sentences in prose or poetry; to write grammatically, with correct spelling and punctuation, the substance of any passage which might be read aloud by the examiners; to know the elements of mathematical, physical, civil and political geography; to know the methods of school organization and classification of pupils. Above all, the examiners were to satisfy themselves that the candidate for a certificate was a person of good moral character.

The course may appear unduly slender, but it was stouter than it looks. The Fourth and Fifth Readers contained lessons on history, on physical geography, astronomy, physics and botany; at that time lumped together under the name of Natural Philosophy. They were written in simple, easy style, recalling the manner of "The Popular Educator," an English publication of a later date.

The fact is that any young man or woman who had read these books with attention had a fair grounding in general information, and (if of studious temper) had felt the first stirrings of a love for learning.

The insistence upon spelling seems more than reasonable, when a spelling book of the period is examined. Henry Butter's Spelling Book, which reached its two hundred and thirty-eighth English edition in 1860, had a section tracing English words to their Greek and Latin roots. The preface contained the following paragraph:

"To pupils of whichever sex who are not to have a classical education it will, in the greatest possible degree, supply that deficiency; to those who are, it will also be highly valuable; as they will not only perceive how much their own language is indebted to those of Greece and Rome, and how essential, therefore, the study of those languages becomes to all who are to move in the respectable walks of life; but they will also find, at their entrance upon those languages, that they are already familiar with a great number of their most useful words."

Here is an extract from the section entitled "Words Derived from Latin Verbs":

"*Lego*, I choose, I read. *Lectus*, chosen, read. Lecture, legible, legion, lesson, colleague, college, collect, diligent, election, eligible, intellect, intellectual, intelligent, neglect, negligence, recollect, select."

Another, from the list of Greek Roots:

"*Phaino*, I show or appear. *Phasis*, an appearance. Phasis, phase, phantasm, phantom, phantasmagoria, phenomenon, diaphanous, fanatic, fantasy, fantastic, Phæbus, Phæbe, sycophant, prophasis."

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So it goes, for over seventy pages. The young person who fully absorbed and digested these pages, even though he or she had never seen a high school, had a better grasp of the English language than most university students of the class of 1938.

So it may be assumed that Margaret Agar, teaching in a Markham school (which she named "Venice Hall," with the concurrence of the elder pupils), was competent for the task. In the winter a number of the elder pupils were young men with outcroppings of whiskerage, or young women as old as the teacher. But there was no trouble about discipline. The young woman behind the desk may have been physically slight, but she was always in command.

The Newton Brook home had been fervently religious. Both father and mother were resolute opponents of sin, and perhaps were inclined to include in that category too large a list of normal human pursuits, actions and words. They followed truth so carefully that they balked at the novel; forgetting that Jesus had taught in parables. They abhorred Sabbath-breaking as heartily as the Pharisees who were shocked when the disciples plucked the ears of corn, and when the Master healed a cripple on the good day. If a child's boots were not cleaned on Saturday night he or she must go to church with them dirty, and be a scandal to the neighbors, if not to God.

The doctrine that conversion must be a definite emotional, even hysterical event, rather than an insensible growth into the love of God was accepted as gospel. The children were little sinners until they had made a public confession at the communion rail.

But to compensate for these rigidities of thought and conduct were the affection and charity of the parents, their help and service when sickness came to their neighbors, of whatever creed, their generosity and sacrifice towards every worthy cause, and the honor in which they were held by the children to their lives' end. For some reason the narrowness of Puritanism produced breadth of view, sound character and a measure of culture. Familiarity with the authorized version of the English Bible was in itself a literary education.

With these considerations in mind one may read the following extracts from the record with a clearer understanding.

While at Mr. Higginbotham's I attended Alice Street Church and Sunday school, where the Walkers, Thompsons, Lawsons and Keyes

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some of mother's early friends, had their church home. In Sunday school I was a member of Thomas Thompson's "select class of growing boys and girls," and I used to like it very much as he was an excellent teacher. He was a son of the Thomas Thompson who had crossed the sea with father, and at this time was manager of The Mammoth House, a large dry goods store on King Street, opposite the market.

Revival services were being held in the schoolroom and we attended. As sinners were urged to come forward to the altar and confess Christ, I went. But I became so confused by John Walker and others coming to talk to me that I could not pray or do anything, and I went home feeling that if I had to "get religion" that way I would never get it.

I was quite miserable over it, fearing I had sinned away my day of grace. Four years before this, when I was only ten years old, at a revival service at Newton Brook I had been under deep conviction, but would not go forward. I had heard a grown-up person say, "There are only a few children coming out and they don't know anything about it."

Now that I had failed again, though I had gone forward, I feared that I was one of the reprobates. But I prayed earnestly that God would spare me till I was sixteen; then I would join the church, and they would think me old enough to know.

After I returned home and was sixteen years old, Rev. James Graham, associate pastor of our circuit, held services for six weeks. I went nearly every night but would not go forward on account of my former experience. Though I got no relief or comfort from knowing my sins forgiven, I handed in my name for church membership, as I desired to do right and be a child of God.

I joined my father's Tuesday evening class meeting and for years went alternately with mother, as one of us had to mind the store. But I never yielded myself completely, at that time, to God's service, so, I fear, I was a poor Christian. It was not until after I was married and was twenty-seven years old that I got into a brighter state of grace. My husband was conducting meetings in Parliament Street Church, Toronto. He had called on some one to lead in prayer. I noticed that those who usually prayed were absent, realized that there was a strong spiritual influence there, and feared that if the meeting

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should close then, some one might be lost forever. I felt I must pray whether I broke down or not. I began, but to this day I don't know one word I said, or whether the prayer was long or short. But I received such a blessing that I felt as if walking on air all the way home. Ever since it has been no cross for me to pray in public. There is little joy in God's service unless the will is yielded completely to Him, but when this takes place life is rich, and free, and blessed.

Here is a story that may serve as a supplement to Professor James' "Varieties of Religious Experience." It seems clear that Margaret, who was a decided "introvert," cursed with the feeling of inferiority, fearful of the opinions of others and lacking in ordinary courage, became in a moment by reason of one resolute, almost desperate, action, a free personality, sparkling with joy, and brave as a lion.—*Ed.*

A Country Circuit of 1871

I remember with what earnest eyes we gazed upon the stretch of country lying between Elora and the place where we were to live, and how pleased we were with the landscape. I remember also wondering what would be expected of me as a minister's wife, and was somewhat worried as to whether or not I would be able to fill the position satisfactorily. When my husband knew it he said: "Don't worry; you belong to me; the circuit has no claim on you. I have the responsibility of the circuit. You will have your duty as my help-mate and I know you will do your best. But don't worry." This set my mind at rest and during all his ministry I never asked myself whether I pleased or not, but felt free to live my life under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as every Christian should.

The Augers lived in a large log house with a veranda in front and a new brick kitchen at the back. The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Auger; Rebecca and Mary; John, Moses and Aaron, all grown-up. Two older sons, Richard and Thomas, were Methodist ministers out in the work and a married son lived in the neighborhood. They were from Cornwall in England, and like most Cornish people very hearty and hospitable.

As the parsonage had been sold and a new one not yet built we had to live in a log house on a farm which Mr. Auger had bought for

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his son John, who was to be married at Christmas. So we moved in and made it as comfortable as we could.

We had forty yards of rag carpet which mother, grandmother and I had made before my marriage, for parsonages in those days were seldom furnished with carpets. The beds and heavy furniture were there and we had sent on bedding and dishes, so we were soon settled. We went to Elora and bought half a dozen cane-seated chairs and some print to cover a lounge that was in the house, so ere long we had a cozy little four-room home.

We were at one end of the Circuit which consisted of five "appointments." The nearest church to us was Bethel, one and a half miles away. The families in Bethel Church were nearly all Cornish or Devonshire people and at first I could not understand their dialect which I had not heard before, but they were very hearty and kind and I liked them. Leading families in the church were the Augers, Harpers, Amys, Howards, Jonas and Betsy Coxhead and Mrs. Stewart. There was a morning service at ten-thirty and a class meeting afterwards, for which all members were expected to stay.


The leader would go to each one and expect him or her to stand and tell their experience; then the leader would respond with words of counsel and encouragement. One morning when Eli Goodwin was leader he came to Jonas Coxhead and said, "Well, Jonas, how is it with you?"

Jonas raised his head slightly and said: "I don't feel disposed to tell 'e, Eli."

Eli passed on to the next one, for he knew the reason; there had been a difference of opinion between them during the week.

Maryborough was the appointment farthest from home. It was twenty-five miles away and we went once in three weeks, on the Saturday afternoon. Once the bridge over the Conestoga River had been washed away and we had to ford the stream, which had overflowed its banks owing to the fall rains. When we were driving through, the water came into the box of the buggy and the horse had to swim a few feet. He soon regained his footing and took us over safely, but I never wanted to repeat the experience.

Morning and evening services were held at Maryborough, Stirton (twelve miles away) and Bethel, and afternoon services at Gold-



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stone and Winfield, which were central appointments. The pastor preached three times a day, and the local preachers, who were very good and well-received, filled the vacant pulpits according to a plan. This plan was arranged at the quarterly meeting, printed, and sold to the members at five cents a copy. Usually the words of a new hymn were printed on it; the preachers who could sing learned the tune and taught it to the people.

There were very few musical instruments on Peel Circuit in our day, but the people could sing well, especially at Bethel, where they could take the parts, reading from the music. There was an organ in the Auger home and when they knew I could play it they got the singers together once a week to practice for a missionary meeting to be held at Bethel. Richard Amy, a local preacher, in the neighborhood, took the lead; his brother James sang tenor, and his sister alto, and we had good bass and soprano. The singing was fine at the meeting, and at the practices we had got well acquainted with each other.

One time my sister, Mrs. Hopper, came to visit us and we took her to the practice. It was the custom then to give Scripture names to the children. I introduced her first to the Augers: Rebecca, Mary, John, Samuel, Moses and Aaron; then to Rebecca and James Amy; next to Moses and Miriam Harper. She started to laugh. "Oh," she said, "I see how it is. We have just crossed the Red Sea and Miriam is going to lead us in the song of deliverance."

We always had happy memories of our first circuit; the people were earnest, kind and hospitable, and in those days they *went to church*. During the first year I usually went with my husband. At the Maryborough appointment I have seen a family coming to church in a big sleigh with pea-straw in the bottom and heavy quilts for rugs, the sleigh being drawn by a slow-walking yoke of oxen. They came four miles. At the other places horses were used to take sleighloads to church in winter, and wagonloads in summer. Neighbors were picked up on the way; if there was not room for all, the boys and younger men would walk and let the women and children ride.

At Goldstone there was a nice brick church; they had a small organ and Miss Sturtridge played it. Her father was one of the officials and we were always welcome there. Mr. Grose, a farmer with a large family, also often entertained us. For breakfast there

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we always had hot bread and milk instead of porridge. Thomas Whale's house, also, was always open to us.

At Winfield on the Eighth Concession there was Mr. Hammond, a farmer and local preacher, and Mr. Hambly, who kept a store. His daughter Amelia was a great friend of ours.

At Stirton we usually stayed with Mr. Sanderson, who kept a general store. One day when we were there I told him I wanted cloth for a pair of trousers for my husband; if he would cut them out I thought I could make them. He had bought a ready-made pair at Elora for six dollars and they had lasted only three months.

Mr. Sanderson, although he was not a tailor, took the measure and cut them out, and I took them home to make, although I had no sewing machine. I had never seen a pair made and did not know how to begin, but I basted them together and sewed up the legs. Then I found so much difficulty fixing up the fronts and pockets that I knew I had made a mistake. So I asked Rebecca Auger: "When you make a pair of pants what do you do first?"

"I fix the fronts and the pockets," was her reply. When I told her what I had done she had a good laugh.

After that first pair I had no more trouble, for I always began right. We had only \$480 a year and had to economize and save our money. The farmers helped our income by bringing firewood, meat, butter and eggs, so we were able to get along and save a little after we got our horse, buggy and cutter paid for.

Itinerants in Truth

As our house was needed by John Auger and his bride we moved into a three-room log house that had stood unoccupied for twenty years. It was not in good repair and was very cold, but the winter was soon over and we thought it would be all right in summer, at least until the new parsonage was built at Stirton. But when spring came we found too many tenants; the old logs were filled with bed bugs. We cleaned and did all we could to get rid of them, but to no purpose, so we asked the Augers if we could board with them for a few months.

They said that we were welcome to their spare room and could cook on their stove and eat in their dining room, but they refused to

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consider us as boarders. We were guests. So we moved again, and stayed there till we left the circuit a year later. Mrs. Auger was a motherly woman, and when my boy was born, in her home, she took him into her heart.

Their daughter was married that summer to Charles Howlett, and went immediately after the ceremony to Mr. Howlett's house about a mile away. The boys on the farms about expected that they would stay in the Auger's spare room and came in numbers after dark to give them a charivari.

Moses Auger went out to help them and we heard him say: "Give them a good one, boys." So the guns went off and the whistles blew and the old tin cans made a big noise. Moses carried out cakes to them when they got through and all went away happy. Next day they discovered that they had "chivareed" the preacher and his wife.

Only a few months after her marriage, Mrs. Howlett took ill and for nine weeks either Mrs. Auger or Mary, and sometimes both, had to be with her. That left me to care for the home, with the help of Aaron, who swept and scrubbed and washed dishes, while I superintended the cooking as well as cared for my baby. There were no trained nurses in those days. When Mrs. Howlett died the loss was a great blow to the family and to me as well.

I was not in good health and we decided to ask for another circuit. The conference stationed my husband at Bruce Mines on the north shore of Lake Huron. Copper in large quantities had been mined there for years and the village had a large smelting works to separate the metal from the rock, several stores and two Methodist churches, one Wesleyan and one Primitive. The large mail steamers up and down the lakes called regularly.

We left Collingwood on Friday and arrived at the mines at four o'clock Sunday morning. At that hour we could not get our baggage up from the wharf, so we went to church in the clothes we had traveled in and were surprised at the appearance of the congregation. On the way home I said to my husband:

"You were the only man there who had not a broadcloth coat on."

"Yes," he replied, "and I think you were the only woman not in a silk dress."

The miners made good money and they seemed to have no way of spending it except on dress and victuals. A good many of the

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people were from Cornwall or Devonshire and wherever we went for a meal the scald-cream and delicious meat pasties appeared. Often in the morning we got an invitation to go out for tea that day, and though we might not know the people we were expected to go. There was a fine community spirit. I suppose it was because of the isolation of the place.

In the early fall Rev. Robert Boyle came up to our missionary services. While there he saw many empty houses and heard that most of the miners had gone or were going up the lake to Silver Islet and would send for their families as soon as possible. He said that the Wesleyan minister could attend to all the people in the village and recommended that my husband should be moved. There was little difficulty in getting the two churches to unite. Our cause was the stronger and we had the better church, but we had no parsonage. The Wesleyan had; so the minister continued living there, and preached in our church.

Meantime my husband was appointed to Parliament Street Church in Toronto. Rev. George Lewis, the pastor, had died soon after his ordination and appointment to that church. We came down to Collingwood on the "Chicora" in November, the last trip of the season, and it was very stormy. We had to stay twelve hours in shelter at Little Current and when we got out into the lake nearly everyone was sick. My husband was very sick unless he was lying down; I was all right if I kept up; so I stood looking out of the window at the waves for the most of the night. The baby slept right through, with the rocking of the vessel.

Editor's Note—The copper veins of Bruce Mines were discovered in 1847, but early operations were unfavorable. From 1852 onward for a few years dividends were declared, but the veins began to pinch out and in 1876 the mines were abandoned. Production was resumed in 1908 by a company in which R. W. Leonard was interested.

Silver Islet, in Lake Superior, a rock eighty feet long, sixty-five feet wide and only six feet above the lake level produced between 1870 and 1884 silver valued at \$3,089,157. In 1884 the vessel bringing coal for the winter was frozen in some distance from the Islet. The pumps had to stop for lack of fuel and the shafts filled with water.

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Sixty Years Ago

Parliament Street Church was a fine brick structure on the corner of Parliament and Oak streets. There was a good congregation, a good choir and a good Sunday school. The death of the pastor had resulted in the accumulation of some debts so the Ladies' Aid was soon at work in preparing for a bazaar and held sewing meetings in the basement of the church once a week. I found I could not do much to help as my baby was only thirteen months old and a very lively boy. I took him to church once. I went early, thinking I could put him to sleep before the service started, but he would not stay on my knee, insisted on standing in the aisle and chattered to every one coming in. So I bundled him up and took him home.

If I was to be of any aid to my husband in the church work we had to have help. So I engaged Margaret Jane Cook, of Victoria Square, at three dollars a month, afterwards raised to four dollars. She remained with us for six years. We formed some fast and true friendships while in Parliament Street Church. I remember the Smiths and McKees; R. J. Fleming, his sisters, Mrs. McAree and Miss Lizzie; Miss Maggie Campbell, Mrs. Neelands and the Hutchinsons.

Church union was then a live subject. The Wesleyans and New Connexion were united, but there were still four Methodist denominations working in the country, and in many places there were not enough people to sustain them. Many of the Primitive preachers were in favor of union, but there was a strong minority of preachers and a majority of laymen who preferred to remain separate. My husband was among them. This was one thing in which we could not see eye to eye, but we did not discuss the subject much.

It was the wish of the leaders of the church to have union men in Toronto, so after only two years, we were sent to Guelph. It was a disappointment to us to be moved at that time, but my husband never rebelled against conference decisions. As for me, I always remembered my mother's counsel when she gave consent to my marriage: "One thing I will say to you, Margaret. Never be unwilling to go with your husband wherever conference sends him. Whether you like it or not, go with him quietly and don't make it harder for him."

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There was a good church in Guelph, on Paisley Street, and a stone parsonage next door. The people were good workers and very friendly. I remember Mr. and Mrs. Graham and family, Mr. and Mrs. Hocken and family, Mr. and Mrs. Ryan and their son William, the Misses Adams, the Pearsons, Mrs. Kerby and her daughters, Mrs. Sullivan and her daughters, Emily and Hetty, the Pierces, the Browns, the Rickabys and Hetty Sayers. Old John Hart, a local preacher, was eccentric. One Wednesday evening he had to lead the prayer service in the absence of the pastor. When the time came for the address he said that he would give us the sermon that Jesus preached on the mount; as it was better than anything he could give, so he read the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of St. Matthew.

The choir in the Guelph church was led by old Mr. Rickaby, who played a big bass viol. Mr. Hocken played the flute and Miss Jennie Hocken the reed organ, and there were some fine singers. My little boy caused me some embarrassment by imitating the way Mr. Rickaby held his mouth and his bow while playing and saying: "Mr. Old Rickaby's mouf goes this way!"

After three years we were moved to Montreal, where a Primitive Methodist mission had been established. Mrs. Lewis, a widow, and one of our friends there, lived on St. Denis Street. She was a very vigorous old lady and had spoken French so continuously that her English pronunciation was affected. She was strongly opposed to second marriages. She used to say: "When I get to Heaven I'll go up to Lewis, put my hand on his shoulder, and say, 'You're my property.'" Mr. and Mrs. Henderson and Miss Henderson were our dear friends.

Dr. Nichol, a homœopathic physician and a Wesleyan local preacher, called on us and said that he was in sympathy with the smaller Methodist bodies and was glad we had come. He had the idea that the Wesleyans were too proud. With some of them, he said, it was We, Us and Ours all the time. I remember his bushy white hair and his sharp eyes, also his library, with thousands of books, all covered uniformly with light brown paper, with green and gold paper labels on the backs.

When our boy was taken ill we called Dr. Nichol and his successful treatment interested us in homœopathy, which served us well for



THE AGAR HOUSE AT NEWTON BROOK

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many years. Neither my husband or I was robust, but we were always able to ward off any serious illness and to continue our work.

In 1878 the church decided to send to the Montreal mission an unmarried man, and we moved to Scarboro' Circuit near Toronto; having moved seven times in seven years.

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The Scarboro' parsonage was a brick cottage near the Wexford Post Office. Most of the people on the farms about were pretty well off; they were the children and grandchildren of those who had settled in the forest and hewed out homes for themselves. I remember the Maginns, the Fitzpatricks, the Martins, the McCowans, the Ionsons, Thompsons, Waltons, Brookses, Mays, Richardsons and Everests. These were the families near "Parsonage" Church on Concession D.

Other churches on the circuit were Zion, Bethel, Ebenezer, Bethesda, Providence, Malvern and Smith's, the last-named on the Fifth Concession of Markham. My husband, an unmarried young minister, and a number of local preachers supplied the appointments. My husband was the superintendent of all these churches, and as the people were mostly farmers and very hospitable the visiting that was expected of the minister and his wife was not an easy thing to do.

At Bethesda lived Mrs. John Barron, a friend of my father's from the time they had crossed the sea. Mrs. Barron had been very kind to my husband when he had started his ministry on Scarboro' Circuit ten years before; she had been a real mother to the lonely boy, knitting socks for him and giving him good advice. Several other old ladies on the circuit, Mrs. Ionson, Mrs. Brooks and others, had also knitted for him, for at that time he had no horse and walked the circuit. When he was married he had about a dozen pair of socks, and he had bought none of them. The mothers in Israel saw the need and filled it.

The father of the Fitzpatrick brothers, one of the Scarboro' pioneers, was a small man. I remember him coming to preach in the old log schoolhouse at Newton Brook when I was a wee girl. His son Duncan, also a local preacher, was so tall that I was afraid he would bump his head on the ceiling.

While the people of Scarboro' were all friendly towards us there seemed to be a lack of unity and good feeling between the Irish

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and English elements. They didn't mix. They were something like oil and water and would never mix. The easy-going, good natured way of the Irish, especially when some of them were careless about paying their debts, could not be overlooked by the thrifty, money-making and money-saving English. This undercurrent gave us no little worry at the time.

At the Zion appointment two and a half miles east from Yonge Street on Finch's side-road, there were families who had had business dealings with my parents in the early days. There were the Dentons, Emersons, Scraces, Deans, Sherwoods, Riseboroughs and others; not forgetting Sandy Rogers and his wife Hannah, who were often at my mother's store.

Sandy was a good-hearted Irishman. I remember his coming into the kitchen from the store, in my childhood home, and going to the stove to get a coal to light his pipe. "I see, Mrs. Agar," he remarked, "you have a Davy Crockery stove." He meant a Davy Crockett. He was never very particular whether words were pronounced right or not. My brother and some other boys were in his Sunday school class before he had moved to the Zion neighborhood. The boys would pick out hard names from the Bible and ask him to pronounce them. "Artaxerxes" he called "Artaxeraxes." But his heart was right and he knew the way to God.

I remember visiting once at Mrs. Sherwood's, near Zion, and saying: "What kind of stove polish do you use, Mrs. Sherwood; your stove is so bright?"

She looked me square in the face and said: "I use elbow-grease, and plenty of it." I didn't ask any more about it.

We had four happy years at Scarboro' and will never forget the kindness and generosity of the people. When Methodist union was completed, after we left the circuit, there was talk of closing the Parsonage Church and using the newer, but smaller, Wesleyan Church in the village of Wexford. The people of Parsonage congregation sold the church to the Presbyterians and mostly went with the building. It became Zion Church and was connected with St. Andrews.

Some time after we left I went back to the neighborhood on a visit. At that time Archie Ionson said to me: "We're a lot better than we used to be when you were here. Now that we are Presbyterians we

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are twice as good." I didn't mind his teasing; I just said: "I'm glad if that is so. It doesn't matter what we are called, as long as we are good Christians."

In the last year before union we were stationed at St. Catharines. The vote was taken in our church while we were there. That was the only time I voted in opposition to my husband. He feared that the union was not for the best, but when it carried he did the best he could to make it a success. The people were very kind and friendly in St. Catharines. I remember particularly Mrs. Cavers and her family, Miss Ball, the Plumstells, and Mr. Patie. One of the Miss Weavers said: "I like this church; I have had more fun in this church than I ever had in my life before." Some of the young people seemed to think that was what the church was for.

After the union the church was closed, the congregation joining with the church on Niagara Street, and we were moved to King Street Church in London.

An Epilogue

While the chronicle continues in the same modest and cheerful vein as far as the year 1900 its public interest as a social record ceases with the year 1885. Anything later than fifty years ago may be counted as recent, since it is within the memory of many still living.

By that year also the Great West was opened, the machine era had well begun on the farms and the small towns and villages were beginning to be overshadowed by the cities where industrial labor was abundant and railway facilities were ample. Also the completion of Methodist union had extinguished some of the peculiarities of the smaller sects. They had thrived by reason of the intense individuality and assurance of the early settlers. People generally were becoming more alike. Instead of Cornish and Yorkshire folk, Irish, Scotch and English, a new race born and bred in Canada, had appeared, and while tender towards the feelings of their forebears, had a somewhat broader outlook. Perhaps it was shallower also.

There was an end of the sense of isolation which certainly influences this manuscript. People of early times were so deeply interested in their own activities that they had little time to consider the

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outside world. Margaret Agar must have remembered her first sight of a railway train. She was nearly six years old before the first train ran from Toronto to Aurora, but she never refers to it. The Crimean War is mentioned only as the cause of twelve per cent. mortgage interest. She has nothing to say about the Fenian Raid, about Confederation, or about the Northwest Rebellions. She is silent on party politics.

Of course, she was not writing history but personalia, and writing only for her descendants. But the wages of her maid, three dollars a month, advanced to four dollars, is of the stuff of economic history, and her picture of the church-going pioneers of Maryborough is social history. Best of all, the document is a mirror of herself; joyous, courageous, uncomplaining at a salary of \$500 a year, economical, generous; a character fitting in one who considered herself but a stranger here, a pilgrim marching onward to Zion. Her husband, Rev. Eli Middleton, died in 1924 in his eightieth year.

Jefferson and England

The Embargo as a Measure of Coercion

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STENSIBLY the Embargo Act of 1807 was an Act for the protection of American ships, merchandise and seamen which were endangered by the Orders in Council of England and the Decrees of France limiting neutral trade. The Act itself culminated when Jefferson learned on December 17, 1807, from Armstrong in France of Napoleon's enforcement of the Berlin Decree and from English newspapers of new Orders in Council.¹ Dispatches from Monroe and Pinkney had put an end to all hope of a commercial treaty.² Summoning the cabinet, Jefferson found it unanimous in opinion that commerce should be suspended pending fuller information; within three days Congress passed the Embargo Act prohibiting the sailing of all United States ships to foreign ports, but permitting coastwise trade under bond twice the value of the vessel and cargo. Armed vessels with public commissions from foreign nations were exempt from the provisions of the law.³

In fact, however, Jefferson's letters indicate that he thought the state of affairs in the world propitious to test his theory of the efficacy of commercial coercion⁴—a theory that the need for American produce in England, partially shut off from European supply sources, would force that country to rescind her obnoxious orders. But this idea of commercial coercion was not original with Jefferson. It had been used to good advantage against England in colonial times, especially in 1774.

All of the United States, as yet without home manufactures of any great importance and largely dependent upon the carrying trade to

1. Bowers; "Jefferson in Power," 440. Johnson: "Jefferson and His Colleagues," 160.

2. Hill: "James Madison," "American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy," III, 132.

3. "Annals of Congress," XVIII, 2814-15.

4. Johnson: *Op. cit.*, 161.

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maintain the standard of living, were concerned with the repeal of the orders and decrees. Suggested alternatives to the measure were the use of ships of war, the arming of merchant vessels, an offensive and defensive war, or the suspension of foreign commerce.⁵ But the Republicans made it clear that it was a question of either going to war, for which the country was unprepared, or of entering into an embargo policy. In fact, said Jefferson, the orders and decrees were only attempts to make the United States render active aid to one nation or the other, "Each party, indeed, would admit our commerce with themselves, with a view of associating us in their war against the other. But we have wished war with neither. . . . To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by armies was war, without consulting the state of things or the choice of the Nation. The alternative preferred by the Legislature of suspending a commerce placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property, and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to devise a conduct as contrary to their interests as it is to our rights."⁶

Jefferson emphasized again and again that it was war or embargo, that embargo was the last card to play short of war.⁷ After reducing taxes, paying a part of the public debt and anticipating a surplus in the treasury⁸ with which to carry out a public works program he dreaded the prospect of a war that would undo all this.⁹ However, he considered the embargo as a stop-gap, temporary measure, which if ineffective after a fair trial would have to be abandoned in favor of war.¹⁰ The President wrote to the Attorney-General: ". . . if peace does not take place in Europe and if France and England will not consent to withdraw the operations of their decrees and orders from us . . . Congress . . . will have to consider at what point of time the Embargo, continued, becomes a greater evil than war."¹¹

5. Adams: "Life of Gallatin," 366-67.

6. Jefferson: "Writings," VIII, 134.

7. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 452.

8. Duties on imports, tonnage, passports and clearances had increased from \$8,327,000 in 1802 to \$16,493,000 in 1807.

9. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 452.

10. *Ibid.*, 453.

11. Randall: "Life of T. Jefferson," III.

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Gallatin also preferred war to a permanent embargo because, he said, governmental prohibitions always do more mischief than they had been calculated to do.¹²

It is often claimed that Jefferson's personal dislike of the English and his admiration of the French was the determinant of his embargo policy—a policy which, if effective, would produce greater distress in Britain than in France because of the former's greater dependence upon sources of supply outside her boundaries. There was not a Federalist who was not convinced that the President was endeavoring to aid Napoleon defeat the British. New England papers were full of squibs like the one which appeared in the "Massachusetts Spy" (September 21, 1808): "Why is the Embargo like good strong coffee?" "Because Bonaparte is remarkably fond of it." Mahan feels that opposition to England was to Jefferson "a kind of mission." "His best wish for her had been that she might be republicanized by a successful French invasion."¹³ We may be sure that the President entertained little friendship for England as a result of the Revolution and was sympathetic with France because of his theoretical objections to monarchy. More important than this was the fact that the English sympathizers who remained in America and the English who later came over to trade "were closely associated with the economic interests which supported Federalism."¹⁴ That Jefferson deeply resented the control which the British financiers and merchants had over American banking and trade is shown in a letter to Elbridge Gerry, 1797:¹⁵ "When we take notice that theirs is the workshop to which we go for all we want, that with them center, either immediately or ultimately, all the labors of our hands and lands; that to them belongs either openly or secretly the great mass of our navigation; that even the factorage of their affairs here, is kept to themselves by factitious citizenships; and these foreign and false citizens now constitute the great body of what are called our merchants, fill our sea-ports, are planted in every little town and district of the interior country, sway everything in the former places by their votes, and those of their dependents, in the latter, by their insinuations and the influence of

12. Richardson: "Messages and Papers," I, 433.

13. Mahan: "Sea Power in Its Relation to the War of 1812," I, 189.

14. Beard: "Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy," 432.

15. *Ibid.*, 434.

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their ledgers; that they are advancing fast to a monopoly of our banks and public funds, and thereby placing our public finances under their control; that they have in their alliance the most influential characters in and out of office; when they have shown that by these bearings on the different branches of the government, they can force it to proceed in whatever direction they dictate, and bend the interest of this country entirely to the will of another; when all this, I say, is attended to it is impossible for us to say we stand on independent ground, impossible for a free mind not to see and to groan under the bondage in which it is bound. If anything after this could excite surprise, it would be that they have been able so far to throw dust in the eyes of our own citizens, as to fix on those who wish merely to recover self-government the charge of subserving one foreign influence because they resist submission to another."

On the other hand, General Smith, a warm friend of Jefferson, assured the Federalists that they could count upon Jefferson's "not disturbing the established order."¹⁶ Actually the President had never been on worse terms with France than when he imposed the embargo. Turreau was annoyed and alarmed at his conduct, complaining of Armstrong, Madison and Jefferson and of the embargo message—"For me it was a useless proof—one proof the more—of the usual awkwardness of the Washington Cabinet, and its falsity in regard to France."¹⁷ The offenses of Britain seem to be forgotten, he wrote Champagny, and no hostile project against her would ever be entertained.¹⁸ Likely Jefferson would not have disliked seeing a less-powerful Britain, but in this case he thought of the embargo as a measure primarily for the protection of American interests in keeping the Nation out of war. Madison wrote Pinkney that he should assure the British government that the Act was a measure of precaution only, "neither hostile in character, nor justifying, inviting or leading to hostility with any nation and particularly as opposing no obstacle whatever to amicable negotiations with Great Britain."¹⁹

Jefferson's theory was that the British government would be moved to action only through the cries of an impoverished working people.²⁰

16. *Ibid.*, 413-14.

17. Adams: "History of the United States," IV, 228-29.

18. *Ibid.*, 229.

19. "American State Papers," Class I, F. R., III, 206.

20. "Writings," Ford ed., VI, 510.

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He contemplated astounding results: "I believe that we have in our hands the means of peaceable coercion; and that the moment they see our government so united as that they can make use of it, they will for their own interest be disposed to do us justice."²¹ There seemed to be adequate support of his opinion. Gregg, speaking in the Senate, declared that the embargo "will strike dismay throughout the empire . . . will be felt by every class . . . especially the commercial and manufacturing part of the community," and "these are the main pillars of its support."²² James Stephens stated that from August 1807 on British commerce with the continent was "ruined and destroyed." Many others testified to the same effect in the House of Commons.²³ J. Barnes, an American living in Italy, wrote the Chief Executive, "We have only to shut our ports and remain firm. . . . The people of England would do the rest, for British manufactures being precluded from the continent of Europe, almost entirely their chief resource is the United States. Consequently about 150,000 manufacturers, being thrown out of bread, would rise in mass and compel the Minister to open the ports at any price."²⁴ Republican papers quite naturally agreed that the Act would bring the British to terms more effectively than war.²⁵

The immediate public response to the embargo in America was favorable. That it was a popular measure is attested by the voting in Congress: twenty-two to six in the Senate and eighty-two to forty-four in the House.²⁶ Legislatures of ten states proclaimed it; mass meetings were held in its praise. New England Federalists soon found reason to effect a reaction: the Act was designed to serve Napoleon. As a measure of such subservience they were absolved of any guilt in evading it!²⁷ Federalists and Republicans engaged in newspaper and pamphlet wars; Pickering wrote an attack upon the Act and J. Q. Adams ably defended it. Jefferson was convinced that opposition was largely sectional;²⁸ he wrote in November, 1808, that

21. Johnson: *Op. cit.*, 146.

22. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 333.

23. Hill: *Op. cit.*, 125-26.

24. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 453.

25. Jennings: "The American Embargo," 42.

26. Hill: *Op. cit.*, 133.

27. The Act was known variously in the New England States as "Dambargo," "O Grab Me," "Go Bar 'Em," etc.

28. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 455.

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"while the opposition to the late laws of Embargo has in one quarter amounted almost to rebellion and treason, it is pleasing to know that all the rest of the nation has approved of the proceedings of the constituted authorities. . . ."²⁹ Professor Channing avers that opposition in the North, seat of Federalist power, was chiefly political, as well as the defense of the measure by Virginia.³⁰ It should, nevertheless, be noted that the immediate material interest of the shipping element was not slight. While England and France were engaged in war the commerce of the United States flourished increasingly. Combined exports and imports had grown from \$48,000,000 in 1791 to \$205,000,000 in 1801; after a temporary decline in 1802-03 they rose to \$247,000,000 in 1807.³¹ The carrying trade of the United States increased in tonnage from 67,000 in 1800 to 848,000 in 1807.³² In such fashion was the Nation achieving commercial supremacy.

The relative costs of war and embargo are difficult to determine. Available figures are inexact, many cannot be arrived at and the price of human life is beyond calculation. John Lane, of Virginia, in debate over the suspension of the embargo compared well the evils of embargo and war. "I admit, by the embargo we lose half the value of the products of our country, or the receipt of it is suspended; by war, to admit the effect in this particular, no worse, at least it could be no better; but have we counted the costs of the armies we are to raise, and to pay, of the supplies we are to furnish, of the loss of our blood, and of the diminution of our strength, of the reduction of the profits of agriculture itself, by calling men from their domestic occupations, and lessening the number of hands for tillage—have we calculated the thousand other evils which follow in the train of war? To plunge into war, sir, to escape the curse of the embargo, would be truly fulfilling the adage of old—'out of the frying-pan into the fire.'"³³ Even Jefferson did not claim that the embargo was an economical measure, but probably it was less expensive than war. The Boston Federalists estimated that it cost \$10,000,000. The expense of the war later proved to be \$30,000,000 a year. The actual saving thus

29. "Writings," Wash. ed., V, 384.

30. Channing: *Op. cit.*, 219.

31. Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 23.

32. Hill: *Op. cit.*, 130.

33. "Great Debates in American History," II, 134.

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appears to be \$20,000,000 a year, though in some respects the embargo might be more destructive to national wealth than war.³⁴

The tradition that ships were rotting at the wharves in New England has been sufficiently refuted by Professor Channing. Ships do not rot in four years and the wharves were not deserted: in the year ending September 30, 1808, \$10,000,000 in duties were collected; \$6,000,000 were collected in 1807 and \$12,000,000 in 1810.³⁵ The same historian thinks it probable, also, that Virginia was already honeycombed with extravagance and overspending and debt by the time the embargo went into effect. The major crop, tobacco, was not perishable and the domestic market was still open. Plantations were at the time almost self-sustaining, money being used chiefly for luxury purchases. The embargo in promoting economy among the planters proved to be a positive benefit.³⁶

The success of the embargo was contingent upon two conditions, unity of action by Americans and a state of absolute necessity in Great Britain. The former condition was never fulfilled. "From all parts of the country men began silently and covertly to undermine the working of the system. Passamaquoddy Bay, on the borders of New Brunswick, and St. Mary's on the confines of Florida, remote from ordinary commerce, became suddenly crowded with vessels. Coasters . . . found it impossible to reach their ports of destination. Furious gales of wind drove them from their course; spars smitten with decay went overboard; butts of planking started, causing dangerous leaks. Safety could be found only by bearing up for some friendly foreign port, in Nova Scotia or the West Indies, where cargoes of flour and fish had to be sold for needed repairs, to enable the homeward voyage to be made. Not infrequently the vessel's name had been washed off the stern by the violence of the waves, and the captain could remember neither it nor his own."³⁷ When the Act was first passed, many ships put out half-laden. Many continued to operate under cover of the coasting trade.³⁸ Smuggling was carried on apace along the Canadian border. During the first year of the embargo 150,000 barrels of flour were shipped to Eastport, Maine. The price was \$5 per barrel

34. Adams: *Op. cit.*, IV, 274-76.

35. Channing: *Op. cit.*, 217.

36. *Ibid.*, 217-18.

37. Mahan, *Op. cit.*, 194-95.

38. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 250.

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in the U. S., \$12 in Canada and \$25 in Jamaica. The cost of transporting flour across the line was at first twelve and one-half cents per barrel but rose to \$3.³⁹ In Quebec on June 12, 1808, six ships arrived with cargoes of dry goods. Before the Act such a thing was hardly known.⁴⁰ Quebec did more business than all of the United States.⁴¹ One man observed seven hundred sleighs between Montreal and Middlebury, Vermont.⁴² A letter from the former city stated that every house was so crowded with Americans that genteel boarding was very dear.⁴³ Rafts laden with flour and corn and guarded by gunmen sailed Lake Champlain. One raft was said to be nearly one-half mile long, carried a ball-proof fort and was manned by five or six hundred men. It supposedly contained the surplus produce of Vermont for the year past worth upward of \$300,000.⁴⁴ Some officers winked at smuggling or made only half-hearted attempts to prevent it; the readiness of Americans to violate the law is apparent from the writings of both friends and foes of the measure.⁴⁵

Jefferson seemed surprised at the difficulty experienced in enforcement. He declared the Embargo Act to be "certainly the most embarrassing we ever had to execute. I did not expect a crop of so sudden and rank growth of fraud and open opposition by force could have grown up in the United States."⁴⁶ In spite of the enforcing acts enacted by Congress⁴⁷ it was apparent before the end of the year that not all violations could be curbed.

The President had early contemplated important effects of the embargo in England. He had reason to expect success from reports that came to him of distress in British industry, rioting in Manchester and general loss of trade. From the utterances of men like Alexander Baring, Edward Baines and Lord Bathurst he knew that

39. Hill: *Op. cit.*, 134.

40. Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 90.

41. *Ibid.*, 91.

42. *Ibid.*, 92.

43. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 249.

44. Mahan: *Op. cit.*, 199.

45. Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 117.

46. Johnson: *Op. cit.*, 166.

47. The enforcing Acts (January 8, 1808; March 12, 1808; April 25, 1808; January 9, 1809) became increasingly severe, and gave more power to the President and customs officers empowered to enforce the Act. The Act of 1809 was the culmination of severity. Bonds of impossible amounts were placed on coasting vessels and there was little opportunity for redress. (See Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 54-59.)

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important people felt the policy to be ruinous. He knew of protests in the Commons, of the "Edinburgh Review's" attack on Canning, of petitions by the merchants of Liverpool, of Lord Erskine's sustaining the American position in Parliament and of Lord Holland's denouncing British policy.⁴⁸ He knew that Lord Auckland had written that he was informed by good authority that exports were almost totally suspended and imports gradually contracting, orders for manufactures being countermanded, that European trade was checked, and that the demand of goods for the United States was interrupted.⁴⁹ Auckland predicted dire consequences with the publication of the Orders in Council—manufactures would be stimulated among former customers, while at home there would be resultant privation and general discontent among manufacturers and importers.⁵⁰

Republicans had placed their trust in cotton's being a powerful lever in effecting a repeal of the orders. But England faced the crisis with a considerable surplus, and with fresh supplies expected from Turkey.⁵¹ By September, however, the initial supply was about exhausted; there was no expectation that Brazil would furnish any considerable amount. Nevertheless, the British seemed not dismayed, expecting American evasions of the embargo to supply the deficiency,⁵² even though imports from the South had been small. Average annual cotton quotations for the Uplands variety, chiefly American, fluctuated from 14½d. in 1807 to 22d. in 1808 and then gradually down to 12½d. in 1811.⁵³ The importation for 1808 exceeded 1813 by only a few thousand bags, but the price of 22d. in 1808 is a fifty per cent. increase over 1807 and this increase, says Sears, is a clear effect of the embargo as distinguished from any effect of the decrees of Napoleon, for the English kept the sea lanes open.⁵⁴

The reports of a Charleston agent of a Manchester firm indicate that there was no particular hindrance to trade in cotton in 1807, but in December he makes mention of gloomy times ahead.⁵⁵ Cotton

48. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 465-66.

49. Sears: "British Industry and the Embargo," "Quarterly Journal of Economics," XXXIV, 89-90.

50. *Ibid.*, 90.

51. *Ibid.*, 97.

52. *Ibid.*, 98.

53. *Ibid.*, 99.

54. *Ibid.*, 100.

55. Daniels: "American Cotton Trade in Liverpool Under the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts," "American Historical Review," XXI, 279.

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imported into England during the early part of 1808 had evidently been shipped shortly before the passage of the bill. The Liverpool broker mentions the arrivals of vessels from America to the end of June, but after the first few weeks of the year the amounts are small and then cease altogether until 1809. From June, 1809, on there were many arrivals as a result of the Erskine agreement. In August the Non-Intercourse Act was put in force. In May, 1810, Non-Intercourse was repealed and when Madison threatened the British government that restrictive measures would be enforced were the orders not repealed within three months, shipping took a sudden spurt.⁵⁶ What potential power the Act might have had was irreparably destroyed by the shipping under the Erskine agreement and the repeal of the Non-Intercourse Act in 1810 marked the final defeat of Jefferson's theory.

The importance of the American grain trade in English history was first noted during the Napoleonic era. In 1807 the United States Consul at Liverpool remarked in a consular dispatch that "such quantities of wheat and flour from the United States have lately poured into this market that prices have declined."⁵⁷ A year later a London corn merchant told a Parliamentary committee that the trade of that city had decreased considerably since the passage of the embargo. Statistics bear out his statement; exports of grain to Great Britain decreased from 2,006,920 bushels in 1807 to 105,654 bushels in 1808 (1,383,028 bushels in 1809).⁵⁸ In 1807 out of 404,946 quarters of wheat imported into Britain, 249,712 quarters came from the United States. With the embargo a price rise ensued;⁵⁹ only 12,836 quarters were imported from this source in 1808.⁶⁰ Under the Non-Intercourse Act in 1809 many Americans shut their eyes to the law because of the good harvest. With the Erskine agreement there was a frenzy of shipping, 170,939 quarters being imported.

Over a longer period it would appear that America did not figure so importantly as a source of grain for Britain. Between 1800 and

56. Daniels: *Op. cit.*, 280-82.

57. Galpin: "American Grain Trade to the Spanish Peninsula, 1810-14," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII, 24.

58. *Ibid.* (from the U. S.).

59. English Labour Dept. gives the price of the imperial quarter of wheat as 75s. in 1807 and 81s. in 1808. (Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 73.)

60. Galpin: "Grain Supply of England During the Napoleonic Period," 145.

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1812, 4,552,516 quarters of wheat were imported to England from the Baltic and 1,522,880 quarters from America. Of the total wheat imports, fifty-three per cent. were from the Baltic and eighteen per cent. from North America. Napoleon found it impossible to obstruct completely the European grain trade, and Galpin considers it "highly questionable" whether even an imperial embargo of a few weeks could have forced John Bull to terms.⁶¹ But it should be noted that the embargo, in conjunction with the Napoleonic measures, diminished British corn, grain and meal imports from £920,435 in 1807 to £146,119 in 1808.⁶² It is evident that over a long period Britain could adjust to new sources of supply, but that in the embargo year Jefferson's measure made itself felt to a marked degree.

Though the embargo threatened⁶³ to paralyze the healthiest industries of Britain,⁶⁴ as time passed an adjustment was made with new markets, new sources of raw material and increasing violations of the Act.⁶⁵ In this adjustment the workingmen had to undergo the greatest hardships of any class. They were faced with lack of full-time work, the poor harvest and a prospective shortage of raw material for industry. Probably 5,000 families were reduced to pauperism. Some workingmen petitioned Parliament that they received not more than one-half of their former wages (of 1792) though prices had doubled since and were increasing daily.⁶⁷ The poor rate rose astonishingly. In Manchester during the year of the embargo it rose from an average of £4,000 to £49,000.⁶⁸ Poor relief in general rose from an average of £4,268,000 in 1803-04 to £5,923,000 in 1811 to £6,130,000 in 1813-14,⁶⁹ all of which cannot be attributed to the embargo. Any protests the lower classes made went unheeded, however; Jefferson's friends were without the franchise.

Prices rose generally in 1807-08. The general index price number, with 1782 as 100, rose from 129 in 1807 to 145 in 1808. Sears found that there was sufficient ground to "apprehend a food short-

61. Galpin: "Grain Supply," 194-96.

62. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 102-05.

63. See p. 11 for opinions.

64. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 324.

65. Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 81-82.

66. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 330.

67. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 100.

68. *Ibid.*, 92.

69. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 329-30.

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age." The crop of 1807 left no surplus and harvests were bad during 1808. The fact that the situation was serious enough is demonstrated in the restrictions placed upon distilleries to conserve grain. Some English papers attributed bad conditions directly to the embargo. However, prices of commodities for which England depended but slightly upon the United States rose after the enactment of the embargo and fell with its repeal.⁷⁰

The attitude of the British government was not to be changed by such inconveniences as the embargo could institute. Gallatin made the shrewd observation that "the British Ministry is either unwilling, if they can avoid it, to repeal their orders in any event whatever, or that they wait for the result of their intrigues and of the exertions of their friends here, with hopes of producing irresistible dissatisfaction to the embargo, and a change of measures and of men. . . ."⁷¹ True, Canning was not alarmed: disloyalty in America became more brazen every day; there was even a British secret agent, John Henry, who seemed to have the confidence of the disloyalists.⁷² The impregnable position of the Ministry was aptly demonstrated in the replies Pinkney at London and Armstrong at Paris received in response to their offers to suspend the embargo providing the decrees and orders were removed. Armstrong wrote to Madison, August 30, 1808: "We have somewhat overrated our means of coercing the two great belligerents to a cause of justice. The embargo is a measure calculated, above any other, to keep us whole and to keep us in peace; but, beyond this, you must not count upon it. Here it is not felt, and in England . . . it is forgotten."⁷³ Canning wrote Pinkney a condescending note informing him that His Majesty did not have the right or pretension to make any complaint of the embargo and had made none. But—"His Majesty would not hesitate to contribute, in any manner in his power, to restore to the commerce of the United States its wonted activity; and if it were possible to make any sacrifice for the repeal of the embargo, without appearing to deprecate it as a measure of hostility, he would gladly have facilitated its removal *as a measure of inconvenient restriction upon the American people.*"⁷⁴

70. Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 74-75.

71. Adams: "Writings," 419.

72. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 472.

73. "Am. State Papers," III, 256.

74. *Ibid.*, III, 231-32 (*italics mine*).

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Notwithstanding the haughty attitude of the Ministry, the loss of the American market would have proved catastrophic had not other markets been available to replace it. Exports from the United States to Great Britain fell from \$31,015,623 in 1807 to \$5,183,297 in 1808, or more than eighty-three per cent.⁷⁵ Dutied imports from Great Britain to the United States fell from \$38,901,838 in 1807 to \$18,818,882 in 1808, or a decrease of fifty-two per cent.⁷⁶ In one year English trade was ruined in the American market, which had been taking one-third of all British exports.⁷⁷

The new or expanded markets which took the place of the American, were Africa, India, East Indies, South America (especially Brazil). The British sent so much goods to Brazil that a traveler in Rio wrote "that more Manchester goods were sent out in a few weeks than had been consumed in the twenty years preceding."⁷⁸ Warehouse space was inadequate and quantities of goods were exposed to the weather. Services of cut glass and china were offered to persons used to a "horn or shell of a cocoanut."⁷⁹ This experiment of Britain's with the South American market repaid her well: although there was in 1808 a loss of trade from 1807 of £6,604,774 to the United States, there was in the same year a gain of £6,152,448 to "America, other than the United States."⁸⁰ The increased trade with Canada was partly responsible for the latter figure. Though on the whole the gain might prove to be fictitious, it came in time to "strengthen resistance to Napoleon and Jefferson."⁸¹ English trade with some other parts of the world was also apparently brisk.

The effect of embargo upon the population in the colonies was not as pronounced as the Republicans had hoped. The West Indies were almost entirely dependent on sugar production for their livelihood; when food imports were threatened, starvation became imminent. The embargo menaced the French West Indies to such an extent that it was thought they would have to succor Britain's protection, but even John Bull could not then assume additional responsibili-

75. Value of exports, the growth, produce and manufacture of the U. S. is given as \$48,699,592 for 1807 and \$9,433,546 for 1808 by Hill. *Op. cit.*, 129.

76. Jennings: *Op. cit.*, 78.

77. Bowers: *Op. cit.*, 467.

78. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 95.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, 96.

81. *Ibid.*, 97.

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ties. To aid the Indies and to strike at the embargo a royal proclamation (April 11, 1808) exempted from interruption neutral carriers of lumber and provisions bound for the colonies in the West Indies or South America even when they had no regular clearances and papers.⁸² The British invited importations of rice, grain and flour by way of Florida and British North American provinces. Items listed in an official proclamation as welcome in ports of Nova Scotia were lumber, grain, tobacco, naval stores, meat and fruit.⁸³ Prices in the Indies rose with the embargo but were gradually reduced. Mahan seems to place the blame for non-enforcement on Jefferson's gunboats.⁸⁴

The evils of embargo were brought home indirectly to the English by the rise in the price of gold. For various reasons the continent had never captured the American market and could only buy its supply of raw materials there without selling manufactured goods in return. Therefore, Britain usually drew for payment for its goods shipped to America upon continental traders who owed Americans, adjusting the balance with a slight transfer of gold. But when the American market was lost to Britain it was necessary to export gold. The price rose from a normal of 80s. an ounce in 1807 to 91s. in 1809, increasing until it reached 110s. in 1813.⁸⁵

One great advantage England gained through the embargo was the removal of American competition in shipping. On April 28, 1808, there was not an American vessel in Liverpool from Boston or New York. The year before 489 had entered.⁸⁶ With this general monopoly shipping rates became high and profits excessive.

Thus it was that in addition to Britain's independence of American cotton and food supplies other fortuitous circumstances, the opening of new markets, made inoperative the second condition for the successful execution of the embargo, dependence on America commercially. The "Edinburgh Review" noted that "had it not been for these circumstances, our loss of trade in consequence of the orders would probably have been more than double what it actually was; and this boasted cure for our commercial embarrassments would, in all

82. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 327. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 93.

83. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 94.

84. Mahan: *Op. cit.*, 196.

85. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 110.

86. Mahan: *Op. cit.*, 200-01.

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probability, have reduced our whole foreign trade to a little wretched smuggling in Europe and America."⁸⁷

The demoralization of the cotton industry, the measures to conserve the food supply, the increasing poor rate, the rising prices and the protests of manufacturers and working men are adequate proof that the embargo menaced the economic stability of Great Britain. Though the measure failed wholly in its political purpose it is hardly fair to deem it as having no effect in England other than one beneficial to her people.⁸⁸

How close the embargo came to being effective cannot be known. It is difficult to conceive of any Nation's being able to coerce Britain by commercial measures. It is unlikely that the conditions necessary for success can ever be realized contemporaneously. The South during the Civil War attempted it and failed not so much because of lack of unity among themselves as because of a miscalculation of Britain's need for Southern cotton.⁸⁹ It has been suggested that had our commerce in 1807 been as necessary to England and France as it was at the "peak" of the World War, embargo might have proved effectual.⁹⁰ But no Nation should have anticipated results so inclusive within one year. "The conditions in England warranted a continuation of the experiment, America lacked resolution to pursue it further."⁹¹ Story wrote that the administration was satisfied that if the embargo could be continued for one year our rights would have been acknowledged were our citizens true to their own interests.⁹² Jefferson believed that it was "a measure, which, persevered in a little longer . . . would have effected its object completely,"⁹³ that a continuance for two months longer would have prevented war.⁹⁴ The veracity of the statement by Mahan that Jefferson's fundamental error of conception was in considering the embargo as an efficient alternative to war cannot be allowed until there is better proof than that furnished in the short experiment of 1807-08. The embargo did not have the "fair

87. Sears: *Op. cit.*, III-12.

88. See McMaster, "History of the U. S.," III, 307.

89. Hoslett, "The Richmond Daily Press on British Intervention in the Civil War," "William and Mary College Historical Quarterly," to be published in April, 1940.

90. Johnson: *Op. cit.*, 162.

91. Sears: *Op. cit.*, 112.

92. Adams: *Op. cit.*, 370.

93. Johnson: *Op. cit.*, 169.

94. Jefferson: "Writings," Wash. ed., VI, 465.

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trial" which Jefferson desired "so that on future occasions our legislators may know with certainty how far they may count on it as an engine for national purposes."⁹⁵

95. *Ibid.*, V, 309.

The American Sheep Industry

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THE sheep has been called the oldest domesticated animal in the world. Evidence indicates that before the dawn of history it had become a definite factor in the life of man. It has remained so since. Today flocks populate practically every agricultural section of the world, particularly those situated in the temperate zones of the two hemispheres.

In the United States sheep raising has been built into a great industry with its present center in the Far West and Northwest, which lead the country in the number of sheep, the total wool shorn and the average weight of fleece per sheep. It has aided materially in the development of this region and is counted as one of the most important businesses of the West. In the State of Montana, for example, the shipment of lambs, sheep and wool have contributed between one-sixth and one-third of the State agricultural income and it has been estimated that one-fifth of the land area is now employed in range sheep production. This Commonwealth, like its immediate neighbors, is peculiarly adapted to sheep raising. It is arid, open and mountainous, with valley and plateau regions offering winter shelter to stock. Today approximately four million head roam its grazing lands, which in 1938 furnished 30,343,000 pounds of wool, making the State the second largest producer of this commodity in the country.

Some believe the first sheep were brought to the New World by Columbus and formed the nucleus of the great flocks of Mexican stock which was found in the Southwest and which became the basis for the wool growing industry of that section. It is definite, however, that they were introduced into America with the settlement of Jamestown in 1609. Later they appeared in the Massachusetts Colony, in New York, when it was under Dutch rule, in New Jersey, and Delaware, where they had been imported by the Swedish settlers, in Pennsylvania, where the Quakers under William Penn brought them in 1683, and in Rhode Island, which did a flourishing business exporting animals to neighboring colonies, particularly Connecticut.

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These animals must in no way be confused with the present sheep. Most that came to this country during the seventeenth century were coarse, leggy, late-maturing stock, possessing good foraging qualities. Their wool clip, of an inferior quality, generally averaged from a pound and a half to two pounds a head. Though these early animals were tough and good foragers, it was difficult for them to get a foothold in the colonies due to predatory animals and Indians, who stole and killed them wantonly. To protect themselves, the colonists, who prized their flocks highly, eventually placed the combined bands of a settlement under herders and when possible grazed them on islands for further protection, one of the first being the Isle of Nahant in Massachusetts Bay and another "Rumney Marsh," a long, low peninsula near Boston.

The scarcity of material for clothing and the high price of imported goods, led the early colonists to attempt to meet this deficiency by increasing the number of sheep. This was encouraged by the colonial authorities and gave rise to discriminating favors in the pasture areas of different towns. In Connecticut, sheep were exempted from taxation, and exclusive pasturage rights were assigned. It was further ordained here that every male fourteen years of age or older must devote one day a year to clearing underbrush so that the sheep pastures might be extended. Similar measures were adopted by other colonies and soon showed results. But this notable advance was to meet a rebuff on the part of the Mother Country and colonial authorities, which instituted stringent regulations limiting the trade of sheep, wool, or home manufacture of wool, among the colonies. Consequently the activity was localized and most of the population were compelled to rely on local home manufacture for clothing which was not imported.

In time fulling mills made their appearance, the first being erected in 1643 at Rowley, near Ipswich, Massachusetts, which had been settled by a group of Yorkshiremen skilled in weaving. At the turn of the century, 1700, there were numerous fulling mills in many of the colonies, particularly Maryland, and most of the ordinary wearing apparel was made in the home. But England persisted in her program of throttling the industrial growth of the colonies by encouraging other enterprises, and this attitude, coupled with lack of capital

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and skilled labor, had much to do in delaying the establishment of a factory system in America.

The events leading up to the Revolutionary War had an appreciable effect on the development of the sheep and wool industry. In retaliation for unpopular English trade regulations many of the colonists boycotted British goods and confined purchases to this country. Wool was a basic necessity, and in order to supply an increasing demand the people again sought to increase sheep, an objective which was attained. It is said that in Philadelphia, alone, twenty thousand fewer sheep were slaughtered in order to achieve this end. But despite these heroic measures and some advance in the production of factory cloth, domestic output could not begin to supply the country's needs during the conflict and much of the wool used was smuggled in from England *via* France.

After the Revolution the few factories which had been established failed and again the home became the center of the wool industry, which continued to expand even more rapidly than it had, particularly in the South. Before the struggle it is estimated that the State of Virginia bought seven-eighths of its clothing supply, while after the conflict three-quarters of the people's needs were met through home manufacture. Further indications of the trend are revealed by the fact that in 1790 two-thirds to four-fifths of the clothing worn was manufactured in households throughout the country. But with all this expansion it was still a localized activity confined to the home rather than developed for commercial purposes.

In 1793, with the outbreak of the war between England and France, the production of American wool fell off noticeably in some sections, due to the increased demand for farm products by Europe. Prices rose and the farmer hastened to cash in on this boom at the expense of his sheep. For over a decade sheep growing was at a standstill, though prominent leaders tried to encourage its revival through the improvement of breeding, one of the most famous being George Washington. He had been interested in this phase of sheep raising for years and after the Revolutionary War succeeded in circumventing British restrictions on the importation of blooded stock by securing several Blakewell "New Leicesters," which are said to have greatly improved the Mount Vernon flock, then numbering about

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eight hundred and yielding an average of approximately five and a half pounds of long wool per head. Once Washington assumed the Presidency his flock deteriorated rapidly, and by 1797 only two hundred head remained, none of which yielded more than two and a half pounds of wool. Upon retirement, his interest in sheep was revived and he purchased a pair of fine Persians, but before they were bred he passed away.

The Washington flock was disposed of in 1802. G. W. P. Custis, of Arlington, Virginia, grandson of Mrs. Washington, secured the choice animals of the band. Thus he became one of the outstanding sheep improvers of his generation. One of the animals he got was a Persian ram, which he bred to two Leicester ewes, thus starting a strain which came to be known as "Arlington Improved" or "Arlington Longwools," very popular until the introduction of the Merino strain.

Most of the American sheep during the colonial era had a wide admixture of blood, leaning to the coarse unimproved Leicester or the old unimproved Southdown. There was also the Tunis or Barbary sheep, noted for its mutton qualities and very popular in Pennsylvania, and the wild Smith Island strain, which caused a flurry of excitement when discovered in 1800, but all succumbed to the Spanish Merino, introduced into this country in 1793 by William Foster, who smuggled two ewes and a ram out of Spain and brought them to Boston. Shortly afterwards Mr. Foster had to go abroad and left the animals in charge of his friend, Andrew Craigie, of Cambridge, who, unaware of their value, butchered them. This same Mr. Craigie is said to have paid \$1,000 for a Merino ram ten years later. Despite protective restrictions on the part of Spanish authorities, the Merino continued to find its way into this country. In 1801 M. duPont de Nemours and M. Delessert, a Paris banker, sent four Merino rams to this country. Three died en route but the fourth, "Don Pedro," survived, and became one of the finest ever imported, greatly improving his owner's flocks. In 1802, Robert Livingston, then minister to France, sent two pairs to his estate on the Hudson, and the same year Colonel Humphreys, Minister to Spain, sent a flock of one hundred to his Connecticut estate. The animal was greatly prized for his heavy coat of fine wool, but few outside of sheep fanciers could afford,

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or cared, to have one, and consequently they had little effect on the ordinary stock of the country, which remained much as it was a century earlier. From a business standpoint, the sheep raiser felt that if mills wanted finer wool they could import it duty free and it was quite useless to try to compete with an established market. Up to 1800 the American flock was rarely allowed to enlarge beyond twenty head and the average clip was about two pounds of fleece, which sold for about twenty-five cents or less a pound.

The extent of Robert Livingston's interest in the sheep industry of the country is cited by L. G. Connor in his work entitled "A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States," in which he says: "In the spring of 1808 Livingston, then Chancellor of the State of New York, clipped 29 common ewes, 83 half-blood Merino ewes, 30 three-quarters bloods, 20 seven-eighths bloods, 7 full-blooded ewes and 4 full-blood rams, beside 74 half-blood wethers. From the common ewes he clipped three pounds fifteen ounces of wool per head, twice the average clip of the time. The grade Merino ewes gave an average of 4.9 pounds of wool per head, and the full-bloods five pounds two ounces, all unwashed. The rams averaged nearly eight pounds each, and the grade wethers a little over five pounds. The common wool sold for 37½ cents per pound, the half-blood clip for 75 cents, the three-quarter blood for \$1.25, the seven-eighths blood for \$1.50 and the pure Merino sheep were in demand. For a choice ram of his own raising he refused \$1,000. Half-blood rams and ewes brought him \$12 each, while the common sheep of the State sold for \$2 each. In 1810 the average clip of his flock was somewhat larger and brought the same prices as noted above. His flock later did much to improve those in western Massachusetts and Connecticut, as well as the State of New York. By 1810 the price of Merino sheep had risen greatly, \$1,000 per head often being paid for pure-bred rams. Livingston sold several at that price, while Humphreys sold two rams and two ewes for \$1,500 each, besides a number at lower prices. Occasional fresh importations frequently brought \$1,000 a head. (Ewes often sold for that price, pure-bred rams selling for \$1,000 to \$1,500 each). It is stated that one ram sold for \$3,000 during the heights of the craze for these sheep."

In 1807 there was a marked change in the American wool industry. European restrictions and the Embargo Act of that year had

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shut off commerce with foreign markets and there was a demand for more and finer domestic wools. Mills sprang up and the quantity and quality were furnished. Though there were only a few establishments devoted to the manufacture of finer wools, most of which were made from Merinos, they satisfied domestic wants. With the foreign farm market gone, capital idle, and soaring wool prices, sheep raising became a major industry. There was a great increase in the number of animals and by 1810 it is estimated there were more than seven million head in the country giving an average yield of two pounds. In accordance with this same information there were twenty-four mills operating, producing a total of two hundred thousand yards of cloth, which sold for one to ten dollars a yard. At the same time the household manufacturers' output approximated nine and a half million yards, which was practically ninety-eight per cent. of the national total.

The Merino craze, which has been alluded to, was intensified during the Peninsular wars (1810-11). The Spaniard, once jealous of his prize, was now eager to sell it to prevent seizure and get ready cash. Consequently many Americans who had sought vainly to work out some importation scheme in the past now found the avenue opened and took full advantage of the opportunity. Our consul in Lisbon, Portugal, William Jarvis, was responsible for the importation of nearly twenty thousand animals, which were augmented by purchases on the part of other Americans. Early prices were high, but, as the importations increased, fell to a level where the farmer of moderate means could purchase. This feature in itself had much to do with the improvement of flocks from Maine to Georgia and from the eastern seaboard to the Ohio Valley. The newly-developed West was highly enthusiastic and numerous bands were driving to this section, which was to grow increasingly important as a wool and meat producing center. Some of the pioneer Merino men of this period included Seth Adams, who brought to Muskingum County, Ohio, about thirty Merinos which were reared from an original pair he imported in 1801. He also drove one hundred and seventy-six head of Colonel Humphrey's flock into Kentucky and Tennessee in 1810. Other pioneers included George Rapp, of Economy, Pennsylvania, who brought a flock to Posey County, Indiana; George Fowler, an

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Englishman, who took twelve Merinos to Edwards County, Illinois; and William R. Dickinson, of Virginia, who settled at Steubenville, Ohio, where he reared Humphrey Merinos.

The wool industry in America on the ascendency was given further impetus by the outbreak of the War of 1812, which again strangled foreign trade. The business became a virtual monopoly and army demands caused a rapid increase in the price of coarse cloth, which led to a corresponding rise in other grades. Broadcloth was selling from eight to eighteen dollars a yard, Merino wool is said to have reached a peak of four dollars a pound, while common wool did not rise above fifty cents a pound. In the meantime the factory system had grown two to three times its size before the war and the value of the finished product had increased from four to nineteen million dollars. The farmer, once apathetic, was now keenly interested in improving his sheep for fine wool and in increasing his flocks. By 1812 the number of sheep in the country had increased to ten million and the clip yield was fifty per cent. larger.

But with peace came catastrophe to the sheep raiser and wool manufacturer. The bottom fell out of the market and the British hastened to flood the country with their goods even after the tariff of 1816. The lusty American industrial plant which had progressed so satisfactorily was now sagging badly. Factories shut down or curtailed production and to add to general woe the domestic panic of 1819 set in. The fine wool people suffered the greatest setback. Prices for fine fleece on the Boston market dropped from fifty cents to one dollar and fifty cents a pound in 1815, to thirty-five and forty cents a pound and less in 1817. This factor alone had much to do with the subsequent waning popularity of the Spanish Merino. The situation led to a sharp decline in flocks, with farmers sacrificing half-blood and full blood Merinos to the butcher. Consequently there was no general effort to improve stock for the next decade and wool manufacture became a minor commercial enterprise. Throughout this period home manufacture held its own—a situation which can be attributed largely to poor transportation facilities and the slow application of power machinery in the making of wool.

Several factors tended to increase optimism by 1820. The dumped British goods had been largely absorbed and there was talk of a pro-

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protective tariff on wool which was finally enacted in 1824. The farmer and manufacturer began to increase their activities and the desire for finer wool led to the importation of the Saxon Merino, whose wool made beautiful broadcloth. The craze for this animal was similar to that for the Spanish Merino. Men bid strongly against each other for the stock, but there was shameful fraud connected with the enterprise and many paid dearly for inferior animals. Unfortunately, the expected benefits of the tariff of 1824 were not realized and the Saxon Merino rapidly lost favor. Importation of the animal dropped from 2,288 in 1820, to 398 in 1827, and completely ceased after 1828. In all, a total of thirty-four hundred Saxon Merinos were imported.

The tariff of 1824 failed in its purpose because of the English panic of 1826. Again the British flooded our country with their goods, which were sold at ruinous prices, and again the fine wool maker and merchant suffered the most keenly. History a short time back was repeating itself. The farmer was extricating himself in the quickest and easiest manner, which usually consisted of selling his stock for slaughter. But there was one redeeming feature in all of this misfortune—the West was opening up rapidly and sheep raising was a popular occupation. The Merino, which had been disregarded, again was finding favor because of the possibilities of cross-breeding it with Saxons. Thousands of sheep were being driven westward and sold at prices ranging between thirty-seven and a half cents and seventy-five cents a head. Instead of decreasing, the sheep population had grown, and by 1830 it was estimated that there were some twelve to thirteen million animals in the country.

Efforts had been made to bring back the wool industry and improve the economic state of the Nation in general. They had a stimulating effect, particularly the wool tariff of 1828. This, coupled with the introduction of new and improved machinery and the increasing economic stability of the world, accelerated woollen manufacture. The factory had now become an efficient economic unit and could compete with household industry, which it was rapidly supplanting. Between 1830 and 1837 woollen manufacture doubled and while large quantities of the product continued to be imported, it was usually of the eight cent a pound variety and did not compete with the domestic clip of the same grade. The year 1830 was to be another important mile-

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stone in sheep raising. The eastern farmer again saw profit and increased his flocks rapidly, as is evidenced by the fact that of the estimated 18,000,000 sheep in the country at the time New York State had approximately a quarter of the total, and the combined states of New York, Pennsylvania and Vermont claimed a half. While the West was also producing at this time, poor transportation facilities prevented it from becoming an important factor in the wool market. The upswing in the industry had revived the popularity of the Saxon Merino breed and five hundred and fifty animals were imported and crossed with regular Merino stock. From a wool standpoint, the results of this experiment were disappointing, the staple bringing no more than ten cents a pound. At the same time the regular Merino yielded fifty per cent. more wool which was cheaper to produce. Consequently the Saxon again fell into the minority.

For a time the panic of 1837 threw the industry out of gear, but despite reverses the sheep population continued to increase and by 1840, according to the census taken that year, the wool clip totaled thirty-six million pounds and the number of sheep 19,311,000, sixty per cent. of which came from the New England and Middle Atlantic States. For the next fifteen years the East was to be supreme in the wool growing industry. Western industry, most of which was centered in the Ohio Valley, continued to occupy a minor position, despite the fact that the Ohio and Pennsylvania Canal had been opened in 1832 and 1834. It was not until 1840 that extensive use was made of these waterways, thus enabling western wool to appear on the eastern market in any sizable quantity. The growth along these channels after that was remarkable. To fully appreciate its significance one has only to learn that on the Erie Canal alone twenty-eight times more western wool was carried in 1845 than in 1840.

With the adverse conditions the West experienced during the aforementioned panic, its economic life was bolstered by the constant infiltration of new settlers who swelled the population and created a steadily growing market. As for wool, it was to enjoy a commanding position with the fall in the price of farm produce which occurred after 1840. Another factor that contributed to its advancement was high freight rates on all produce save wool, which could be shipped very reasonably and at great profit. The rate from Illinois to Boston,

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for example, was $2\frac{1}{8}$ cents to $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound. It was then sold from fifty-three to twenty-three cents a pound, which meant that one pound of the cheapest grade carried ten to market while a pound of the best carried twenty. Furthermore, it could be profitably grown within two hundred miles of the nearest shipping point and a thousand dollar load could be drawn to the point of embarkation by a two-horse team.

Economic standards began to tell. The cost of production in the East was twice as great as in the West. As the western industry began to stabilize itself, wool shipments from that part of the country increased and seriously competed with the East. The ensuing expansion in this part of the country was extremely rapid and signalized a great exodus of stock from the East. By 1844 the price of sheep doubled in Ohio. As a graphic indication of this wholesale shift we cite the fact that one county in Vermont lost fifteen to twenty per cent. of its sheep in the summer of 1847. Actually the whole movement was a transposition rather than an increase in number of animals. The reasons behind this migration are evident. Briefly, wool growing was no longer profitable in the East and highly so in the West. Furthermore, the character of the western country offered good sheep territory with an abundance of feed and wild hay that could be purchased from \$1 to \$1.50 a ton. There was a shortage of feed from about 1844 to 1850 in the East and parts of the West, and the usual methods of coping with such a problem were adopted. Thousands of animals were slaughtered for their pelts and tallow.

One of the most interesting phases of this whole movement was the change of the character of the animal itself in the East. Mutton, which had been a minor consideration, was now looked upon as a source of salvation by the eastern sheep man. He carefully nurtured this market, carrying on an extensive program of cross-breeding and by improving the meat created an ever-growing demand, particularly in urban centers. By 1853 the New York and New England markets were relying on the mutton types and the price of this meat increased nearly one hundred per cent. over the previous decade. They continued to refine and specialize by introducing spring lamb, which came from animals twelve to fifteen weeks old and weighing forty to forty-eight pounds. They also began winter fattening meth-

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ods, getting their best sheep for this process from Kentucky and eastern Canada, which were practically devoted to these breeds. This proved highly profitable. Of course, the great ambition of these producers was to combine an animal that had good wool and mutton qualities. To this end they imported French Merinos, larger animals than those of this country, and attempted to breed them into their flocks. But the experiment failed, because of the weakness of the imported stock, which could not stand our farm life.

The foreign trade factor, which had played such a dominant part in the periodic advancement and decline of the woolen industry in America, made itself felt again during the decade between 1850 and 1860. Panic and wars across the world wrought the change. There had been harvest failures in England and Ireland in 1845, the British tariffs had been reduced, and the Crimean War broke out, which lasted from 1853 to 1856 and closed the Baltic to Russian grain. Money was again in produce, not wool. Grains and other farming commodities jumped in price and the farmer was too busy filling the demand to bother about sheep. It is estimated that exports, other than wool, were thirty-two per cent. higher from 1847 to 1859, than during the preceding seven years. Much of this progress can be attributed to the improvement of transportation facilities, which had expanded greatly. Shipping rates had come down and the railroads by 1860 were serving an area fifty times greater in the Midwest than they had covered in 1840. In addition to this, keen competition had grown up between the St. Lawrence route and the Erie Canal, which cut tariff rates between the point of embarkation and destination almost in half. But there was little comfort in all this for the sheepman. Grain, beef, hogs and dairying came before wool, and the high price of wheat was opening up the Prairie States agriculturally. Aside from this, it was difficult to get capital for live stock ventures and those who could invest put their money in cattle and hogs.

Though sheep raising was at a standstill, wool manufacture continued to advance. The static position in the field compelled the manufacturer to import more foreign wool and it is estimated that the net imports on the raw product increased seventy per cent. in volume and over one hundred per cent. in price between 1851 and 1860, while the domestic yield of fleece per sheep from 1840 to 1860

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gained fifty per cent. During the latter period the wool grower strove for heavier fleece, and the larger, coarser wooled, heavier-fleeced Merinos became the most popular. Those still interested in the production of fine wool introduced the Silesian Merino, a sturdy, fine-fleeced animal with none of the poor traits of the Saxon, but it remained solely an interest of this group. At this time the sheep raiser also strove for increased secretion of yolk in the fleece, though the feature made little difference in price as far as the manufacturer was concerned.

Like all military upheavals, the Civil War was to alter the course of the woolen industry materially. Shortage of cotton caused an increased demand for wool of the coarse or medium types, which was to be used for military purposes. Despite the size of orders the increase in domestic and world wool supply prevented any pronounced rise on a gold basis, the average price of coarse wool being only nine per cent. higher from 1861 to 1865 than it was in 1860. The currency price of all grades increased greatly after the suspension of special payments in 1862. The sheep population increased rapidly throughout the war and by 1867 there were approximately thirty-six million in sheep east of the Rockies and north of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia, and about thirty-nine million in the West, while the North contained only sixteen million.

During the war the mutton market grew rapidly, because of the fact that it was cheaper to produce than pork. At the same time the clip was greatly increased, rising from three to nearly four pounds per head between 1860 and 1870. This gain reflected the intelligent reduction of flocks that took place in the late 'sixties, when the weaker animals were eliminated from flocks and the owner concentrated on improving his wool yield. According to some authorities, the domestic clip nearly doubled during the struggle, but manufacture grew so rapidly that raw wool imports also doubled. In the meantime the newer states of the West were gaining in sheep despite the lack of sufficient capital. Their greatest asset was an abundant and rich area of pasture land which could be had for the asking. Rise in prices and cheap freight rates prompted many men in the prairie region to enter wool production as a major enterprise, with flocks numbering between two to five thousand animals. In the East there was excitement about

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another Merino—the American or Vermont Merino—which had been bred by George Campbell, who exhibited twelve of his animals at Hamburg, Germany, in 1863, and won two firsts and a second prize against the cream of European sheep. Soon after that the demand for American rams came from all parts of the world, particularly Australia and South America. The animal commanded high prices, rams selling in the American market from \$3,500 to \$5,000 a head and ewes bringing \$100 to \$300 a head.

There was a sharp decline in woolen prices after the war. The cotton famine was over in the North and new productive sources in Argentina, South Africa, India and Australia glutted the world market and depressed prices. The situation was further complicated by the large army woolen stocks that were thrown on the market. Some readjustment had to be made if the sheep and wool industry was to be saved, and the first measure came through the wholesale reduction of animals, especially in the East and North Central States, where the total sheep population was cut from thirty-six million to twenty-two million five hundred thousand between 1867 and 1871. Many sheep were driven West at this time with the hope that they would be able to realize more than could be secured by their slaughter for pelts and tallow. In other wool raising sections of the world the same process was being followed.

The trend from this time onward was definitely westward. Rising land values in the East and farm competition were mainly responsible for the shift. The change was most perceptible in Texas, New Mexico and part of Colorado, where the degenerate Mexican stock was bred with Merinos. As mentioned previously, these mongrel sheep were brought to Mexico by the Spaniards long before the settlement of New England, and the domestic manufacture of wool was firmly fixed in that country early in the sixteenth century. The steady improvement of New Mexican stock through the infusion of Merino blood led it to become a supply point for breeding animals sent to other parts of the Far West. By 1880 the industry was firmly established in California, where seventy-nine per cent. of the stock were high grade Merinos. The first sheep in the Northwest were imported to Oregon in 1829 by the Hudson Bay Company station at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. In 1870 some sheep reached southeastern

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Washington from this State and later went into northern Idaho and western Montana. Most were predominantly Merino, with the Montana flock possessing a pronounced admixture of mutton blood. This was soon bred out and by 1886 we are told that ninety-five per cent. of the wool clip in that State was fine or fine medium. In point of fact, the Merino breed in this section represented nine-tenths of total stock grazing here, and as far as the national sheep population was concerned it represented eighty per cent. of all the sheep in the country.

The sheep industry in the Far West was a major enterprise from the outset, especially in the Rocky Mountain region, which embraces the states of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and Nevada. From every standpoint it met the requirements of the sheep raiser and has continued to be the center of his activities since 1890. In the early days flocks grew with unprecedented rapidity in these parts, as is demonstrated by a report which states that during the 'seventies there was a gain of nine hundred per cent. against two hundred and ninety for the rest of the Far West. Its importance is further revealed by the fact that by 1890 a quarter of the national sheep total was to be found here. The most concrete and graphic indications of the growth of the sheep industry in the Far West is revealed in the following statistical material: In 1866 it is estimated that this section contributed only fifteen per cent. of the wool clip; in 1873 twenty-five per cent.; and in 1885, forty-five per cent. By 1890 it was the home of half the sheep in the country.

During the two decades between 1870 and 1890, the sheep industry continued to decline in the Central West and New England as well as other parts of the eastern seaboard. As a measure of indicating this we again resort to interesting statistical information to be found in the following table:

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
New England	1,450,000	1,362,000	937,000	563,000	306,000
Mid-Atlantic	4,249,000	3,802,000	3,341,000	2,098,000	1,391,000
Southern	4,474,000	5,077,000	5,047,000	3,415,000	3,172,000
North Central	11,165,000	10,566,000	9,450,000	6,900,000	6,535,000
Central West	2,474,000	3,152,000	2,899,000	3,217,000	3,574,000
United States	28,478,000	42,876,000	40,876,000	39,853,000	39,644,000

(Adult sheep to the nearest thousand.)

The panic of 1893 convinced the farmer that sheep raising was a range industry and had no place on his establishment. This economic

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debacle again brought a trail of slaughter in its wake. Thousands of animals east of the Rockies were butchered for their pelts and tallow and an equally large percentage died from neglect and disease. The United States Department of Agriculture estimated that between 1894 and 1897 New England production decreased forty-three per cent., the Mid-Atlantic forty-seven per cent., the South thirty-one per cent., the North Central States forty-six per cent., the Central West twenty-six per cent., and the Far West five per cent. Almost all the decline in the latter section occurred in Texas, California, Nevada and New Mexico. Utah and Washington lost slightly, while in the remainder of the region, which included Montana, Wyoming and Idaho, there was a gain registered.

The free wool period, which existed from 1893 to 1897, also had a definite effect in depressing prices and was to change the character of sheep raising in the Far West to some extent. The western sheepman turned to mutton and imported new blood lines, among them the Delaine Merino and other strains of the same breed, which carried a good grade of wool and a fair mutton carcass. After some experimentation the Delaines were supplanted by the Rambouillet, purely a mutton breed, which gave a better quality meat. Meanwhile, in the East and Middle West, the feeder system had been introduced and "hothouse lamb" was finding a good market in urban centers. These young animals, which were usually slaughtered between the ages of six and eight weeks, became a highly profitable business, wholesale prices ranging from five to ten dollars a head. In the Far West a market for feeders was created by the packing companies, who, short of mutton supplies, sent agents out to purchase fat wethers. The rangeman also began to send his stock to the corn belt for feeding and during the winter of 1889-90 it is estimated that some 625,000 head were fed in Nebraska alone. Other feeding stations were located in Kansas and later at the stockyards near St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota, where they were fed wheat screenings and other mill stuff.

During the latter 'nineties sheep had supplanted cattle on many western ranges and by 1900 this section was fully stocked. The drop in wool prices and high production costs hastened the mutton cross on the range. In 1910 the tariff board found that nearly sixty per cent. of the Rocky Mountain range rams and ten per cent. of those in

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the Southwest were mutton type, with the following stock being most popular: the half-bred Rambouillet-Cotswold, the Lincoln, the Romney, and the three-quarter Rambouillet. Just before the World War, it appeared that fashion would demand fine fabrics made of Merino, but this trend was throttled with the outbreak of hostilities, when coarse wool was again called for in quantity.

Montana, as the second largest wool producing State in the country, offers an interesting study of the sheep industry, which has been one of the most important parts of her economy since 1890. The mountainous nature of the country, with its foothills and valleys, where the winter snow covering is seldom deep enough to prevent pasturing, offers admirable territory for sheep raising. Furthermore, her arid climatic conditions are no handicap, for the sheep can be grazed on semi-desert types of land, and favor weeds to cured grasses.

The sheep population of Montana reached its peak between 1900 and 1905, with a probable total of six million head. From then until 1920, when there were approximately two million, there was a steady decline. After the latter year the number began to rise again, reaching over four million in 1930, a figure which has been approximated since. To understand these fluctuations one must investigate some of the methods and the problems that have confronted the sheep grower during the existence of the industry here. Prior to 1910, there was unrestricted use of public lands, with the flockmaster owning little property and raising a small amount of supplementary feed. His principal objective was wool, while mutton remained secondary until the transition to the ewe lamb basis in 1910. Roughly, one can divide the history of the sheep industry in Montana into three phases, the first occurring before 1910, the second from 1910 to 1920, when there was rapid homesteading and farm development, and the third from the latter year to the present, during which time many of these holdings have been abandoned and a system of absentee ownership has been instituted. More recently the control of range land by purchase has been accelerated, resulting in high land investment and large land indebtedness on many ranches. In this connection, it is estimated that three-quarters of the area has passed into private hands, though substantial acreage has also been forfeited to the government for delinquent taxes, more than four and a half million acres reverting to the government for this reason between 1920 and 1932.

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For years the range operator has attempted to get the Federal and State land laws revised, land values and lease rates established, and taxes lowered. The general consensus is that until these problems are met there will be no stability nor permanency in ranching, nor will the much needed program of conservation get the attention it merits.

Today ranches vary in size in accordance with their sheep populations, which generally number between one to three thousand head. The larger establishments are often operated on borrowed capital and subject to "financial hazard," due to price fluctuation. The fact of the matter is that the whole range activity has been systematized to such an extent that it not only demands a man who knows sheep but also one who is an astute manager. It is big business in its broadest sense, a business that reacts readily to economic change though it may occur across the world.

In concluding this review one must emphasize the important place the sheep industry has occupied in the commercial, industrial and agricultural, and physical development of the Nation. It remains a highly important factor in our economy, and in the economy of the world, where it holds a preëminent position, being second only to Australia in the production of wool. Recent economic disturbances have affected it as they have in the past, and means have been taken to insure its future which are so new and controversial that it is impossible to comment upon them impartially. The fact remains, however, that this type of husbandry, which began on such a modest scale, has been and continues to be highly significant in our progress.

Rudolph F. W. Molt, Pioneer Sheep Raiser and Banker

By J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



THE progress and development Montana has enjoyed during her Statehood can be largely attributed to men of the caliber of Rudolph F. W. Molt, leading citizen of Billings and pioneer settler of this Commonwealth, where he was long known as a highly successful sheep raiser and financier. Aside from his outstanding business success he achieved prominence in the social and civic affairs of his surroundings and was affectionately esteemed by a host of friends and associates, who admired him for his fine personal qualities.

Mr. Molt was born at Klein-Waabs, Germany, January 19, 1859, the son of Hans and Louisa (Witt) Molt. His schooling was limited and for a time he served in the German Imperial Army. Being an ambitious and adventurous young man he determined to seek his fortune in the New World and arrived in the United States in 1886, settling in the State of Iowa, where he began to learn the language and customs of his adopted home. A year later he came to Montana and turned his attention to the problem then occupying the vast energies of America's pioneers, the development of the great West. From the outset of his career here he was to be identified with sheep ranching, beginning as a herder. Impressed with the possibilities and the substantial returns sheep raising offered he began to think of starting a flock of his own. But he was severely handicapped, lacking the necessary capital, and was not fully informed on the methods that were being practiced. To satisfy his curiosity he asked his employer how much grazing land cost and was informed it was free, that the government owned it and anybody who wished could pasture his stock on it. The information came as an unexpected and pleasant surprise to the young German immigrant. Mr. Molt, who was earning about fifty dollars a month, began to save, and by 1889 had sufficient funds to start his own flock, which he was to increase gradu-



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Rudolph Molt.



Alvina Mott

RUDOLPH F. W. MOLT, SHEEP RAISER AND BANKER

ally during the years that followed, until he had acquired a herd of approximately thirty thousand head, which established him as one of the most outstanding and successful sheep raisers in this section of the country.

When he bought his first herd he ranged in the Bull Mountains and adjacent territory. Finding that too crowded for his expansion, he moved to Joliet, Montana, and there ranged on what is called the Pryor Mountains, grazing as far south as the Elk Basin country in Wyoming and as far north as the Lake Basin country in Montana. Then the Northern Pacific Railroad notified all sheep raisers they would either have to purchase the land or stay off, so in 1900 he purchased fifty thousand acres of land from the Northern Pacific Railroad in Stillwater and Yellowstone counties, about twenty miles northwest of Billings. His affairs progressed so satisfactorily that in 1915 he built a beautiful brick home in Billings and retired from the sheep business, which he was not to reënter again until 1931. In the meantime, however, he had become one of the most respected agricultural and business leaders in this region. In 1912 he became one of the organizers and a member of the board of directors of the Bank of Montana, at Billings, continued in this capacity after it became the Montana National Bank and retained his interest in the institution until 1932, when he sold out his holdings. He had also devoted much of his time to general farming, particularly wheat raising, had added cattle and draft horses to his stock and was one of the early pioneers in the development of the oil industry in this part of the country. It is estimated that he spent over one hundred thousand dollars to drill one well in Hail Stone County Basin, and while the project did not prove successful he took his losses gracefully and was happy over the fact that others had not been induced to invest as was originally planned. The underlying philosophy in his business success and transactions was based on a rule which he established for himself early in his career that prevented him from borrowing beyond his means. He also was a reasonable person to deal with and could be relied upon to make a fair trade. This is demonstrated in his negotiations with the railroad, for when it came through his property in Stillwater County he donated the right-of-way to the road. Later the railroad company designated a special townsite which it named Molt, not far from Billings.

RUDOLPH F. W. MOLT, SHEEP RAISER AND BANKER

Feeling that he was too busy to be a candidate for public office or for the lodge and fraternal life that appealed to most men, Mr. Molt devoted most of his time to his business and agricultural pursuits. He was, however, a member of the Sons of Herman. A staunch Republican in his political views, he interested himself in politics only as a private citizen.

On August 4, 1893, Rudolph F. W. Molt married Alvina Lehfeldt, daughter of Rudolph and Mary (Witt) Lehfeldt. She was born December 3, 1870, in Denison, Crawford County, Iowa, and in 1885 came with her parents to Montana Territory. The father settled about two miles from the present town of Broadview, where he entered into the sheep raising business. About 1890 he sold his holdings and returned to Iowa, there spending the remainder of his life. His daughter remained in the West and became the wife of Mr. Molt. She died February 17, 1936. The children of this marriage were: 1. Emma Molt, born January 3, 1895, educated in Billings and in the State of California; married, October 15, 1919, J. Arthur Wismeyer, a retail shoe merchant of Billings, who died May 19, 1937; their children were: i. Edwin Molt Wismeyer, born October 1, 1922. ii. June Ann Wismeyer, born in Billings on June 3, 1926. 2. Bertha Molt, born in Silesia, Carbon County, March 30, 1896, also educated at Billings, Montana, and in California; married, June 12, 1919, Donald T. Shawhan, of Southern descent and the son of William and Polly Ann (Keller) Shawhan. Mr. Shawhan was a sales executive until Mr. Molt retired, when he assumed the management of the Molt ranch and other family interests. Since he took over the property he has improved the sheep herd by careful breeding and has gradually increased the number of cattle. Mr. and Mrs. Shawhan are the parents of two children: i. Donald Molt Shawhan, born in Billings, June 16, 1920. ii. Donna Belle Shawhan, born in Billings, June 3, 1922. 3. Alma Molt, born December 24, 1898, in Billings, died November 13, 1910.

The death of Rudolph F. W. Molt occurred on January 24, 1939, at the age of eighty years. He remained active in the many affairs that interested him until within a few months of his death, and all who knew him admired his vigorous and splendid personality. His accomplishments, character and mind earned for him the respect of his fellow-citizens, in whose memories he will long live as an inspiring force.



June Ann Wisneger Emma M. Wisneger Edwin Holt Wisneger
David J. Arthur Wisneger



Bertha M. Shawhan

Donna B. Shawhan

Donald M. Shawhan

Donald T. Shawhan

Texas Before Union

By T. C. RICHARDSON, DALLAS, TEXAS*



MARCH 2 is celebrated for the signing of the Texas declaration of independence. In the gray dawn of St. Patrick's Day—March 17—the *ad interim* government was perfected by the swearing in of the new officials under a constitution adopted earlier in the night.

On October 22 the first President and other officers duly elected by the people took office, fulfilling the constitutional premises of which the declaration was the basis. Which is the real birthday of the Republic?

From declaration of independence to fully representative constitutional government was less than eight months in Texas, a process which extended over thirteen years, 1776 to 1789, in the United States. In both cases the final event derived from a long succession of causes, and in both cases tragic reverses preceded victory. There were the inseparable elements of personal ambition and true patriotism, of self-seeking and public spirit, of shining leadership and indomitable courage in the ranks, in their eternal struggle with crass ineptitude in high places and indifference or pusillanimous cowardice among the multitude.

The period between March 2, 1836 and the induction of permanent government October 22 was therefore a period of travail, of uncertainty, of flaming self-sacrifice which shone the more brightly in its frame of intrigue and disorganization. If we accept the declaration signed in the lowly blacksmith shop at Washington-on-the-Brazos, on that cold March day as the beginning of the Republic of Texas, we must view the setting and trace the events to which it gave rise.

At the front, but hopelessly scattered were perhaps one thousand men under arms, while the several Mexican columns numbered more than seven times the defenders.

*This article is from advance sheets of "East Texas—Its History and Its Makers," of which Mr. Richardson is author and editor, several chapters being contributed by specialists. The history, in four volumes, is soon to appear from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc.

TEXAS BEFORE UNION

Dr. Grant and F. W. Johnson were on the Nueces, where their remaining forces were destroyed, and Dr. Grant lost his life, on the day the convention was formally declaring Texas' independence, at Washington-on-the-Brazos.

Fannin was entrenched at Goliad with detachments thrown out beyond. Travis and his little band in the Alamo were already besieged by Santa Anna. True, they had warning of the Mexican invasion, but even those closer to the theater of action were not aware of its full import. Along with such news of the Mexican army as reached East Texas came also the story of many recruits landing along the coast. These reports were exaggerated by the time they sifted through the piney woods, while the Mexican threat was more serious than they could comprehend.

On February 27 Governor Henry Smith, at San Felipe, had issued a handbill containing a copy of Colonel Travis' first call for help, and adding his own eloquent appeal: "I call upon you as an officer, I implore you as a man, to fly to the aid of your besieged countrymen. . . . The call is upon ALL who are able to bear arms . . . or in fifteen days the heart of Texas will be the seat of war. This is not imaginary. The enemy from 6,000 to 8,000 strong are on our border and rapidly moving by forced marches for the colonies." Honor, patriotism, "even humanity" were invoked with fine rhetorical flourishes, and the handbills from Gail Borden's tiny press went flying in every direction.

It must have met the East Texas delegates on their way to the convention. The "victory or death" message of February 24 reached Washington on the 28th. Refugees fleeing the invaders began to trickle in from the border settlements. Houston arrived on the 29th from the council fires of his Cherokee friends, where he had exerted all his influence with Bowles to keep his warriors neutral. Certainly the convention members and the Brazos settlements were well informed on the crisis at Bexar before the first gavel fell on March 1.

The cold dread which struck through their souls was more numbing than the wet norther which chilled their bodies. Instead of firing the people into a resurgence of the fighting spirit which a few short months before had swept everything before it, the "most heroic document in American history" (Travis' letter of February 24) seemed to fall on deaf ears. The wrangling of the Governor and the Council

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during past months had done its deadly work of undermining morale in the whole population. Whom to believe? Whom to follow? What was true, what mere rumor?

"This is not imaginary," Governor Smith had written, but how were they to know? There had been too many proclamations, accusations and recriminations. In this mood the unknown, more fearsome than the known, combined with the little which was known, to intensify the indecision.

On March 2 General Houston had issued an "army order" which was in reality a rallying call to the citizenship announcing the declaration of independence and the siege of Bexar. "Let the citizens of the east march to the combat," he trumpeted, appealing particularly to his neighbors of the Redlands, who were scarcely aware of the bloody wave sweeping into the western settlements. A rumor was extant which said Houston was on the way to the front with 10,000 men—how far it spread nobody now knows.

The sad story is too well known. The campaign which followed has been voluminously characterized as a masterly military maneuver—after the event. But it left a devastated country from the frontier to the Trinity, and in sacrificing their hard-won property without a battle, the General planted the seed of antagonism between east and west, which was to plague his own political future and to persist, for other reasons, to the detriment of all Texas, almost to our own times.

The Fifty Days—From Washington-on-the-Brazos to San Jacinto was recorded fifty days of tragedy unequalled in American annals. All the delegates did not arrive on time, but the convention assembled and organized on March 1.

On one thing, and one only, were all minds united—Texas must form a new government. The provisional government had forfeited respect and confidence. East of the Trinity the sentiment for independence was not unanimous, but once organized, the convention acted swiftly and with singular unanimity. Richard Ellis, of Red River municipality, was chosen permanent chairman, and George C. Childress, of Milam, moved for the appointment of a committee to draft a declaration of independence, of which he became chairman.

Childress may have had a draft already prepared, for the committee was ready with the document when the convention met next day. James Gaines, of Sabine, and Collin McKinney, of Red River,

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were the other two East Texans on the committee, with Bailey Harde-
man, of Matagorda, and Edward Conrad, of Refugio, to complete its
personnel. Two members, Roberts and Taylor, of Nacogdoches,
yielded to the overwhelming majority and signed the declaration
after exhibiting some reluctance to thus defy Santa Anna, who to all
intents and purposes, was the government of Mexico.

Sam Houston, the East Texas Paladin, represented Refugio in
this convention, and seems to have participated little in debate,
beyond making "A declamatory address" in the Committee of the
Whole, which, incidentally was the only discussion offered upon the
declaration submitted by the drafting committee. It was over within
an hour, and a motion by Goodrich, of Washington, ordered that
1,000 copies be printed by the San Felipe printer (Gail Borden) and
sent to the principal settlements.

The delegates present at the signing of the declaration numbered
an even half hundred. Eight signed later. There were thirty-one
from East Texas, as follows:

HARRISBURG—Lorenzo de Zavala, Andrew Briscoe.
JASPER—George W. Smyth, S. H. Everett.
JEFFERSON—Claiborne West, W. B. Scates.
LIBERTY—M. B. Menard, A. B. Hardin, J. B. Wood.
MILAM—Sterling C. Robertson, George C. Childress.
NACOGDOCHES—John S. Roberts, Robert Potter, Charles S. Tay-
lor, Thomas J. Rusk.
RED RIVER—Robert Hamilton, Collin McKinney, A. H. Latimer,
Samuel P. Carson, Richard Ellis, William C. Crawford.
SABINE—James Gaines, William Clark, Jr.
SAN AUGUSTINE—E. O. LeGrand, Stephen W. Blount.
SHELBY—Martin O. Palmer, Sidney O. Pennington.
WASHINGTON—Benjamin B. Goodrich, James G. Swisher, George
W. Barnett, Jesse Grimes.

From the other municipalities were the following twenty-seven
delegates:

AUSTIN—Charles B. Stewart, Thomas Barnett.
BASTROP—John W. Burton, Thomas J. Gazley, Robert M. Cole-
man.
BEXAR—Francisco Ruiz, J. Antonio Navarro, Jesse B. Badgett,
Samuel A. Maverick, William Motley.
BRAZORIA—James Collingsworth, Edwin Waller, Asa Brigham,
J. S. D. Byrom.

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COLORADO—William Menefee, William D. Lacey.

GONZALES—John Fisher, Matthew Caldwell.

GOLIAD—David Thomas, Edward Conrad.

JACKSON—Elijah Stapp.

MATAGORDA—Bailey Hardeman, S. Rhoads Fisher.

REFUGIO—James Power, Sam Houston.

SAN PATRICIO—John Turner, John W. Bower.

Prior to the vote on the declaration of independence a committee to draft a constitution was appointed, one member from each municipality. Martin Palmer was chairman. Potter, Grimes, Gaines, de Zavala, Everett, Crawford, West, McKinney, Menard, were named for the other East Texas municipalities. Stewart, Waller, Coleman, Fisher (of Gonzales), Hardeman, Stapp, Power, Navarro, Menefee, Motley, Burton were other members, and the next day Houston, Hamilton, Collingsworth and Thomas were added to the committee.

Thomas J. Rusk, though not a member of the committee, took an active part in discussing the proposed constitution during its formative stages, as also did George C. Childress and Richard Ellis.

While this committee was deliberating, the convention disposed of some other matters. On March 3 it authorized the enlistment of a regiment of rangers (the birth of that famous frontier organization) and ordered the land offices closed to protect the interests of those whose service in the field might place them at a disadvantage in securing titles. The following day saw the reelection of Houston as Commander-in-Chief; March 6 he departed for the front, and the next day a militia law was passed, providing for the immediate organization therefor, and subjecting all males between seventeen and fifty years of age to militia duty.

Two days after the adoption of the declaration, the convention again elected Sam Houston Commander-in-Chief of the army, but he did not leave for the front until Travis' last messenger reached Washington on March 6, and Robert Potter moved "that the convention do immediately adjourn, arm, and march to the relief of the Alamo."

With his acute political perception and sense of the dramatic moment, the General denounced Potter's proposal as madness, demanded that the convention stick to its job of creating a government, while he would now leave for the front, find troops to hold the enemy at bay, and "if mortal power could avail . . . relieve the brave men in the Alamo."

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A week later the land bounty for army service was raised to 1,280 acres for those who served throughout the war, with smaller amounts for shorter terms of service. The report of the constitution committee was presented March 9 and its provisions were debated until the 16th. The arrival of a messenger bringing news of the fall of the Alamo climaxed the fortnight's labors with the quick adoption of the constitution and the election of the *ad interim* government.

The convention stuck manfully to its deliberations until the news of the Alamo's fall came on March 16. Some members departed without ceremony, and a motion to adjourn to Nacogdoches was offered by Richard Ellis. David G. Burnet stood for finishing their work, and at ten o'clock that night the constitution was adopted; at midnight Burnet and de Zavala were elected to head the government, and four hours later they were sworn in.

"St. Patrick's day in the morning" and Texas was a going concern. Doubtless James Power, the lone Irishman in the convention, paid double tribute to the day with a clover-leaf in his hat as he departed for his Refugio home, already in the toils of Urrea's army. The government went in the other direction, setting up housekeeping at Harrisburg, on Buffalo Bayou, where Mrs. Harris, widow of its founder, gave them shelter. There were beds for the President, Vice-President and Secretary of State, but the secretaries of War and Navy, and the Attorney-General slept on the floor rolled in their blankets.

The eastward movement of the colonists had been under way for more than a month when the President and his official family moved in the same direction. Corn planting had been halted, and the "Runaway Scrape" had spread from Refugio to the Trinity; by this time few were bold enough to stay at home. Men, at the moment, were naturally more concerned with saving their families than with saving the country. Once their loved ones were beyond danger many of them would hasten to face the enemy, as they did. A few never stopped until beyond the Sabine, and never came back.

At the Front—The Mexican army began the siege of the Alamo, February 23, and in response to Travis' appeal, a valiant band from Gonzales made their way through the Mexican lines and joined the defenders inside the walls on March 1 as the convention assembled for business. On March 3 the devoted J. B. Bonham, returning from

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a futile mission to Fannin at Goliad, rejoined his besieged comrades; on the same day Travis sent his last appeal to the president of the convention, and foreseeing his doom, also wrote a friend in Washington County to "take care of my little boy."

It was this despairing message which reached the convention four days after its ringing challenge to Mexican dictatorship, and two days after Houston had again been named commander-in-chief, clearing up the equivocal situation prevailing since late in January, when he had abandoned the army at Refugio to its own devices and the "Mata-moros madness." Announcing himself a candidate for delegate from Refugio to the forthcoming convention at Washington-on-the-Brazos, Houston returned to San Felipe and was furloughed by Governor Smith until March 1. Now that his authority was restored he tarried still to address the convention justifying his "former course as commander-in-chief."

Brilliant, courageous, but erratic, Robert Potter was also a master of popular oratory as well as a man of action. It is said that in later days his was the only tongue Houston feared on the hustings. His proposal that the convention march to the aid of Travis did not prevail, but it at least had the effect of starting the General to the front.

But the "brave men in the Alamo" were already beyond mortal power. Almost in the self-same hour that the courier dashed into Washington, the Mexicans were dispatching the last survivors of the fruitless defense. The commander-in-chief made a brave showing with his martial feather, his gift sword and a pistol, his high-heeled boots and silver spurs, as he swung his fine figure into the heavily ornamented saddle, but three volunteers and his aide, Major George Hockley, were his only followers as he spurred westward to stop Santa Anna's army.

Next morning at dawn the General employed one of the arts learned from his Indian friends. Laying his ear to the ground he listened in vain for the vibrations of Travis' morning gun. Late in the afternoon of March 11 Houston reached Gonzales, having previously dispatched orders to Colonel Neill and Colonel Fannin to join forces and march to the relief of Travis. A few hours after his arrival the little town was thrown into mourning; when the tragic news of the Alamo came, there was scarcely a Gonzales family which had not a member among the slain.

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Colonel Neill reported 374 men under orders at Gonzales, but they were poorly equipped. The General proceeded to reorganize the tiny army, and on the same day (March 14) that Fannin received his orders to retreat to Victoria, Houston began the retreat from Gonzales. He was on the Colorado three days later, when the convention was concluding its work of creating a civil government and moving to Harrisburg.

From Gonzales, began a series of letters from General Houston, to various friends and members of the government, which punctuated the succeeding forty days before San Jacinto. On March 17 from Burnham's (on the Colorado): "I reached this point with about six hundred men. . . . We are here; and if only three hundred men remain on this side of the Brasos, I will die with them or conquer our enemies soothe the people, get them to remain, they shall have notice if I deem it necessary. Let them entertain no fears for the present. . . . Rouse the Redlanders to battle!"

On the same day to Colonel Fannin: "The Redlanders are already in motion. . . . The present force (here) numbers four hundred and twenty effective men."

Marching down the left bank of the Colorado to Beason's (opposite the present town of Columbus) the General went into camp and occupied the time with intensive drilling of his men.

On March 21 from Beason's Colonel Hockley "ordered by the Commander-in-Chief" acknowledged letters from Secretary of War Rusk and (he) "directs me to assure you of the vigilance and caution which will be used, and of his entire confidence in the army it has never been surpassed by any army of like description in any country."

And two days later: "We now have upward of seven hundred men, and not one on the sick list in high spirits and anxious to meet the foe General Sesma three miles from our encampment with five or six hundred men, a hundred and fifty cavalry, and two small pieces of artillery. His troops are badly clad and the state of the weather such as to render them almost ineffectual from cold. 24th. General Gregory and some other gentlemen have this moment arrived. . . . They report about two hundred men on their march who will join tomorrow."



*(From a daguerreotype made about 1850.
Photo by Cecil Thomson)*

SAM HOUSTON

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Hither, Peter Kerr brought the news of Fannin's surrender and Ward's disaster, and was ordered under arrest by the General, in order to discredit his appalling story in the eyes of the army. This was March 25, and the following day the retreat was resumed. Afterward the General divulged his intention of crossing the river and attacking Sesma on the 27th, had not Kerr's report upset his plans.

Before leaving this camp, however, the General himself "snatched a moment" to write his friend Colonel Thomas J. Rusk, now Secretary of War, reiterating the weakness of the enemy and the fine spirits of his own troops, "but how this news (of Fannin's defeat) will affect them I know not. . . . Men are flocking to camp forty-eight muskets and a supply of ammunition came opportunely last night. . . . I am only looking out to be useful to my country and the cause of liberty. . . . Oh, why did the cabinet leave Washington?" "It was a poor compliment to me," he had complained, for the cabinet to suppose that "I would not advise of any necessity which might arise for their removal. . . . I sent word the first moment of leisure and all was calm in my communications to Mr. Collingsworth" (chairman of the Military Committee).

While chiding the cabinet for its retreat the General continued his own Fabian maneuver, and March 29 was near the Brazos calmly planning to cross over "if it should be wise." Had he forgotten those brave words from Burnham's: "if only three hundred men remain on this side of the Brasos I will die with them or"?

He was still anticipating "ninety men from the Red-lands" but implored Rusk "for Heaven's sake do not drop back again with the seat of government! Send fifty agents, if need be, to the United States." Two days later he was still retreating and again reassuring Rusk that the "force of the enemy has been greatly exaggerated" and "The enemy would have been beaten at the Colorado" (when his and Sesma's forces were about equal and only three miles apart, it will be recalled). Now, eight days later he had so far out-marched the "ill-clad" enemy with its starving horses that his scouts can't find it and it occurs to him to belatedly explain "My intention was to have attacked him on the second night after the day" when Peter Kerr arrived with news of Fannin's disaster. He now had "between seven and eight hundred effective men" and hoped "I can keep them together have succeeded thus far beyond my hopes will do the best I

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can . . . the fame of Jackson could never compensate me for my anxiety and mental pain."

Next day (April 1) Major Hockley wrote Rusk that even if the enemy had crossed the Colorado, as reported, but doubted by the General, "he cannot reach this point . . . for some days because of the situation of the roads and the starved condition of his horses." Eighty of the long-looked-for Redlanders had arrived "and what hope to entertain of aid from that quarter it is impossible to say." But Houston had greater faith in his Redlander friends, and in mentioning the arrival of the same contingent referred to by Hockley, added: "The arrival of others is daily expected."

"The miserable condition of their (the Mexican) troops" was again mentioned to David Thomas, acting Secretary of War (Rusk having left Harrisburg to join the army) on April 6 and two days later Houston wrote Captain J. N. Allen who was on the march to join the army: "Assure the inhabitants generally that the army will not cross the Brazos, unless to act with more effect against the enemy."

Notwithstanding the "miserable condition" of the enemy and the "fine spirits" of his own men, as so often stated by him and Hockley, the Commander-in-Chief continued to write reports and proclamations while the army murmured for action. They and the citizens saw the enemy drawing ever nearer their homes, they were anxious to attack, to check the destruction of the invaders, to take vengeance for the Alamo, and later, for Goliad.

The retreat from the Colorado and the news of Fannin's defeat intensified the fears of the people and increased the dissatisfaction in the army. At the Brazos some refused to further follow Houston's tight-lipped leadership, and others dispersed to take care of their families. Moving up river, Houston went into camp in the Brazos "bottoms," where he remained until April 13, when he crossed his army and encamped at Groce's (near the present town of Hempstead).

In the meantime Santa Anna sped eastward with his staff and a detachment of cavalry, joining Sesma on the Colorado and reaching San Felipe on March 7. Checkmated here he marched down-river and effected a crossing at Thompson's Ferry on April 12. Major Wylie Martin ascertained that Santa Anna was with the front of his army, and so notified Houston by messenger from Fort Bend.

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Learning that the Texan government was at Harrisburg, Santa Anna hastened to that point with about seven hundred men, and one small cannon. The government, which the Mexican "Napoleon of the West" confidently hoped to capture, was already gone; Burnet and de Zavala to remove their families from the danger zone, and other members of the cabinet dispersed on other affairs. From Galveston (after many futile attempts by other routes and means) by way of Harrisburg the two six-pounder guns known as "The Twin Sisters" had just reached Houston's army as it crossed the Brazos. They constituted the entire artillery equipment at San Jacinto a week later.

The Texas army was concentrated at Donaho's (a few miles out from Groce's) and on the 16th again took up its march, arriving opposite Harrisburg on Buffalo Bayou two days later.

Santa Anna had already destroyed the town and was disporting himself chasing the "traitors" who dared call themselves the government of Texas. Almost his men caught President Burnet as his boat drew away from the landing at Morgan's Point. His Excellency "El Presidente" was in high spirits, having marched from Bexar to Galveston Bay with slight armed resistance on the part of the Texan "rebels."

From the Brazos he sent a taunting message to "Mr. Houston" to the effect that "I know where he is, up there in the bushes, and as soon as I clear the country of land thieves I am coming to smoke him out." He was so happy that the struggles of his men and their mounts in the mire of Oyster Creek (near the present Sugarland) threw him into gay laughter. Six days later he was the cringing captive, begging for a mercy he had never known except by name.

As if the fates were determined to destroy the Texan army, measles broke out in camp and Houston left the sick under care of a guard of seventy-five effectives commanded by Major McNutt. This accounted for about one-fourth of his men, and with the remainder he (April 19) made a forced march down the left bank of Buffalo Bayou, crossing to the right bank between Sims' and Vince's bayous, and over the bridge on the latter stream. . . . After a trying night, breakfast was interrupted and the march to Lynch's Ferry hastily resumed when scouts reported the proximity of the enemy.

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The stage was now set for what was to be the final act in the fifty-day tragedy of discouragement, recriminations, panic among the civilian population, destruction of property, and the bloody shambles of the Alamo and Goliad. A minor skirmish occurred on the afternoon of April 20th.

Riding out with General Rusk and Colonel Alexander Horton about nine o'clock in the morning of the 21st, General Houston saw General Cos and his army pass, having crossed Vince's Bridge, the only feasible approach at the time. According to Colonel Horton, General Houston thereupon announced his intention of destroying the bridge immediately and fighting the same afternoon. He confided the first duty to Deaf Smith and a party of six, telling him that the green grass would be red before his return unless they came back "like eagles."

About noon, upon the suggestion of some of his officers, the General called the first council of war of the campaign. The majority were for awaiting the enemy's attack, the others for taking the offensive. Houston listened but expressed no opinion, gave no hint of his intentions. If his determination was already fixed (as stated by Colonel Horton) the council broke up without suspecting what that decision was to be.

When the rumor went around that action would again be postponed (unless the Mexicans attacked) sullen looks and mutinous murmurs swept the camp. Before crossing the Bayou two days previously the General had made (according to Judge Patrick Usher and others who heard him) one of the greatest speeches of his career. He told the men where Santa Anna was, that the time had come to strike, that victory was sure—"Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad! There will be no defeat . . . as sure as God reigns. I feel the inspiration in every fiber of my being. Trust in the God of the just and fear not!"

General Rusk also spoke eloquently and forcefully in a similar vein. When the command crossed the Bayou, sick men wept at being left behind, and only by making a draft were enough able-bodied men secured to guard the sick and the baggage train.

Wrought up by weeks of disappointment, hardships in mud and water, often lifting wagons bodily over the bogs, "often hungry and sometimes mad," says Usher, "I would have then jumped into the

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whirlpool of Niagara had General Houston called upon me to do so as a means of saving Texas." Thus inspired to expect, at long last, that their urge for action and vengeance was to be gratified at the first possible opportunity, the rumored decision of the council of war for further delay was, to speak mildly, unpopular in the ranks. An arduous night march had brought them here; there was Santa Anna just across a bit of prairie; what are we waiting for?

Free-born, self-reliant, courageous and patriotic, these men were not the sort to supinely take orders without being given a reason. They, like the "Light Brigade," would charge "into the jaws of death," and asked only to be led, or permitted. "Theirs not to reason why" had no place in the lexicon of these sturdy Texans, and if the General deliberately intended to drive them to desperation before he gave the order for action, we must credit him with being a master psychologist who almost over-played his hand. "If the order (to form for the attack) had not been given at four o'clock there would have been a mutiny before sundown," says historian Clarence Wharton.

Sending an emissary through the camp the General quickly learned the state of sentiment, and having thus far concealed his own ideas and intentions, was in a position to take advantage of the white-hot ardor of the moment. He always afterward denied being a party to the cautious counsels of his subordinates. Indeed he must have known all along that only such discipline as he had been able to instill in them, held the bold spirits of his men in leash.

In view of their oft-shown attitude, their anxiety to come to grips with the enemy at any hazard, it seems that the General should have scarcely felt justified in keeping from them the fact of Cos' arrival in Santa Anna's camp with more than five hundred men. This, he gave out, was only a part of Santa Anna's forces marching around as make-believe reinforcements.

About two o'clock in the afternoon Deaf Smith reported to the General that Vince's Bridge was destroyed. The balmy Gulf breeze swept steadily over the landscape, the Spanish moss waving gently on the trees which shaded the camp. An April sun beat down on the open prairie, hot as June farther north, and still nothing happened until the sun was half way from zenith to horizon.

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A thrill swept the camp when John A. Wharton, Judge Advocate-General, was given the word to form the army for action. A fife and drum corps struck up the strains, not of martial music, of a love song: "Will you come to the bower I have shaded for you," piped the musicians. The column moved steadily across the plain and held its fire until almost upon the breastworks of the enemy.

The details of the brief battle need not concern us here. The fighting lasted only a few minutes; the rest of the afternoon was a rout; the next day a mopping-up of straggling survivors. Cock-sure of his star and confidence in his superior numbers, His Excellency "El Presidente" was snoozing comfortably in the shade of the moss-draped liveoaks (which still stand) when his army was swept from the field by the impetuous Texans.

Bedraggled and clad in humble attire (he got rid of his resplendent uniform at the first opportunity) he was brought before the wounded "Mr." Houston the day after the battle. He who had a few days earlier laughed so heartily at the floundering of men and horses in the mire, saw the other side when his own horse bogged and he dragged himself out—wet and afoot.

He cringed and kissed the hand of the private soldier (Sylvester) who discovered him hiding in the grass. He burst into tears when his fine shirt studs belied his claim of being a private, doubtless expecting to be killed out of hand if his identity were known. But once in the presence of the man he had held in contempt, his assurance returned, his tongue found its accustomed cunning, and with a mixture of attempted flattery and unconscious pomposity he declared: "General, you can afford to be generous; you are born to no common destiny—you have conquered the Napoleon of the West."

So ended the fifty days. President Burnet was on Galveston Island living in a hovel and nursing a sick child. Houston was wounded, and shortly went to New Orleans for treatment. Nearly the whole population was east of the Trinity, many across the Sabine, whence they must slowly and painfully struggle back to their desolated homes. The Mexican troops in Texas turned homeward under orders from Santa Anna, and General Rusk followed with the Texan army to see that they observed the agreement to get out of Texas as speedily as possible.

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The East Texas Dilemma—We have seen how Houston continually expected "The Redlanders" to march in force to his aid. This was the most populous part of Texas, and had loyally done its share in the preliminary struggles. The numbers that reached the retreating Texan army during the "Fifty Days" were disappointingly small in proportion to its population, and it is only fair that we retrace this period to discover the reasons.

It will be recalled that the Cherokee Indians occupied a considerable area immediately adjacent to the East Texas white settlements. At the time of the break with Mexico, they and their associated red brethren (Shawnees and others) were estimated to number 1,500 warriors. The Cushattas and Alabamas were located along the lower Trinity, but were not so numerous. Just beyond the ostensibly friendly tribes were others, supposed to be able to muster 3,000 warriors.

At the consultation of 1835, which formed the provisional government, a resolution was passed acknowledging the rights of the Cherokees to the territory lying north of the San Antonio Road and between the Sabine River, and west to the Neches and Angelina. In February, 1836, Sam Houston (an accredited Cherokee chief in his own right), John Forbes and John Cameron carried out the instructions of the provisional government in making a treaty with thirteen tribes and parts of tribes, including the Caddos, Choctaws and Cherokees living in Texas. Houston evidently expected to enlist the Cherokees on the side of the Texans, for in December he had ordered from New Orleans "1000 Butcher knives, 1000 Tomahawks well tempered with handles" and 3,000 pounds of Kentucky chewing tobacco. He was alone, however, in trusting the Indians, and even were the latter willing to enter an offensive alliance, Houston's colleagues and constituents were better satisfied to merely forestall their giving aid to Mexico.

Despite the treaty, East Texas was by no means sure that the Indian threat had been scotched. It was currently believed that Mexican emissaries were among the Cherokees and their associated tribes, attempting to rouse them against the Anglo-Americans. It does not now appear that the Mexican government sought Cherokee help at that time. Santa Anna had brought from Mexico 6,000 or 7,000 troops, enough, as he thought, to sweep the "ungrateful" Texans from the country without help from the Indians.

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Around Nacogdoches lived many Mexicans, descendants of the early Spanish colonists. They, too, were the objects of suspicion. Irresponsible rumor and occasional friction between individuals on both sides intensified the feeling of unsafety, and men were loth to leave their families exposed to dangers at home to fight a distant enemy.

It cannot be gainsaid, however, that some of the civil authorities magnified the alleged Indian threat for the purpose of inducing military intervention by the United States. Upon the representations of private citizens, civil authorities at Nacogdoches, and even the Secretary of State, Sam P. Carson, of the *ad interim* government of Texas, General E. P. Gaines moved a part of his forces from Fort Jesup to the Sabine at about the time both Santa Anna and Houston marched east from the Brazos.

By the treaty of 1819 with Spain, the United States was bound and authorized to protect the frontiers from depredation by Indians nominally under its jurisdiction. General Gaines was ready enough to perform, and some Texans were more than ready to involve the United States in the conflict with Mexico under cover of "protecting the frontiers."

Carson (writing to President Burnet from Natchitoches, Louisiana, on April 14, 1836) alleged that the Mexicans had already enlisted Indians in the army of invasion and assured the President that General Gaines "will maintain the honor of his country and punish the aggressor" should he be "satisfied that the Mexicans have incited any Indians . . . to commit depredations on either side of the line."

Whether Carson's allegations were only the currency of diplomacy or whether they were true, the fact remains that East Texas had no way of knowing the facts. When Santa Anna ordered General Gaona to march from Bexar to Nacogdoches (after the Alamo) that news also reached East Texas, and its people had reason to believe that the enemy would soon be at their own gates. They did not know, until it was almost too late, that Gaona had been diverted through south Texas instead of coming directly to Nacogdoches as he was at first ordered to do.

During the early part of April, while Houston's army was retreating from the Colorado, and he was anxiously anticipating reinforce-

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ments from East Texas, the Nacogdoches authorities sent agents to the various Indian tribes to ascertain their attitude.

The Cherokees were reported to be hostile, and preparing for a campaign by drying meat and grinding meal. They were about to send their women and children away, and had killed an American trader among them. Michael B. Menard visited the Shawnee, Delaware and Kickapoo tribes, and though they were yet friendly, Bowles (Cherokee war chief) had been among them urging them to join in attacking the Texans. The Cherokees, it was said, reported the Caddos, Keechis, Ionies, Tehuacanas, Wacos and Comanches ready to attack, and "the Cherokees gave every indication of being ready to join them." Such statement under oath left little doubt that every East Texan would be needed at home.

The Alcalde at Nacogdoches (April 9) ordered every able-bodied Mexican in the vicinity to either cross the Sabine or entrain for the army within ten days. Several companies already organized and, en route to join Houston, were detained to protect the home grounds. Even a Mississippi company, headed by Captain (afterward General) John A. Quitman, tarried to help the refugees out of danger before resuming the march to Houston's aid. Captain Quitman's company arrived at San Jacinto the day after the battle.

About the middle of April the tension subsided. Gaona, with his Indian auxiliaries, was en route to San Felipe, not on the San Antonio road. Enough men were now enlisted to meet Gaona, and Bowles, resenting the charges of bad faith and the suspicions under which he and his people rested, indignantly denied the charges and reiterated his peaceful intentions.

With the clearing up of the East Texas situation, several companies took up the line of march for the front. No less than five companies were at or beyond Robbins' Ferry on the Trinity on their way to the main Texan army by the time it debouched upon the plain of San Jacinto. News of the victory, and Houston's admonition to "go home and plant corn" turned most of them back.

Acting upon the information from Nacogdoches (of the warlike signs among the Indians) General Gaines did station fourteen companies at the Sabine, but took the precaution to make his own investigations through Lieutenant J. Bonnell, who visited the Caddos and

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learned that Manuel Flores, a Mexican agent, had attempted to incite them to hostilities.

He also learned that the Cherokees, instead of exemplifying "a general spirit of hostility," had, in fact, killed only one man, and he knew too well the provocation which often led to such isolated cases of murder. He, therefore, remained off of Texas soil and contented himself with sending a warning message to Bowles.

At one time it was said that some twenty-five hundred Indians and mounted Mexicans were embodied within sixty miles of Nacogdoches, and the story was accepted at face value by General John T. Mason (militia commandant at Nacogdoches) and relayed to General Gaines. This, and other exaggerated and frightening rumors, seem to have originated in the minds of those miscreants who battered on the loot of abandoned homes, but they succeeded only too well in driving people out of the country, and at the same time preventing the departure of troops for the front. Where all was in confusion it was impossible to know the truth, and honest men were compelled to form their decisions according to the light available.

Whatever the true situation among the wild Indians was; however ready to attack the settlements they might have been; whether or not they were organized for a combined attack; the victory at San Jacinto turned the tables and the supposed Indian-Mexican alliance fell apart for the time being. Three years later, as we shall presently see, the intrigue flowered again with disastrous consequences to both parties.

So endeth the Fifty Days in East Texas.

From San Jacinto to Columbia—Swords and Plowshares

The first *free* day in Texas, says Henderson Yoakum, was April 22.

But freedom is not consummated on the field of clashing arms in a sudden blaze of glory. "He that conquereth himself is greater than he that taketh a city" is true of nations also, as it is of the men who compose nations. Victory over a foreign tyrant is easier than self-control, as Texas painfully learned after San Jacinto. Freedom was only planted when Santa Anna was brought low; it had yet to grow and flower in the orderly processes of representative government.

"While an enemy to our independence remains in Texas the work is incomplete," wrote the commander-in-chief to his comrades of San

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Jacinto. "Discipline and subordination will render you invincible . . . when liberty is firmly established by your patience and valor—" This on his departure from San Jacinto, May 5, leaving the command to General Rusk. True, Houston was speaking as a soldier to soldiers, but his wise injunctions might well have applied to the more fundamental, less spectacular, but no less onerous and responsible functions of citizenship.

From far and wide volunteers were responding to Texas' call. The East Texas contingent, five hundred strong, were at the Trinity, and others were following on the same route. Captain Quitman's company of Mississippians were in hearing of the guns of San Jacinto and marched on to the field next day. Coming *via* Matagorda Bay, after having been detained in the British West Indies as pirates for a month, one hundred and seventy-four volunteers under Major Edwin Morehouse cut their way through eight miles of canebrake and were also in hearing of the battle. Weary as they were, they hastened over the remaining dozen miles of rain-drenched prairie, reaching the scene early on the morning of the 22nd.

Some of these marched next day under Captain Daniel Kokernot to break up the tory clique east of the Trinity, whose treasonable correspondence with the Mexican invaders was revealed by captured papers. Driven to cover or from the country though they were, their names were never afterward divulged by Captain Kokernot, in fine consideration for worthy relatives of the guilty. Had the battle been delayed a week, says John Henry Brown, Houston could have mustered nearly 1,600 men (double the number in the battle), and in another week fully 2,000 men would have been gathered under the Texas banner.

The capture of Santa Anna and all but a few survivors of his army broke the Mexican invasion. Filisola, close behind his chief, began a retreat as soon as he learned of the disaster (April 23), recrossed the Brazos that night and ordered the concentration of Urrea's, Gaona's and Sesma's divisions with his own, fifteen miles from Fort Bend. Here, on the 25th, a council of war quickly decided to retire beyond the Colorado. Swollen streams delayed the march, yet they almost reached the Colorado before Deaf Smith overtook the fleeing four thousand (April 28) with Santa Anna's order (of April 22) commanding the withdrawal of all Mexican troops.

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Houston had demanded the complete evacuation of Texas, but, as General Rusk suggested, the Mexican officers might refuse to obey a captive general, a compromise was accepted. Urrea was ordered to Guadalupe Victoria, Gaona and Filisola to retire to Bexar and await further orders. "I have agreed with General Houston for an armistice," he wrote Filisola, "until matters can be so regulated that the war shall cease forever."

President Burnet and Vice-President de Zavala arrived at the San Jacinto camp April 28, and entered into discussion of a treaty with Santa Anna. Opposition urged that a treaty with even a dictator under duress would not be binding; others demanded Santa Anna's trial and execution for his barbarities. The matter dragged for two weeks and was finally concluded at Velasco with two treaties—one public, one secret.

A decree of the President and cabinet (May 3) assigned the spoils of battle to the victors. The men voluntarily voted \$3,000 of the captured cash and receipts from the sale of property to the navy; the remainder was divided equally among officers and men—less than \$20 each.

On May 5, the President and cabinet, the commander-in-chief, the captive dictator and his suite, sailed for Galveston on the steamboat "Yellowstone" (the same on which the army crossed the Brazos three weeks earlier) and General Rusk took command of the army. Galveston was destitute of accommodations and three days later the government, with its distinguished prisoner, moved to Velasco. General Houston left Galveston for New Orleans a few days later, and did not again see Texas until July, after a partial recovery from his wound.

By the treaty of Velasco, Mexican troops were to pass beyond the Rio Grande, respect property, and tarry not. The Texan army was to follow, but not come closer than five leagues to the retreating forces. Prisoners were to be exchanged, and Santa Anna was to be sent to Mexico "as soon as it shall be deemed proper." General Filisola was already beyond Goliad, where the detachment from Bexar joined him, when the treaty of Velasco was brought to him (May 26) for ratification. Here we dismiss the crestfallen leaders and their hungry, weary followers.

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Opposition to the release of Santa Anna was widespread and growing. The public did not know that his return to Mexico was conditioned (in the secret agreement) upon his solemn engagement to "prepare matters in the cabinet of Mexico" for a permanent settlement of the differences between the two governments. Whether President Burnet reposed greater confidence in Santa Anna's good faith may be questioned, but his position as the responsible head of the civil government did not permit him to act on his personal feelings. It is a necessary fiction in diplomatic procedure that good faith is presumed.

Despite the forceful arguments of Lamar the government proceeded with plans to fulfill its engagements. Santa Anna and his suite were embarked on the war schooner "Invincible." He was to be accompanied by Vice-President Lorenzo de Zavala and Bailey Harde-man as commissioners to Mexico. Before the "Invincible" could sail (June 3)there arrived Thomas J. Green with two hundred and thirty volunteers, and this contingent promptly intervened to prevent the departure of Santa Anna. The dictator was practically kidnapped from the hands of the civil authorities by men who had never until that day set foot on the soil of Texas. Here we draw a veil over the unsavory controversy. History has vindicated President Burnet, than whom no purer patriot lived. The rash action of Green and other militarists in taking matters out of the hands of the civil authorities certainly did not help Texas, even though the government's plans might have failed to do so.

A few days later letters from Texans in Matamoros came, with positive accounts of a new invasion to come. "Four thousand will leave here for Goliad and as many more in fifteen or twenty days from Vera Cruz to land at Copano or Velasco. They will wage a war of extermination and show no quarter," said the letter. President Burnet (June 20)issued a call to arms, and made an agreement with Memucan Hunt (who arrived with Green) to raise four thousand men in Mississippi for the duration of the war.

The expected invasion from Mexico did not materialize, but a new threat arose in another quarter. Torn with factional strife Mexico could only mouth loud boastings, but it was still possible for her emissaries to harass Texas through the Indians. Manuel Flores was still among them, it was learned, and it was generally believed in East

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Texas that only the presence of American troops on the Sabine had held the Cherokees in check during the spring.

Stephen F. Austin returned from his mission in the United States late in June, and, upon learning the state of affairs, suggested that President Burnet again call upon General Gaines to send troops to Nacogdoches. Austin also wrote to General Houston (now in East Texas) on the same subject, and Houston transmitted both the letter and the statements of Peter Menard and Miguel Cortinas confirming the hostile sentiment among the Indians. Colonel Whistler, with a detachment of dragoons, was accordingly posted at Nacogdoches.

The Texan army on the western front had grown to about 2,300 men, mostly recruits since San Jacinto, with a seasoning of veteran citizen-soldiers and officers. General Rusk was highly regarded but his influence was not sufficient to control the restlessness of idle, half-fed men, nor the vaulting ambitions of would-be leaders. "There were few above the rank of captain," says an observer, "who did not aspire to be commander-in-chief." In this state of affairs President Burnet and the cabinet felt that the time had come to perfect the civil government, and accordingly (July 23) issued his proclamation for a general election to be held on the first Monday in September.

The Constitution, adopted by the convention on March 17 previously, awaited ratification by the people. Many citizens had not yet been able to reoccupy their homes, and others were in the army. The proclamation authorized these to hold elections wherever they might be, in order that their right of suffrage be not sacrificed through no fault of their own. Goliad, San Patricio and Refugio were still depopulated, and their people voted in widely scattered army and refugee camps.

Stephen F. Austin, former Governor Henry Smith, and General Sam Houston were placed in nomination for President, but Smith asked his friends to support Houston. The latter, like Cæsar, had "put aside the crown" when first proffered, but two weeks before the election yielded to the strong sentiment in his favor. (He long afterward rationalized his tardy consent on the score that neither the "Austin party" nor the "Wharton party" could command a substantial majority and organize a stable government if elected. As a matter of fact Austin and the Whartons had been reconciled in the fall of

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1835, and with W. H. Wharton, Austin had since amicably served as commissioner to the United States.)

The vote was overwhelmingly for Houston and annexation to the United States, and after another effort to conciliate the East Texas Indians the President-elect repaired to Columbia, where Congress convened October 3, in conformity to the proclamation under which it had been elected. President Burnet's message was worthy of his sturdy statesmanship, and his disinterested patriotism was again exemplified in his willingness to relinquish office before the constitutional date for the induction of a new régime.

Under the Constitution, Houston and Lamar (Vice-President) were accordingly sworn in on October 22, and the new President promptly exemplified his desire to draw the fangs of factionalism by appointing Austin Secretary of State, Henry Smith (nominal head of the "Wharton party") Secretary of the Treasury, and William H. Wharton to be minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

General Rusk was called to the war portfolio and James Pinckney Henderson (who had arrived in Texas with Memucan Hunt June 3) became Attorney-General. The triumvirate (Houston, Rusk and Henderson) thus officially linked for the first time was due to wield an almost unbroken power in East Texas for years to come, and to bear with honor and credit the credentials of all Texas, both as Republic and State, in international affairs.

After a strenuous session of nearly three months Congress adjourned to meet next at the new town of Houston, on Buffalo Bayou. Its acts covered a wide range, and, under the circumstances, its pioneer work was admirably performed. It created a judiciary and filled the offices, passed a land bill (over the President's veto), authorized the President to negotiate loans, provided for the military establishment, a general post office, and numerous minor matters.

Lorenzo de Zavala passed away at his Lynchburg home on November 15, and on December 27 Texas was called to mourn the death of Stephen F. Austin. The funeral cortege included the entire civil and military official family present in Columbia, his colleagues of the cabinet serving as pallbearers. At the landing the steamboat "Yellowstone" received the party, and steamed away to Peach Point, where interment was made.

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Perhaps speculation has no place in history, but one cannot refrain from imagining a happier Texas had these two illustrious and unselfish men lived through the next few years. De Zavala had shown himself willing to sacrifice position and wealth rather than compromise the principles of liberal government. Austin spent himself and his substance unstintedly in the public service. Neither was impetuous or aggressive; both totally indifferent to personal aggrandizement. What a shining contrast to the machinations of many of their contemporaries! Verily Texas had need of them in those trying times.

Houston's Cabinet—Frequent changes in cabinet positions were made necessary by death or resignation during Houston's administration. On the death of Austin, James Pinckney Henderson became Secretary of State, and was in turn succeeded by Robert A. Irion, of San Augustine, when Henderson was made minister to Great Britain and France. Rusk served as Secretary of War for only a few weeks. William S. Fisher, Barnard E. Bee, George W. Poe and the general's old faithful, George W. Hockley, occupied this post in turn.

Dr. William M. Shepherd succeeded S. Rhoads Fisher as Secretary of the Navy. Peter W. Grayson, John Birdsall and Albert S. Thurston followed Henderson in the Attorney-General's office. Elisha M. Pease and Francis R. Lubbock (both afterward governors of the State) were Comptroller in turn.

Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury, served the full term, but only at the earnest solicitation of the President. Robert Barr was Postmaster-General.

William H. Wharton, Memucan Hunt ("Cousin Muke") and Dr. Anson Jones (afterward President) served as envoys and ministers to the United States.

Officials Under the Constitution—The Supreme Court was composed of a Chief Justice and the four district judges. James Collingsworth was elected chief. District judges and prosecuting attorneys were elected as follows: First (eastern) District, Shelby Corzine and Richardson Scurry. Second (Brazoria) District, Benjamin C. Franklin and Augustus M. Tompkins. Third (Washington) District, Robert M. Williamson and H. C. Hudson. Fourth (western) District, James W. Robinson and John Ricord.

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County judges: Austin, Thomas Barrett; Bexar, Joseph Baker; Bastrop, Andrew Rabb; Brazoria, George B. McKinstry; Colorado, William Menefee; Goliad, W. H. McIntire; Gonzales, Bartlett D. McClure; Harrisburg, Andrew Briscoe; Jackson, Patrick Usher; Jasper, Joseph Mott; Jefferson, Chichester Chaplin; Liberty, Daniel P. Coit; Matagorda, Silas Dinsmore; Milam, Massillon Farley; Nacogdoches, Charles S. Taylor; Red River, Robert Hamilton; Refugio, John Dunn; San Augustine, William McFarland; Sabine, Matthew Parker; Shelby, George V. Lusk; San Patricio, John Turner; Victoria, John McHenry; Washington, John P. Coles.

The First Congress—The apportionment provided for fourteen Senators and twenty-seven Representatives. In the Upper House East Texas had eight places and in the Lower House fourteen. Nacogdoches, Red River, San Augustine, Milam and Harris each had a Senator. Shelby and Sabine, Jasper and Jefferson, Liberty and Harrisburg formed senatorial districts.

Jasper-Jefferson, Dr. Stephen H. Everett; Harrisburg-Liberty, Robert Wilson; Sabine-Shelby, Willis H. Landrum; San Augustine, Shelby Corzine (resigned to become district judge); Milam, Sterling C. Robertson; Washington, Jesse Grimes; Red River, Richard Ellis; Nacogdoches, Dr. Robert A. Irion. (Senators served one, two and three years, as determined by lot.)

East Texas Representatives in the First Congress were: Harrisburg, Jesse H. Cartwright; Jasper, Samuel S. Lewis; Jefferson, Claiborne West; Liberty, Edward T. Branch; Milam, Samuel T. Allen (won contest over Francis W. Wethered); Nacogdoches, John K. Allen and Haden Edwards (first session), Haden Arnold (second session); Red River, Dr. Mansell W. Matthews, George W. Wright and William Becknell (contested) and, on Becknell's motion, given to Collin McKinney; San Augustine, W. W. Holman and Dr. Joseph Rowe; Sabine, John Boyd; Shelby, Richard Hooper and Sidney O. Pennington; Washington, William W. Hill and W. W. Gant.

No less than twenty-three Texas counties bear the names of men who served in the first constitutional government of the Republic. Many of them had also served in the military operations of 1835-36.

Houston, the Administrator—When the first Congress adjourned at Columbia, the urgent affairs of the Republic were left in little bet-

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ter case than when Congress convened. Santa Anna and a thousand Mexican prisoners were yet to be disposed of, the army to be untangled, and money to be raised—if possible—to clear old debts and operate the new government. In one respect international relations were less promising than before.

Earlier in the year it seemed that the United States would quickly acknowledge the independence of the new republic, and President Jackson sent Henry M. Morfit to Texas to investigate. His report was favorable but for one point—another Mexican invasion was soon expected and Morfit suggested waiting for its outcome, and this was embodied in Jackson's message to Congress December 21.

Also, relations between the United States and Mexico were now strained, and Jackson's advisers leaned over backward on a delicate diplomatic point. Texas, by openly voting for annexation in the September election, had put the cart before the horse. To now accord recognition of her sovereignty, the labored argument went, would be tantamount to accepting a province of a "friendly power" into the Union! The Mexican minister at Washington unintentionally robbed this plea of most of its force by going home in a high dudgeon.

Houston sent Santa Anna to Washington and President Jackson sent him home. The remaining Mexican prisoners were released from custody. Many of them preferred staying in Texas to going back to Mexico, and settled among their late enemies.

The army had grown rapidly in early summer, but many left after the Lamar-Felix Huston episode. Now it was back to its former strength, but lacked supplies of all sorts. By sending parties of foragers into the uninhabited cattle ranges beyond the Guadalupe, General Rusk had managed for a while to feed his men in various camps along the border of the settlements. Now, it was complained, the army had not enough horses to gather beef.

Felix Huston, who had equipped and led five hundred men from Mississippi, was left in command when Rusk joined the President's cabinet. Undoubtedly brave, but also ambitious, General Huston used his winning personality and his oratorical powers to incite dissatisfaction in the army, painting glowing pictures of glory to be won and beauties to be enjoyed by the conquest of Mexico. With eloquent allusions to the Alamo and Goliad he would demand "why should

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brave men be kept in idleness while the vaunting foe is marshalled beyond the Rio Grande?" and why had Texas invited them to come if not to fight?

All summer the new recruits had been turbulent, and since most of the citizens had returned home as soon as possible after San Jacinto to gather their families and plant crops, the army was composed mainly of those who had no part in the campaigns of 1835 and 1836. They had defied President Burnet and embarrassed the government more than once. The new President visited Camp Independence on the Lavaca River, and with his uncanny power to play on the best emotions of men, and without intimating his knowledge of General Huston's and their ideas of conquest, won their applause and confidence. But Sam Houston's wisdom was soon forgotten in his absence, while Felix Huston's adventurous dreams chimed with their own very natural wish to be in action.

At this juncture General Albert Sidney Johnston, adjutant-general, was appointed to the command as general-in-chief, and he reached the camp February 4, 1837. This was too much for the pride of General Felix Huston, who challenged General Johnston to a duel. The code of the times compelled Johnston's acceptance, though he had never "pulled a hair trigger" or otherwise participated in "affairs of honor." He was seriously wounded.

Mutiny broke out also in other camps. The post on Galveston Island, with its heavy quota of Mexican prisoners, was at the point of starvation. Those at Anahuac were more fortunately situated, since cattle were plentiful in the vicinity. The settlers here were none too friendly to the Texas authorities, and when their herds were raided to feed the hungry prisoners, trouble arose. It must be recalled that settlers came to this region before colonization was officially permitted, and established themselves in the time-honored American manner—on their own initiative and without a by-your-leave to any overruling power. They naturally felt no obligation to either Mexican or Texan governments, their remote situation placing them beyond either fear or favor of the constituted authorities.

President Houston resolved some of the difficulties by furloughing the army; the trouble-makers scattered among the settlements or went to their distant homes; and all were free to go about their indi-

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vidual concerns. Without money, without credit, without army, navy or munitions of war, The Republic of Texas survived its first year after San Jacinto by virtue of the fact that Mexico was in worse case, and unable to attack. The Rangers rode the frontier, ever on the alert for hostile Indians and Mexican raiders alike, and citizens of East Texas went about their peaceful pursuits in comparative safety, with slight knowledge of, or interest in, the turmoils of the central government.

The season was favorable and East Texas harvested good crops, despite the delay occasioned by the Mexican invasion in the spring, and the year ended on a propitious note. Along with some adventurers and land speculators, many men entered Texas in 1836 who were to become valuable citizens and render splendid service to the growing empire.

The world-shaking events through which Texas was passing meant little to the great body of citizens whose every effort of mind and body must be turned to the rehabilitation of their homes, and perhaps fortunately for their peace of mind, the East Texans were remote enough from the army (mostly new recruits from the states) to escape its unsettling influence; and again, perhaps fortunately, there was only one newspaper in the Republic to carry the disquieting news from the political and military centers.

It scarcely seems credible that in all Texas there were not more than thirty thousand Anglo-Americans when she won her independence and set up national housekeeping. Probably less than half were in the territory now designated East Texas. Most of the wealth was in the former Department of the Brazos, but intelligence, home-making determination and courage were as generally disseminated among those who yet had their fortunes to make as among their more fortunate fellow-citizens.

In the Family of Nations—The first anniversary of Texas' declaration of independence was signalized by her recognition in Washington. The resolution, acknowledging the independence of Texas, had been before the United States Senate since January 11. Senator Walker, of Mississippi, succeeded in bringing it to a vote only after several attempts, and against strong opposition, on March 1, 1837.

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The vote was twenty-three to nineteen in favor, but the opposition forced a reconsideration on the following day, which failed by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-four.

It is interesting to note that the division of sentiment was largely on the protective tariff issue, though slavery was the stalking horse of the hottest opposition. The House had previously (February 28) passed an appropriation providing salary and other finances for a minister to Texas "whenever . . . the President shall deem it expedient to appoint such minister." The Senate passed this bill on the same day it confirmed its vote of recognition, and almost the last official act of President Jackson was the nomination of Alcee LaBranche to the position of *chargé d'affaires* to the yearling Republic beyond the Sabine.

Old Hickory, despite his personal desires, had rigidly observed the diplomatic proprieties while the controversy raged in Congress. After its action, however, and with only a few hours of his administration yet remaining, the President sent up the name of LaBranche to a night session of the Senate (March 3.) Before midnight he was drinking a toast to Texas with William H. Wharton and Memucan Hunt (the latter already named Texan minister to Washington in case of recognition.)

Wharton, who had been in the United States as Texan envoy since November, and who had worked indefatigably to overcome the opposition to recognition (and annexation) happily saw the first objective realized and sent the news post-haste to Texas. He followed his dispatches a few weeks later and was a passenger on the "Independence" when it was captured by two Mexican vessels April 17. Wharton, with the other captives, was taken to Matamoros and imprisoned. He escaped while his brother, John A. Wharton, was en route to his rescue, and despite his flag of truce and the Mexican prisoners which he brought to exchange, John A. himself was thrown into a dungeon on his arrival at the Mexican city. He also escaped within a week, and returned to Texas.

At the New Capital—The second session of the first Congress convened at Houston May 5, 1837. Senator Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, whose untiring efforts led to the recognition of Texas by the

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United States Congress, was a welcome guest of the two houses, in the pretentious capitol building erected by the Allens as the principal inducement for the establishment of the government in their new town.

Other distinguished visitors at this time were the naturalist, John J. Audubon, and the British agent, Mr. Crawford, the first to study the feathered fauna and the latter to size up the men and the country. With a dignity superior to the dearth of material ostentation, the President held his *levees* on the puncheon floor of his two-room "mansion" (the other room had a dirt floor).

President Houston occupied a small, plain log cabin. Accommodations for the members of Congress and the usual flock of visitors and hangers-on were more plentiful than at Columbia, but still crude. Most of the comforts and all the adornments of civilization were lacking, with the remarkable exception of fine clothing and fine liquor. At a ball held during the session the costumes exhibited would have been acceptable in Washington, New York, or even in New Orleans, then the arbiter of elegance for the entire Mississippi Valley.

Congress again wrestled with the land law, created the new county of Houston, provided for the sale of Galveston and other islands, provided for the better protection of the northern frontier, etc. Michael B. Menard and others had already acquired a league and labor (4,605 acres) at the east end of Galveston Island, and were actively promoting the town. The new act offered island real estate in lots of ten to forty acres, and was designed to bring in much-needed cash revenue to the government. It is said to have made slight impression as a revenue measure, but did encourage the development of Galveston.

The idea of selling land in such small tracts was strikingly out of harmony with Texan land policies prior to, and for a long time after, that time. Mexican grants were measured in leagues (4,428 acres) one-third leagues (1,476 acres) or "a league and a labor" (4,605 acres). The Texas government also dealt in "headrights" of large extent, from a league and a labor down to 640 or 320 acres. The "island land act" therefore bears some of the earmarks of the boomer methods of private "subdividers" to attract the small savings of the masses. Anson Jones denounced it at the time, as he also did that other speculative affair, the "Texas Railroad, Navigation and Banking Company."

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New Things Under the Sun—We pause here to examine the fundamental charter of the Republic of Texas on certain points. Naturally the Constitution followed that of the United States very closely in its major provisions. The first President's term was limited to two years, thereafter the term was three years, and no President could succeed himself. This salutary provision was designed to prevent the entrenchment of an office-holding clique, as well as to provide frequent referenda on the policies of the incumbents.

Senatorial terms were for three years (overlapping) and members of the Lower House were elected for one year only. Elections were in September and the term ran one year from the date of election. The Presidential term dated from the second Monday in December, following his election.

"Ministers of the gospel" says Article V, section 1, "being . . . dedicated to God and the care of souls, ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions; therefore, no minister of the gospel, or priest of any denomination whatever, shall be eligible to the office of Executive of the Republic, nor to a seat in either branch of the Congress." Devout Christians though many of them were, the fathers of Texas were the first to thus assure the complete separation of church and State.

In the declaration of rights appears another, then, unique provision: "that no person shall be imprisoned for debt in consequence of inability to pay." Here Texas stepped ahead of the rest of the civilized world.

The penal code "shall be formed on principles of reformation, and not of vindictive justice," in which again Texas set a standard beyond the times.

Under this Constitution (to anticipate the calendar a little) the Texas Congress passed (1839) the first homestead exemption act in history, reserving free from execution fifty acres of land or one town lot, including homestead improvements, not to exceed five hundred dollars in value, to every citizen or head of family.

Again anticipating, the same provision, but raising the exemption to 200 acres of land and \$2,000 in value, was written into the first State Constitution (1846) and with certain changes the principle has ever since been maintained in the fundamental law of the Lone Star

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State. At present it has been extended to exempting the homestead from *ad valorem* State and county taxes, up to a stated value. Neither husband nor wife can alienate the homestead without the consent of the other.

The Constitution of the Republic enjoined the Congress to adopt the common law of England, with "such modifications as our circumstances . . . may require," but in the respects here noted, Texas took advanced ground for which neither Mother England nor the United States of America offered any precedent.

The Second Congress—The President called the newly elected Second Congress into session September 26 and it remained in session until about the end of the year.

One of the indications of the growth of population was the demand for the creation of new counties and the incorporation of towns. It required the signatures of not less than one hundred "free male inhabitants" of the territory proposed to be erected into a county, and the area could not be less than nine hundred square miles. On December 14, three new counties in East Texas (Fannin, Montgomery, Robertson) were created (also Fayette) and a few days later Fort Bend County was born.

The ambitious towns granted incorporation during this session were Shelbyville, Lagrange (Red River County) Clarksville, Washington, Crockett, and Jonesborough in East Texas, and several others. Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Independence, Nashville, Sarahville (Milam County) Anahuac, Bevilport, Harrisburg, Liberty and Houston had previously been granted incorporation and some of these received extended powers at this time.

Only seven members of the Lower House in the first Congress were reëlected, twenty-three new faces appearing. One of these, however, was from the new county of Houston—Stephen O. Lumpkin. Other East Texans were: Dr. Thomas J. Gazley, Harrisburg; Joseph Grigsby, Jefferson; Thomas J. Rusk and Kelsey H. Douglas, Nacogdoches; William Walker, Milam; William Clarke, Sabine; Charlton Thompson, San Augustine; John English and William Pierpont, Shelby; Edward H. Tarrant and Dr. Daniel Rowlett, Red River.

Jasper, Liberty and Washington sent the same representatives back for a second term. Dr. Joseph Rowe of San Augustine was also

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reelected, and was chosen Speaker of the House. The Jasper representative died and was succeeded by Timothy Swift. Edward H. Tarrant of Red River resigned and was succeeded by Peyton S. Wyatt. Collin McKinney was back again.

The new senators, elected for a full three-year term, were: Nacogdoches, Isaac W. Burton; Shelby-Sabine, Emory Rains; San Augustine, John A. Greer; Washington, Dr. George W. Barnett. New senators who appeared from other districts were William H. Wharton, Brazoria; and John Dunn, Goliad-Refugio-San Patricio.

Senator Burton made history in the summer of 1836 when he and his company of horsemen captured several boats at Copano, loaded with supplies for the Mexican army, which made a welcome and timely contribution to the scanty menu of the Texas army. Captain Burton's company thereby earned the title of "Horse Marines." The historic name occurs in the rollicking frontier ballad:

I'm Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines,
I feed my horse on corn and beans,
For that's the way in the army.

Edward H. Tarrant resigned to head a company of Rangers (he had already been in that service) and became famous as an Indian fighter and general in the Mexican war.

Presidential Election Year—As a people, Texas was prospering amazingly; as a government, she was "too poor to be economical." Meaning that her debt was growing faster than her revenues and "deficit financing" was even more costly then than now. Her promissory notes bore a high rate of interest and the President had been unable to exercise the authority to borrow the five million dollars authorized in the fall of 1836.

Aside from land scrip, customs duties provided about all the revenue available, and this was little enough (a tariff advocate a year later credited it with bringing in \$100,000 yearly) for two reasons—smuggling was easy along the United States border and duties were payable in the government's own depreciated paper. Galveston imports during the first quarter of 1838 amounted to more than a quarter of a million dollars, the duties being fifty-one thousand dollars. For the entire year they amounted to \$278,134 at all ports, but these

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figures are a better index of private business than of government revenue. Nobody knows the proportion paid in cash and paper respectively.

New Orleans had until now been almost the sole purveyor to Texas trade, but ships from distant ports were finding their way to the booming Galveston Harbor, and merchants found Boston, New York and Baltimore eager to cultivate their commerce. An enterprising Yankee brigmaster brought down 150 tons of ice as early as 1839, a surplus commodity in New England but a highly appreciated luxury on the Texas coast.

A heavy immigration swept into Texas during 1837, bringing considerable means. Crops were good, the cotton alone worth about two million dollars; the harbor of Galveston was busy with shipping, and four steamboats plying the Buffalo Bayou testified to the rapid growth of Houston and the trade with the hinterland.

The money situation, however, was anything but pleasing. The paper notes of the Republic were so depreciated that prices of goods were doubled early in 1838. Congress passed a bill in May, 1838, ordering the issue of another half a million by the Secretary of the Treasury. Houston vetoed the bill. Bank notes of the United States had also been unredeemed for some time past, and coin was almost as rare in the frontier states as in the infant Republic west of the Sabine.

Land scrip sold to finance the government in its formative period (at fifty cents an acre) was also unsaleable except at a discount, for the immigrant had only to settle and live on vacant land to receive a free grant—1,280 acres to a man of family and 640 acres to "single free white" men who immigrated between the Declaration of Independence and October 1, 1837.

(In January, 1839, the "headright" privileges were extended to January 1, 1840, under the same conditions of three-year occupancy as before, but the amount of land was reduced to half that permitted those who arrived prior to October 1, 1837.)

The Cherokees and their allies ostensibly observed the terms of the Houston-Forbes Treaty during this period but it was generally believed that some of their tribesmen were guilty of the Killough (Cherokee County) and other murders. Other Indians raided frequently along the fringe of settlement; the Parker Fort massacre

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(1836) and others in what became Navarro, Williamson, Robertson, Grayson, Bell, Falls and Fannin counties numbered a score of isolated raids running through 1838, in which a number of lives were sacrificed. As will appear in another chapter, the Indian problem remained to be solved, though the older and more densely settled portions of East Texas were safe.

In August, 1838, a number of Mexican citizens around Nacogdoches, under the leadership of Vicente Cordova and Nathaniel Norris (former alcalde) embodied themselves in opposition to the government, and drew into their camp some Biloxi and Ioni Indians. They fired on Texan horse-hunters and then retired across the Angelina. President Houston, then at Nacogdoches, called on them to disband and return to their homes under penalty of being declared enemies of the Republic, and General Rusk marched against them, with orders, however, not to cross the Angelina. The rebels, by that time numbering some six hundred, moved toward the Cherokee country and were not followed.

Later (October) General Rusk had to call up a hasty levy of some two hundred men and attack a camp of Mexicans and Indians at Kickapoo town (Anderson County). After a brief but sanguinary battle the enemy fled, leaving eleven dead on the field. In the same month Colonel Neill defeated the Comanches at Jose Maria village (later Fort Graham, Hill County) so that Houston's term closed in an atmosphere of active hostility between whites and reds.

In the election of 1836 the people had spoken unmistakably for annexation to the United States, and this was entirely in accord with Houston's own ambitions. We have seen how recognition of the Republic by the United States Congress was delayed to almost the last hour of Jackson's administration. Van Buren, his successor, retained the same Secretary of State (Forsyth) who had written the "cold blooded" message of a few months before, and Van Buren himself hesitated to face the strong and growing anti-Texas sentiment from the North.

He delayed issuing a commission as *chargé d'affaires* to Alcee LaBranche and did not officially receive the Texan Minister (Memucan Hunt) until July. In the following month Forsyth delivered a wordy reply to the proposal for annexation, which amounted to a curt

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refusal, not only to accept Texas, but in effect closing the door to further discussion on the matter.

Notwithstanding this indignity, which aroused the resentment of those who had won Texas from Mexico and offered it freely to their mother country, the sentiment among the newcomers still favored urging annexation upon the United States. When Congress met (spring of 1838) a resolution was offered by Dr. Anson Jones (a San Jacinto veteran) directing the withdrawal of Texas' offer to join the United States. The resolution failed of passage by a narrow margin, but when Memucan Hunt resigned shortly afterward, President Houston appointed Dr. Jones to the place with the agreement that his first official act upon arrival at Washington would be to formally notify that government that Texas was no longer a suppliant for a place under the stars and stripes. This was accordingly done (October 12, 1838) and the Lone Star Republic was left to stand or fall by its own strength and determination. Politics in the United States held the whole matter in a state of uncertainty for the next several years.

This action was calculated to open the door to more friendly and beneficial commercial relations with France, and particularly, Great Britain, and thereby serve warning on the antagonistic element in the United States that all the advantages of annexation were not on the side of Texas. At the proper place we shall trace the diplomatic and political maneuvers in both nations and their culmination in annexation.

The election for President was simplified by the death of two candidates (Peter W. Grayson and James Collingsworth) during the campaign, and Mirabeau B. Lamar was elected with only 252 opposing votes. David G. Burnet was chosen Vice-President by a majority of 776 over Dr. Joseph Rowe of San Augustine and Albert C. Horton of Matagorda. Chief Justice Collingsworth (formerly of Nashville, Tennessee) was closely associated with Houston and was supposed to represent the policies of the retiring President, while Lamar had not only opposed Houston in the Santa Anna affair, but was also outspokenly opposed to annexation and the pacification policy with the Indians.

The Third Congress convened on November 5, 1838. Benoni Stroud was the new Senator from Robertson County, William H.

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Wharton was reelected from the Brazoria district, and General Edward Burleson appeared to represent the Bastrop district. The other new senators were Harvey Kendrick (Matagorda) and Oliver Jones (Austin County).

Five new counties sent representatives to the Lower House (each county was constitutionally entitled to at least one member) raising the number of counties to thirty and the membership to thirty-eight. The new East Texas counties and their representatives were: Fannin, Holland Coffee (founder of Coffee's Trading House); Galveston, Mosely Baker (Captain in the San Jacinto campaign); and Montgomery, Joseph L. Bennett.

The other East Texans in the Third Congress were: Houston County, Isaac Parker (beginning fourteen years of continuous service); Harris, William Lawrence; Liberty, Hugh B. Johnson; Milam, James Shaw; Nacogdoches, K. H. Muse and David S. Kaufman; Robertson, Dr. George W. Hill (who also served for many years); Red River, George W. Wright, Dr. Isaac N. Jones and ——— Fowler; Sabine, ——— Payne; San Augustine, Ezekiel W. Cullen and Isaac Campbell; Shelby, John M. Lunsford and M. T. Johnson; Washington, James R. Jenkins and Anthony Butler (former Minister to Mexico from the United States). The other East Texas counties reelected their men of the Second Congress. Again East Texas named the Speaker of the House, John M. Hansford of Shelby.

The tension which had developed between opposing schools of thought flared momentarily into threatening proportions when the Congress sent its formal notice to the President that it was ready to receive his *written* communications. The President took offense at the apparent invasion of his prerogative (as to the "mode" of delivering his message) and haughtily notified the legislative branch that, although he had important information to lay before Congress, he declined "for the present" to make any further communication than to transmit the reports from the several departments.

This *impasse*, between executive and legislative branches, made it necessary for the latter to propound specific questions to the former in order that public business be not delayed. It does not seem probable that the Congress had any ulterior motive in thus phrasing its official communication to the proud old Cherokee Chief, and it is also im-

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probable that the constitutional point would have been raised had not the President wished to make an issue of it for other reasons, "which to his mind are satisfactory" but which he did not deign to explain.

On December 10 (Congress had been in recess since December 5) one Congressional committee was appointed to wait upon President Houston and another to notify the President and Vice-President-elect that the two houses would meet in joint session at noon to hear the valedictory of the outgoing and the inaugural of the incoming presidents. Again Houston's partisans scented an intended slight, charging that no place had been made on the program for him. As a matter of fact he received the same consideration that was accorded to the incoming officials, and the readiness with which such trivial molehills were turned into factional mountains is eloquent evidence of the partisan spirit of the times.

Both the valedictory address of President Houston and the inaugural of President Lamar were eloquent and patriotic, and both were well received. Vice-President Burnet also justified his reputation as a statesman of unusual caliber. It is doubtful if at any time in her century of history, Texas has had at the helm of State three more able and patriotic men than these three, so diverse in their personal attributes, and yet so fearless in outspoken advocacy of their own clashing convictions of right.

Of the three, David G. Burnet had the least personal ambition, and lacked both the polish of Lamar and the pugnacity of Houston; he was not the sort of man to arouse the masses or to dominate by sheer personality, but in the sturdy qualities of calmness and unshakeable Christian integrity he had no superior among his contemporaries.

Lacking the popular appeal which wins office in a democracy, his character and abilities yet fitted him better for counsel and administration than either the outgoing or the incoming president. It is impossible to imagine David Burnet making a personal issue of every disagreement (as Houston was notably prone to do) or recklessly running the government deeper into debt for such grandiose dreams, however worthy, as Lamar's Santa Fe expedition.

The Father of Texas Education—President Lamar chose Barnard E. Bee as Secretary of State, Albert Sidney Johnston as Secretary of War, Memucan Hunt as Secretary of the Navy, Richard G. Dunlap

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as Secretary of the Treasury, and Charles Watrous as Attorney-General. General Rusk was elected to the chief justiceship by Congress in joint session to supply the vacancy created by the death of Chief Justice Collingsworth (temporarily filled by John Birdsall.)

Both the Wharton brothers, one a Senator and the other a county representative in the Lower House, died early in Lamar's administration. They were friends of Houston in Tennessee, and (with Collingsworth) were instrumental in inducing Houston to come to Texas. They were leaders in the war faction when Austin was still holding out for peaceful negotiation with the Mexican government. When Austin realized the fruitlessness of his policy, and declared for separation, the cause of their differences disappeared; and with the magnanimity of all great souls all former mutual suspicion was put behind them, and all three served Texas gloriously.

The Whartons and Houston had in turn become estranged, though they had played a foremost part in the maneuvers which raised him to his commanding place in Texas affairs. Collingsworth was dead; Houston had not forgotten or forgiven Burnet's sharp reprimand during the retreat from the Colorado in 1836. The old Cherokee chief had lost or alienated his most powerful friends west of the Trinity and the new government was soon riding high, wide and handsome over the Houston policies. He retired to private life in the Redlands but came back the next year as a Representative in the Fourth Congress.

Houston had practiced the utmost economy in governmental affairs, insofar as he had control. But his utmost could not lift a penniless state by its financial bootstraps. The public debt had risen to nearly two million dollars; nearly three-quarters of a million of treasury notes were outstanding and they were passing only at heavy discounts—from thirty-five to fifty per cent.

President Lamar proposed a remedy for the financial resurrection of the Republic, in the form of a national bank to be owned by the government. Land, the plighted faith of the Republic, and an "adequate specie deposit" were to form the base of this structure. Unfortunately the President was unable to point out a source of "an adequate specie deposit," though in all conscience there was plenty of land and the government was well habituated to plighting its faith.

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His administration had to struggle, not only with the debt it inherited, but also with greatly increased expenses growing out of far-reaching extension of government activity.

Among the first-fruits of the Lamar administration were the adoption of the English Common Law (with certain sailent modifications elsewhere discussed); the endowment of each county with three leagues of land (13,284 acres) for primary and secondary schools (another league was added a year later, for the purchase of scientific apparatus); and a fifty-league endowment for two universities or colleges.

His brilliant and convincing advocacy of universal education as the guardian genius of democracy brought a prompt and enthusiastic response from Congress, and in February, 1839, an ideal was set up and the foundation was laid for an educational system which has kept the Lamar escutcheon bright for a century, despite his mistakes in other matters.

No less significant to all future generations of Texans were the community property law and the principle of homestead exemption from forced sale. These were derived from the Spanish laws and ideals, designed to nurture and protect the family—a happy departure from the English concept which made the husband “lord of the manor” and subjected the wife’s interests to his will. These charters of family stability have been preserved and the homestead exemption enlarged.

Not so that other departure from the English Common Law by which technical forms of procedure were abolished, and no distinction was made between law and equity. Unhappily this admirable principle has been gradually smothered in statutory minutiae, technical hair-splitting rulings, and precedents by which the truth can be easier kept out of court or distorted than otherwise.

England long ago reformed her court procedure to bring law and equity into harmony, and outlawed the rule-bound practices which so often defeated justice. In Texas the *rules* still rule, and a court of equity is a mere legal fiction. A recently enacted law (1939) gives the rule-making power to the Supreme Court in a belated attempt to cut away some of the accumulated legal rubbish which gives the criminal and the unscrupulous attorney the advantage.



(Courtesy of L. A. Schreiner, Kerrville)

TEXAS LONGHORNS AND BUFFALO

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The First Congress made Houston the temporary capital when it was only a "paper town" and the Second Congress named a committee to take steps toward locating the permanent capital, limiting its choice to the territory between the Trinity and the Guadalupe, and not further south than Fort Bend or more than twenty miles north of the San Antonio road. This made Houston eligible, but no action was taken on the committee's report, naming several prospective sites. In December (1837) another committee was named and instructed to report at the April, 1838, session of Congress.

By common consent the capital city was to be named for the Father of Texas, and the committee reported its choice of locations to be on the Colorado, adjacent to the town of Lagrange. Congress adopted the report (April 17, 1838), but President Houston vetoed the bill on the ostensible ground that, since Houston was to remain the capital until 1840, the choice of a new capital site was premature. The capital question became an issue in the campaign of that summer.

The Third Congress was, therefore, not slow to act, and President Lamar promptly approved its bill creating the third capital commission. This was in January, and in April the committee reported that "we have selected the town of Waterloo on the east bank of the Colorado" and "the imagination of even the romantic will not be disappointed . . . the citizen's bosom will swell with honest pride when standing at the portico of the capital of his country he looks upon a region worthy of being the home of the brave and free."

There was a well-grounded idea prevalent that the location of the capital well beyond the present frontiers would serve to draw settlers into the wilds, where they would form a bulwark to protect the populous regions from the savages. The third and last committee was, therefore, instructed to consider nothing south of the San Antonio road, east of the Brazos or west of the Colorado. Waterloo lay on the left bank of the Colorado about thirty miles beyond the ancient highway from Bexar to Nacogdoches, and contained four families. Henceforth it was to be "Austin," capital of Republic and State, and by the happy genius of O. Henry, "The City of the Violet Crown."

Two East Texans on the capital commission were Captain Isaac W. Burton (of the "Horse Marines") and Isaac Campbell, then Representatives in Congress from Houston and San Augustine counties, respectively. The commission purchased 7,135 acres of land

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with a three-mile front on the river, paying for it \$21,000 in the depreciated treasury notes of the Republic. Within the past decade the State Legislature voted a considerable sum to pay the heirs of General Thomas J. Chambers for their claims on the land.

Beyond the Rio Grande—While these events were transpiring in the populated portions of Texas—politics sizzling, trade and agriculture prospering, and land speculators over-running the country—things were happening on the frontier and beyond which were significant to the entire Republic, East Texas not excepted.

In Mexico the Federalist party made a heroic attempt to recapture control of the government, but was ultimately defeated in a decisive battle. The Federalists were strongest in Northern Mexico, and some of their leaders manifested an amicable attitude toward Texas; indeed some of them were Mexican Texans; and while the Centralist government had its hands full with a French embroglio, the Federalist movement had things pretty much its own way along the Texas border. Under these auspicious conditions considerable trade developed along the Rio Grande between Texas and Mexico.

The prospect of coming to an understanding with Mexico appeared bright (on the surface) and Barnard E. Bee was sent as Minister to that country. The overwhelming defeat of the Federalists and a treaty which took the invading French out of the country, again placed the Centralists in power. It was this party which had made war on Texas, had been signally humiliated at San Jacinto, and "it was still with that party—proud, bigoted and impotent as it was—that she (Texas) had to deal," says Yoakum. Naturally the Minister from Texas realized the futility of his mission and did not even present his papers.

Cattle from No-Man's Land—During the previous years, when the Texas army was encamped along the Navidad and Guadalupe, General Rusk partially sustained the army by collecting beef from the great cattle ranges beyond the Guadalupe. The retreating Mexican armies, in violation of their agreement, had driven off all the cattle they could readily collect along their line of march, but this section had been settled by Mexican rancheros for a generation, and their animals had multiplied amazingly. The abandonment of the country left thousands of wild and half-wild cattle without a master.

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After the army ceased to feed itself by foraging in this "no-man's land," certain adventurous young men took up the practice as a private enterprise. Some of them were discharged soldiers, others were western citizens whose own herds had been driven off by the Mexicans, and regarded this as a legitimate means of recouping their losses. In parties of ten or fifteen these "cowboys" (John Henry Brown says this was the origin of the term) rounded up the wild cattle in herds of several hundred, kept them on the run until they could be controlled, and drove them east for sale in the settlements.

There had never been too many cattle east of the Guadalupe, and most of those between there and the Trinity disappeared under the blighting tread of the armies of both sides during the campaign of 1836. Dr. Johnson Hunter is said to have owned ten thousand head at the outbreak of the Revolution, few of which were ever seen again. The "cowboys" therefore served the devastated settlements to good advantage by bringing in the Mexican cattle to restock the country. The Texas Longhorn thus became established as the dominant breed where formerly the cattle from the United States held sway.

Early in 1839 Indian affairs were again forced on the attention of the government. President Houston had been unable to establish his policy of conciliation, and it now appeared that another crisis was in the making. When Vicente Cordova and his coadjutors in the fiasco of 1838 were driven out of East Texas, they retired to the headwaters of the Trinity, among the wild tribes, and continued their efforts to arouse the Indians against the Texans.

They kept in communication with the Cherokees and their associated settled tribes, and established connections with the Mexican authorities along the Rio Grande. Alluring promises of lands and loot, and the munitions with which to win them, were held out to the Indians by Cordova, even before (so far as is known) he received official authority to do so.

It must be admitted that the invading hosts of land-grabbers who swiftly followed the home-making pioneers after the fighting was over, gave Cordova his best weapon by proving the truth of his arguments to the Indians—that the white man would never be satisfied until he over-ran the whole country and robbed the Indians of their homes.

It is characteristic of the predatory breed who "reap where they have not sown," whether by color of law or by illegal force, that they

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never lead in the building of a country or a city; they never endure the sweat to create wealth or spend their blood in protecting it; but once the energetic and the upright have made the way smooth, they swarm in to batten on the fruits of honorable enterprise. Those who attain their nefarious ends by legal trickery are more contemptible than those who perpetrate fraud in defiance of law; and both are lower in the scale of human values than those who rob at the end of a gun.

It was this breed of devouring locusts which swept into Texas in such numbers that they soon began to wield stronger influence than the "old Texans," and they never ceased their efforts to secure the passage of land laws which would give them wide leeway in securing titles, even at the expense of soldiers in the field and home-builders on the land. President Houston's unbending opposition temporarily stayed the grasping, greedy hands, in behalf of the original settlers, but not all the powers of the courts, Congress and the President, could prevent perjury, fraud, and the persistent invasion of the Cherokee lands.

In the meantime Cordova wrote the Indian Agent at Matamoros (Manuel Flores) that he had been commissioned by General Filisola to enlist the Indians as auxiliaries to the Mexican army, and that he wished to meet Flores for a consultation. Flores left Matamoros in April, 1839, with detailed instructions for Cordova from General Canalizo (who had succeeded Filisola), and also carrying messages from Canalizo to the chiefs of the Caddoes, Seminoles, Biloxis, Cherokees, Kickapoos, Brasos, Tehuacanas and others. Cordova was supposed to be somewhere among his red friends on the upper courses of the Brazos or Trinity. His machinations had reached even beyond the borders of Texas into the tribes of Arkansas and North Louisiana, and the stage was set for a war of extermination against the Texans.

Anxious to meet Flores, Cordova had started south in March, before the former got away from Matamoros. His camp was discovered near the present site of Austin on March 26, and the news was carried to General Edward Burleson at Bastrop, who quickly took up the trail with a hastily collected company of frontiersmen numbering about eighty men. They overtook Cordova and his motley party of about seventy-five Mexicans, Indians and Negroes, on the Guadalupe River near the present site of Seguin, and killed one-third of his

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force, on March 29. The remainder continued the retreat under cover of darkness, and the chase was then taken up by Captain Matthew ("Old Paint") Caldwell's rangers, who followed the remnant of Cordova's party to the Nueces without being able to catch up with it.

Knowing nothing of Cordova's disaster, Flores, with a party of about twenty-five or thirty (half of them Indians) reached the vicinity of Bexar and committed some murders about the middle of May. They were soon overtaken by Lieutenant James O. Rice with seventeen rangers, on Brushy Creek, in what is now Williamson County, and quickly put to rout, Flores and two of his men being killed outright and many of the others wounded. Several hundred pounds of powder and lead, intended for the use of the Indians against the Texans, and about a hundred head of horse were captured by Lieutenant Rice. More important, however, was the discovery of the correspondence between Cordova and his principals, Canalizo's instructions to Flores and Cordova, and their Indian dupes were to harass the Texans persistently, "burn their habitations, lay waste their fields," steal their horses, and pursue and punish all Indians friendly to the Texans and all Mexicans who traded with them. This ruthless and barbaric scheme all came to light in the captured papers, but its consummation was forestalled by the timely defeat of Cordova and the death of Flores.

These disclosures brought the Cherokee question to the point for a decision. Houston's influence had not been sufficient to secure the recognition of Cherokee rights, and their legal status remained the same as it had been under the Mexican régime; that is, they were permitted to occupy the land without title or assurance of title. They had now been in Texas twenty years (the first Cherokee immigrants arrived before Austin's colony grant) and they had planted fields and orchards, built houses, and accumulated herds of cattle and horses. Young warriors born in Texas were growing up.

Under orders from President Houston, Colonel Alexander Horton (1838) surveyed the boundaries of the Cherokee country as set forth in the treaty of 1836, but Congress persistently refused to ratify either the treaty or the act of the Consultation which authorized it. The lawless breed of the Neutral Ground, now free to spread through East Texas, were not the sort to respect property rights of white

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people, much less of Indians, and they felt that they could depredate on the Cherokee flocks and herds with impunity. There was a well organized system by which property stolen in Texas found its way to the other side of the Mississippi.

Even more than the loss of their cattle and horses, however, the Cherokees resented the intrusion of settlers and surveyors. It is pretty well established that Cherokees perpetrated the Killough massacre, which was in the territory they claimed as their own, though it is quite possible, even probable, that Bowles and the other head men had no part in it. That wise old Scotch-Cherokee knew too well the consequences of blood-clashes with the whites, even granting that he had no intention of keeping faith on the terms of a treaty already repudiated by the other party. As a matter of fact Bowles may have been as innocent of the acts of his hot-bloods as was Houston of the thefts and provocations of a few lawless and greedy whites.

President Lamar had never conceded the right of the Cherokees to the land they occupied, arguing that they had never met the conditions imposed upon them by either the Mexican or the Texas governments. Furthermore, Lamar was a Georgian, and that state had adopted a policy of expulsion and expropriation with her native Cherokees, defying the Supreme Court of the United States in so doing. A state within a state, that is a tribal government independent of the civil authorities, was intolerable. On the other hand the Cherokees, though well advanced in the simpler arts of civilization, neither desired, nor were competent to exercise citizenship of the white man's sort, had the whites offered that privilege. It was the old, old story which had been repeatedly enacted in the United States—the two races could not exist together in harmony; and whichever policy was adopted, it had to be justified by expediency rather than by the precepts of abstract justice.

Right or wrong, Lamar had the courage of his convictions, and his sincerity was unquestioned. On the Indian question he was a realist, not the idealist that he was in some other respects. He was no more sympathetic toward the land speculators than Houston, yet his policy in the Cherokee situation played directly into the hands of those who coveted the beautiful and fertile region they occupied.

President Lamar therefore appointed a commission to treat with the Cherokees for their removal from Texas soil. There was Vice-

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President David G. Burnet, who like Houston, had lived among Indians on friendly terms, and whose private and public life was beyond reproach or suspicion. There was the knightly Albert Sidney Johnston, Secretary of War, also of unimpeachable character, and bearing the best traditions of a military training. There was young Hugh McLeod, Adjutant-General, also a Georgian and presumably holding Lamar's views. Finally, there was General Thomas J. Rusk, Houston's own protégé and close friend; who, however, seems to have offended his chief by some imagined encroachment on Presidential authority in connection with the previous year's disturbances around Nacogdoches, to which the retiring President alluded in censorious terms in his final message. Whether at this moment General Rusk still rested under the Houstonian displeasure cannot be stated, but his selfless patriotism and high principles were unquestioned by even his rare critics.

This commission met Bowles and his colleagues with Lamar's proposition to pay the Indians for their improvements on the condition that they leave the country peaceably, and surrender their gun locks. Bowles asked for time to consult with the tribe. Their own time-honored manner of deciding issues was to gather with due formality around the council fire, and give every warrior his chance to speak his views. The commission respected this custom, and did not demand an immediate answer. There was the ultimatum, however, that the Cherokees must agree or be expelled by force.

After several days of negotiations Bowles agreed, or simulated acquiescence, and the second day following was set for signing the treaty. The appointed day came, but no Indians appeared at the rendezvous, which was about ten miles from their settlements. Scouts sent forward brought back the report that the Indians were moving off in a body. Now convinced of the futility of further efforts to effect a peaceful settlement, that hope was abandoned (July 15, 1839) and the army, under Brigadier-General K. H. Douglas, moved in the direction of the Indian camp.

There was a suspicion that Bowles was only playing for time, in order to gather a larger force. Others say that Bowles favored accepting the terms offered, but the sentiment of the tribe was against him; that he "sorrowfully reported" that his people had voted for war.

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Shrewd, proud and courageous he undeniably was. Who knows which emotion governed at the moment? Could his pride brook the humiliating demand to surrender their arms? Did he imagine any outcome except disaster if his people resisted? Or did he act upon the high principle of true patriotism—to die fighting for what he believed to be his rights rather than tamely submit to injustice? His subsequent action in the two days he had yet to live gives no clue to his reasons, but does command admiration for leading a forlorn hope and dying bravely as the chief of his people.

Negotiations were broken off about noon and the first action was fought the same day, just before sunset. Three Texans were killed and five wounded, while the Indians retreated leaving eighteen dead. Following their trail, the afternoon of July 16 brought the Texans in sight of the enemy, posted for battle in a well-chosen position. They fired on the Texan advance as it dismounted, killing several horses and one man. The main body coming up, the Texans advanced, firing, until within fifty yards of the Indian position in a ravine. Here the signal for the charge sent the five hundred Texans careering into the eight hundred Indians, and the latter fled. They were followed through a swamp but made no further stand. They had lost about a hundred warriors, the Texans five.

The scattered Cherokees were followed for several days, after which the army destroyed their corn fields and disbanded. For several months thereafter they retaliated by returning in small raiding parties and harassing the Texas frontier, but most of them eventually found a home among their kinsmen in the Cherokee Nation north of the Arkansas River. One band, led by John Bowles and The Egg, attempted to make their way into Mexico and were killed, captured and dispersed by General Burleson on Christmas Day, 1839, in what is now San Saba County. Cherokee Creek and village commemorate the brief and tragic presence of a part of the tribe in that distant region.

There was so much of wrong on both sides, and so much honest difference on the issue at the time, that it is useless to try to balance the score a century afterward. We have presented, too briefly perhaps, the major aspects of the case and the contrary views held by responsible citizens. It is interesting to speculate on what "might

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have been" had the treaty of 1836 been ratified by Congress, and the Cherokees confirmed in their title to the land. In the light of history, before and since 1839, the probabilities are that the crisis would have been only postponed, not avoided; and the longer its solution waited, the more serious the effects.

The Cherokee war had serious repercussions for years afterward. General Houston denounced it and everyone connected with it in no uncertain terms, widening the political breach which had its inception in the political and military maneuvers of 1835-36. His attitude rose above political expediency, for the majority did not agree with his Indian policy; only personal loyalty to the hero of San Jacinto and the general belief in his sincerity and integrity held his following in line in spite of the Indian issue.

The Frontier Capital—The capital commission reported on April 15, and President Lamar promptly appointed Edwin Waller to survey the townsite of Austin and act as agent. He was on the site in May. Guarded by Rangers under Captains Mark B. Lewis and James Ownsby, Waller and his surveyors and a large number of carpenters and laborers, set about the building of a city on the very edge of white settlement. The Harrell and Hornsby families were already there, others a few miles down the river, and none above. From the standpoint of advancing the frontiers the site was well chosen. It was picturesque beyond compare, and after a hundred years, though much of its pristine beauty is covered with brick and stone, Austin still excites lively emotions of admiration in the beholder.

Thirty-five miles away was the Bastrop "pinery," a biological island separated from the main pine belt by a hundred miles. Here sawmills turned out lumber for the new city, while whipsaws and axes worked up the oak and other usable timber at the townsite. Log houses predominated, for residence and business, but several taverns and other large buildings were erected of sawn lumber. A two-story frame house for the President, and another for Congress, were ready for occupancy by early fall, and when the government moved in, the town had fifteen hundred inhabitants, though many were living in tents and makeshift shelters such as frontiersmen knew so well how to make.

In September between forty and fifty wagons left Houston, carrying the archives, furniture, books and other paraphernalia of the

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government, and took their slow and winding course to the new capital city. They arrived safely, and early in October the several government offices were open for business. President Lamar arrived October 17, and the exuberant young city celebrated with due pomp and ceremony.

A mounted escort met the Presidential party two miles beyond the city limits. General Ed Burleson drew up his command in parallel lines, and between them marched the procession to meet His Excellency. The orator of the day (Edwin Waller) was supported by Captain Lynch, Alex Russell, General Albert Sidney Johnston and Colonel Edward Burleson as marshals; and a standard bearer. Mr. Waller having delivered his address, to which the President responded "in a short but pithy and appropriate speech," the cavalcade was again set in motion toward the city.

A salute of twenty-one guns greeted the President as he crossed the city line, and "a large concourse of citizens, who had been unable, for want of horses and harness, to join the cavalcade," awaited him at Bullock's Hotel, where the day fittingly ended with "a sumptuous dinner." Among the toasts, Dr. Moses Johnson struck a popular note with: "The Single Star of Texas—It is small but bright, and may it one day be the sun around which the Spanish provinces will revolve."

Less than a month later Austin again did the honors to a distinguished personage, no less than "Old Sam Jacinto" himself. Dr. Anson Jones presided, assisted by Colonels Horton and Golightly, and "about two hundred persons sat down at the table, which was prepared for a much larger number; but the inclemency of the day prevented their audience." General Houston responded in an eloquent speech, which "impressed us with a more favorable opinion of his powerful intellect and generous devotion to his country than we before entertained," says the editor of the "Austin City Gazette."

Dr. Moses Johnson's toast was an early expression of typical Texiana: "With pleasure we greet our friends from any State or country; but if they remain among us, we wish them to become Texans."

John Henry Brown, then a youthful printer apprentice, later soldier, statesman and historian, who knew all the principal actors in these scenes, says that "no town, containing the same number of souls

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. . . ever had more talent among its founders. Certainly in no settlement, where defense against savages devolved upon the members of every household, was there ever more enlightenment and refinement." Dr. Anson Jones, then a Senator from Brazoria, afterward President, noted in his diary March 13, 1840, that he was waked up in the night by an Indian alarm, heard the cries of one of the two men killed and scalped, and that the suburbs of the town were plundered of all the horses. This in the capital of a Republic while its Congress was in session!

The Fourth Congress—The land laws had from the first been a source of violently conflicting opinions, stemming largely from the patent efforts of certain newcomers to secure a speculative advantage at the expense of those who had been residents before, and participated in, the Revolution against Mexico.

The new aspects of the land problem challenged the Fourth Congress when it met in Austin, November 11, 1839. Forgeries of land certificates and other fraudulent practices were discovered; and the disposal of the Cherokee lands was up for a decision.

Two travelling boards of commissioners, with plenary authority to pass upon the legality of certificates issued by the county boards, were created to meet the first problem. Most of the traffic in fraudulent certificates was centered in the counties of Shelby, San Augustine and Jasper, where the immigration from the old Neutral Grounds was heaviest, and the lawless element had become strong enough to put some of their sort into public office.

The Cherokee land problem presented an entirely new problem. Having been recently won by the sword, this beautiful and fertile region, next door to the East Texas settlements and most easily accessible to immigrants from the United States, was obviously the property of the Republic, and by its location the most valuable of its lands in terms of ready salability. For the same reasons it was most attractive to the growing clique of land speculators.

A bill was introduced reserving the Cherokee lands from location, for future sale. General Houston, member from San Augustine, was its most vigorous and eloquent proponent. His desire was to hold these relatively valuable lands as a basis for the redemption of

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treasury notes, which, now supported only by the general credit of the Republic, sorely needed a more definite and substantial backing.

Others opposed it on the grounds that legitimate holders of bounty and head-right certificates should not be denied the right to locate their certificates wherever they chose, and they claimed the Cherokee lands as a part of the public domain. To this plausible argument the answer was made that it had not been subject to entry as a part of the public domain at the time the certificates were issued, hence their holders would lose nothing to which they were clearly entitled; and the doubt, if any, should be resolved in favor of the government, because of the beneficent purpose to which it was proposed to devote the lands.

Though Houston's unimpassioned logic carried the bill through the House by a large majority, over the plausible opposition of Speaker David S. Kaufman, the Cherokee lands were not reserved as a basis for credit.

New issues of promissory notes were authorized, eight per cent. bonds were created in the hope of stemming the declining value of the currency, and before the year (1840) was out the "paper" of the proud Republic of Texas had fallen as low as ten to fifteen cents on the dollar, and coin had practically disappeared from circulation. The five-million-dollar bond issue had been kicking around in Europe now for three years, begging from door to door for a taker.

General James Hamilton, commissioner to England, France, Holland and Belgium, returned during the Congress to report (in a secret session) progress, and suggest changes in the law which he believed would enable him to find a market for the bonds. To anticipate, the bonds were never sold, but General Hamilton shortly secured the recognition of Texan independence by the governments of France (September, 1839), the Netherlands (September, 1840), and Great Britain (November, 1840). The leading nations of the world were now speaking to Texas as an equal in the family, but they held tight to their purses.

When the Cherokees were driven out in July their hogs and cattle were left behind, offering tempting loot to the unscrupulous, who did not delay in appropriating it to their own use. Though Congress refused to withhold the lands from location, it did pass an act to

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prohibit the driving of domestic animals from the Cherokee country, or killing the same therein. By the time the courts were strong enough to enforce the law, however, it is doubtful if many cattle and hogs remained.

Other acts of especial interest to East Texas were: The creation of Travis and Harrison counties; authorizing the survey of a reserve for the Alabama and Cushatta Indians; to locate a road from Washington to the Sabine River; also a road from Bastrop to Red River; to incorporate Union Academy (Washington County); to require a company of soldiers to be stationed at Fort Houston; acts for the incorporation of the towns of Beaumont, Liberty, and Galveston.

The Republic of the Rio Grande—A diversion, which probably reacted to the benefit of East Texas, occurred in 1839-40 along the distant border. The Mexican Federalists, having failed to get control of the government, moved to form "The Republic of the Rio Grande" on a friendly basis with Texas. Its leaders came to Austin, seeking an alliance, but President Lamar wisely refrained from giving the movement the official blessing. Nevertheless the enterprise was generally looked upon with favor, and many Texans enlisted in the cause. This offered an outlet for the activities of soldiers who had been discharged after the Cherokee campaign, and took a good many of them away from the settlements, where, in the unsettled state of affairs, they might have added to the confusion.

Another train of events which, though remote geographically, redounded to the enhanced safety of East Texas, transpired in 1840. The Comanches, who were known to hold a number of white prisoners, came to San Antonio to treat for their ransom. (Congress had recently authorized the President to redeem such prisoners.) The famous "Council House Fight" followed, and a few months later the Comanches, to the number of about a thousand, vengeance-bound, swept through Western Texas to the Coast, burning the town of Linnville, killing a number of people, and collecting an enormous amount of merchandise and horses.

As they retreated in the direction of their plains habitat, the "Plum Creek Fight" occurred, in which the red raiders were severely punished, losing eighty-six warriors and about nine hundred of their stolen horses. Later in the year (October, 1840) Colonel John H.

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Moore penetrated the wilds three hundred miles from Austin and attacked their village on the upper Colorado River (near the present town of Colorado), killing a hundred and thirty and capturing all the rest except two. A few old men and squaws were released on the ground, thirty-four squaws and children, and more than five hundred horses were brought in. The year had given the bloodthirsty and treacherous Comanches the most severe punishment they had ever experienced. For some time thereafter they confined their depredations to hasty raids in small parties on the very edges of the frontier, and were rarely seen east of the Trinity thereafter.

The Fifth Congress—The boundary between Texas and the United States was finally surveyed in 1840, from the intersection of the thirty-second parallel and the Sabine, due north to Red River. This cleared the way for land location and settlement along that border; Bowie and Lamar counties were created by the Fifth Congress, which assembled at Austin in November.

Nacogdoches returned David S. Kaufman, who was reëlected Speaker of the House, and General Houston again represented San Augustine, with a new colleague, Henry W. Augustine. The new county of Harrison again sent Isaac VanZandt, who was thereafter to render brilliant service to his adopted country as Minister to the United States. Red River district was represented in the Senate by Robert Potter, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and first Secretary of the Navy. He had served with distinction in the legislative body of North Carolina and in the United States Congress before coming to Texas, but his turbulent temper and questionable habits kept him in trouble, eventually bringing him to a violent death in a neighborhood feud.

President Lamar's ill health placed Vice-President Burnet in the Executive chair on December 13, and Congress having granted Lamar leave of absence, Burnet continued to handle the routine business of the office during the remainder of the term. This left President Lamar free to pursue his favorite enterprise of bringing Santa Fe under the Lone Star.

The First Congress, following the compact with Santa Anna, had fixed the Rio Grande as the western boundary of Texas, but the mine-

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run citizenship, especially in East Texas, were more concerned with local affairs than with flying the flag over Santa Fe. President Lamar, the anti-annexationist, was sincerely committed to the separate existence and aggrandizement of the Republic of Texas, and believing that the people of Santa Fe would welcome their release from the tyrannical feudalism under which they lived, persisted in his plan despite the failure of Congress to provide funds or authorize the expedition.

"By the erratic judgment of the hour," notes John Henry Brown, "so often merciless and unreasoning, failure brought on Lamar pitiless criticism for trying in good faith to extend the aegis of Texas . . . and thereby strengthen her power and resources as an independent nation. His judgment may have been at fault; but his patriotism cannot be questioned."

By this time it was known that the French loan, on which the hope of Texas had confidently hung a few months before, could not be consummated. The national debt had mounted to unknown heights, the paper "red-backs" had "done their proper work" and the annual expenses of the government were several times its receipts. Lamar got the blame but Congress was a party to the crime of spending promises to pay without supplying adequate backing, as had been proposed in the Cherokee land bill.

Most of the money spent by the Lamar administration, however, went for military purposes. To show for it, East Texas had the Cherokee lands, and the Comanches had been driven beyond reach of the Gulf Coast and East Texas settlements. With these objectives already achieved they were more tolerant of Houston's Indian policy, and even those who opposed him in the Cherokee affair, were ready to let dead issues lie, and support the champion of economy.

"The Raven" Returns—Houston's election as President was a foregone conclusion, long before the ballots were cast. Burnet, the opposing candidate, had to bear the weight of Lamar's financial mistakes, and only the west, exposed to both Indian and Mexican threats, was now interested in a vigorous frontier policy. Mr. Yoakum assumes that Houston's heavy majority was "an affirmance of his humane policy toward the Indians, . . . economy in . . . public expenditures . . . and of a more pacific conduct toward Mexico."

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With the exception of the "economy" item we may reasonably question the eminent historian's assumptions.

The accumulated history of nearly a century does not indicate that East or South Texas loved an Indian or a Mexican more, or feared them less, than West Texas; or that those sections were more humane or interested in abstract justice than the people on the frontier. Rather, it may be plausibly surmised, they had merely ceased to be vitally interested in the subject since the frontier had been thrust well beyond their borders. It is not easy for even good and patriotic citizens, such as most East and South Texans certainly were, to project their patriotism far beyond the range of their own immediate interests and into affairs of which they could have little accurate or first-hand knowledge.

The election of General Edward Burleson by a large majority over Memucan Hunt as Vice-President does not indicate "a humane policy" toward the Indians, for that redoubtable frontiersman was one of the greatest Indian fighters Texas knew, and had led the regular army to the Cherokee War. He appeared for his inauguration "in a complete suit of highly dressed and ornamented buckskin, while General Houston's stately form never appeared more majestic," notes an eye-witness (John Henry Brown).

The new administration took over on December 13, the Sixth Congress having already been in session since November 1, 1841. Anson Jones was made Secretary of State; George W. Hockley, Secretary of War and Marine; William H. Dangerfield, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. Terrell, Attorney-General; Asa Brigham, Treasurer; Francis R. Lubbock and James B. Shaw, Comptrollers; Charles DeMorse, Auditor; Thomas William Ward, Commissioner of the Land Office. Dangerfield later went as Minister to the Netherlands, Belgium and the Hanse towns, and was succeeded by George W. Hill. Terrell became acting Secretary of State and was succeeded by Ebenezer Allen.

James Reilly, Isaac VanZandt and James Pinckney Henderson served as Ministers to the United States during Houston's second term. The President and Congress worked in harmony toward economy, several offices having been abolished before Houston's inauguration, and a measure was passed to burn each month all the



(Courtesy of Dallas Chamber of Commerce)

BIRTHPLACE OF DALLAS

THIS ONE-ROOM LOG CABIN OF JOHN NEELY BRYAN STAN IS TODAY ON THE DALLAS COUNTY COURTHOUSE LAWN.

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paper redeemed by "par funds." The Fifth Congress had already repealed the law authorizing a five-million-dollar loan, and this (the Sixth) Congress turned thumbs down on a new proposition from Belgium, offering a loan of seven million dollars at six per cent., but on terms repulsive to the pride of a self-respecting State.

Upon receipt of the news that the members of the Santa Fe expedition were prisoners at the mercy of Santa Anna (who had regained his place as dictator of Mexico) a wave of grief and rage swept over all Texas, and Congress gave vent to its feelings by passing (over the President's veto) an act extending the boundaries of Texas to include several Mexican states, with a population of two millions. A futile gesture, but it showed that the majority were not in favor of "more pacific conduct toward Mexico" when her barbarous behavior was brought clearly to their knowledge.

Congress again refused to pledge lands as security for "exchequer bills" as recommended by the President. Consequently this new form of currency was better than the old only because it was a later promise, yet nothing but a promise, of the government. The bills passed at fifty cents on the dollar.

The political atmosphere in the United States was now believed to be more favorable, and Houston lost no time in having the subject of annexation brought out and brushed up. Mr. Reilly, *chargé d'affaires* at Washington, was instructed to sound out the sentiment of President Tyler and the Congress. Mr. Tyler was decidedly in favor of the annexation of Texas, reported Mr. Reilly, and the project was also popular in Congress.

Almost at the same moment that Mr. Reilly was sounding this encouraging note, having told his Washington confrères that "no hostile army has invaded Texas in six years," Mexican bugles were again blowing on Texas soil, and a thousand troops were marching on San Antonio, Refugio and Goliad. They caught the Texans unprepared, notwithstanding the invasion had been announced weeks before in a proclamation from Monterey, by General Mariano Arista; and the proclamation came to the attention of the President and Congress about the same time they heard of the plight of the Santa Fe prisoners. After occupying the towns briefly, however, the Mexicans retired to their own side of the Rio Grande.

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The news flew as only bad news can; volunteers swarmed out to repel the invaders; the President called the militia to arms, and within a few days some thirty-five hundred men were on the march. General Burleson was first on the scene at San Antonio with two or three hundred men, but the President gave the command of the entire force to Brigadier-General Alexander Somervell, senior officer of the militia, with orders to organize and mark time. This did not suit the temper of either volunteers or militia, who wanted to plunge into action, without delay. The President's second communication informed General Somervell that no forward movement would be authorized for a period of four months, pending a special session of Congress and help from the United States, and General Burleson (in whose favor Somervell had retired) was left without orders. After remaining in this anomalous position until April 2, General Burleson disbanded the troops.

On receipt of the news of the Mexican invasion, the President issued an order (March 10) for the removal of the archives to the city of Houston, and Congress was called to meet at that place on June 27. The people of Austin retained and secreted the papers of the land office, and again prevented their removal when (December, 1842) Houston sent Captains Thomas Smith and Eli Chambers, with a band of Rangers, to bring the archives to Washington, where the next Congress was soon to meet.

When Congress met in special session in June, 1842, the President's message outlined the recent threats and hostile acts of Mexico; and advised that counter-measures be taken, without, however, offering a concrete plan. A bill was passed authorizing the President to call for volunteers, order out one-third of the militia, if insufficient volunteers responded, and head the army in person in an offensive war. There was no money, but ten million acres of land were appropriated to finance the war.

The "immigrant volunteers" who had responded to the President's hasty call in March were giving trouble, and he now saw that Texas would do better to rely upon her own people. This was exactly what General Burleson was willing to do four months previously, when the President was broadcasting a call for foreign volunteers and packing off an agent to the United States to try for a million-dollar loan. He did not get a dollar.

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Realizing that a war could not be financed with land, in the present state of affairs, the President vetoed the bill. His action created bitter criticism, but "The Raven" was playing a deeper game than the general public could fathom, with the little it knew of what was going on elsewhere. Although Mexico had rejected the mediation of Great Britain on the Texas situation, Mr. Webster, Tyler's Secretary of State (formerly a bitter opponent of Texas), now undertook to induce Mexico to abandon a hopeless effort to recover Texas. This, too, was rejected, but the President had no intention of trying the issue by arms.

In September, General Woll invaded Texas with twelve hundred troops and took San Antonio against a feeble resistance. The district court and a number of private citizens were carried into captivity. Again the President sent General Somervell to take command of such troops as would submit to his orders, but all the fighting was done by Captains Caldwell and Hays, of the Rangers.

The President could no longer ignore public sentiment, which demanded retaliatory action against Mexico's repeated incursions. He instructed General Somervell to proceed with the organization and drilling of his men, with a view of attacking the enemy "if their strength and condition shall warrant."

A regiment of militia from Montgomery County (then extending from the Brazos to the Trinity) was ordered out, under the command of Colonel Joseph L. Bennett (a San Jacinto veteran) and another from Washington County under the leadership of Colonel Jesse B. McCrocklin.

Other East Texans who joined as volunteers were Captain John N. O. Smith of Houston and Lieutenant Thomas S. Lubbock, who commanded the company throughout the campaign after Captain Smith fell ill at Gonzales; Captain John G. W. Pierson of Robertson County. Washington County's six companies of volunteers were led by Captains Jerome B. Robertson, E. S. C. Robertson (son of the empresario), Philip Coe, William S. Fisher, William P. Rutledge, and Samuel Bogart. The latter company was attached to Colonel Jack Hays' regiment which led the advance to the Rio Grande.

General Somervell had played a creditable part in military and political affairs ever since 1835, and was popular in the circles where he was known. Many volunteers, however, were unwilling to serve

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under him on the conditions imposed by the President's instructions, and returned home from San Antonio. He eventually marched to the Rio Grande with about seven hundred and fifty men, where the expedition broke up, Somervell returning to San Antonio with about two hundred men.

Disgusted at Somervell's leadership—or lack of it—Colonel Bennett and the two Captains Robertson had previously returned home with about two hundred men. Captain Bogart, Judge John Hemphill, Lieutenant Lubbock and others of the East Texas contingent returned with Somervell. Captain William S. Fisher of Washington, and Captain J. G. W. Pierson of Robertson, with their companies, were among the three hundred who declined to return, the former being elected to command the Mier expedition.

It now seems clear that the Somervell expedition was never intended to be anything but a gesture to appease the general clamor for action. Had the President believed that a successful counter-invasion was possible, or that it was expedient as a policy, his choice of a commander would have doubtless fallen upon one who, like himself in the campaign of 1836, could and would act on his own initiative without detailed orders from a seat of government far away. Such men were available, men who commanded the confidence and had the spirit of the volunteers, but the unhappy political antagonisms of the day prevented their consideration.

Gloomy Skies—The President and the heads of departments removed to Washington in September, 1842, and a special session of Congress was called to meet on November 14. The government's financial status had continued growing worse; the frontier troubles were laid to insubordination and lack of unity on the part of the troops; the mails had entirely ceased, said the President's message. He recommended certain revenue measures, and provisions for carrying the mails. One bright spot shone through the otherwise overcast skies of Texas—a favorable commercial treaty with the United States had been made and was now presented to the Senate for confirmation.

The Indian policy of the President was approved and provisions were made for trading houses, interpreters, etc., to put it into better effect. Congress, however, also passed an act (over the President's

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veto) providing for the election of a Major-General and calling into immediate service six companies to protect the western frontier. General Thomas J. Rusk was elected to the command, and Congress adjourned January 16, 1843.

Unknown to the general public the President was bending every effort to keep the good will and secure the intervention of England, France and the United States in the Mexican situation. His diplomatic difficulties were enhanced by the unauthorized Mier affair, disclaimed by the Texas government, but nevertheless reflecting on it in the eyes of other nations.

In view of the President's attitude on this, and the Santa Fe expedition of Lamar's administration, what follows is inexplicable. Soon after Congress adjourned the Secretary of War, undoubtedly with the President's knowledge and approval, authorized (February 16, 1843) Colonel Jacob Snively to organize a force of three hundred partisans to operate against Mexican commerce on the Santa Fe trail, half of the spoils to belong to the government! The party rendezvoused near Coffee's Trading Post on Red River, and on April 25 set out for the scene of action on the distant Arkansas, which they reached about a month later. The subsequent disasters need not be told here. Colonel Snively and a remnant of some sixty-five men reached Bird's Fort on the Trinity in August.

If the Santa Fe and Mier episodes had been "foolish," this was worse, and the Texas government could not so plausibly disclaim responsibility for it. "The Texans now on the road to Santa Fe," wrote Houston's old mentor, Andrew Jackson, "can only be viewed by Mexico as a band of robbers—unless there by your orders—and, if taken, will every one be put to death." Old Hickory did not know that the expedition had been officially sanctioned, and that the Texas government expected to share the spoils (though the men refused to accept that part of the orders of the Secretary of War).

The Skies Lighten—The President lost no time in taking steps to effectuate his Indian policy. Late in March (1843) he dispatched Joseph C. Eldridge as commissioner to treat with the wild tribes. Hamilton P. Bee and Thomas Torrey (of the famous Trading House Torreys) accompanied Eldridge. With three Delaware guides and

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interpreters, two Comanche children who had been prisoners three years, several other Delawares as hunters, and the Waco chief, Acoquash, the party left Washington, passed Fort Milam (near the present Marlin), the Torrey trading house on Tehuacana Creek (near Waco), and to the West Fork of the Trinity. Here (probably in Wise or Jack County) eleven small tribes gathered, and agreed to meet the President at Bird's Fort on August 10.

Farther on they reached the Waco village, delivered two Waco girl captives, and cured Acoquash's wife of a violent illness with a dose of jalap and rhubarb. Acoquash and his wife thereafter accompanied them, and the grateful old Waco doubtless prevented their murder by the Comanches, whose principal camp they reached in August.

The Comanches refused to accept the invitation to Bird's Fort, and the first date set had passed. The treaty was concluded with a number of other tribes by George W. Terrell and E. H. Tarrant on September 29. It provided for the establishment of trading houses at the junction of the West and Clear Forks of the Trinity (now Fort Worth), at Comanche Peak (now in Hood County), and at the old San Saba mission.

A line touching these points was thereafter to be the boundary between white and Indian country. The immediate effect of this arrangement was to encourage the settlement of Peters' colony and draw immigration farther west all along the line. The official frontier then delineated coincided rather closely with the former frontier between the village-dwelling agricultural tribes and the nomadic plains tribes; and included all of what we now know as East Texas in "white man's country."

Another Gleam of Hope—About the time the Indian frontier was being pacified, Mexico for the first time indicated her willingness to treat for peace. The President appointed his loyal old friend, George W. Hockley, and Samuel M. Williams, former secretary of Austin's colony, as commissioners to meet those of Mexico. Though nothing came of it, the negotiations had the effect of keeping the peace between the two nations for several months, while other developments were in train.

Great Britain had interested herself in the affairs of Texas for several years past, partly for commercial and partly for political

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reasons. She had declined (1842) to act jointly with France and the United States to terminate the war between Mexico and her revolted colony, but played her own hand. The efforts of Percy Doyle, British *chargé d'affairs*, doubtless had a great deal to do with Mexico's present agreement to treat with Texas, on any terms. Captain Charles Elliot, Britain's representative in Texas, was particularly active all during the summer of 1843 in cultivating the delicate flower of peace, and otherwise laying Texas under obligations to his government.

The statesmen of the United States suddenly woke up to the fact that Texas might make an advantageous connection with England, and remain independent. Texas could conceivably cut loose from the apron strings of her natural mother, who had now kept her dangling for six years, with the complacent idea that she would still be there for the plucking if and when the United States got around to it.

Great Britain, on her part, was interested in stopping the expansion of the United States; also in providing a receptive outlet for her manufactured goods, and another source of raw materials, especially cotton. The President, seeing these growing international jealousies and suspicions, said and did nothing to dissipate them. Rather, by the tight-lipped air of mystery he knew so well how to assume, Houston fanned the sparks of British-American jealousy into flames.

President Tyler was known to be in favor of annexation, and in September, decided it was time to act. Secretary of State Upshur so informed Isaac VanZandt, Texan Minister, and a month later stated definitely that he was ready to negotiate a treaty of annexation. Politely but positively Texas declined to enter into a discussion of annexation "at this particular time."

The matter was not mentioned in the President's message when Congress convened December 4. On January 20 (1844), however, he laid the matter before Congress in a secret message, and James Pinckney Henderson was sent to the United States as special commissioner, to coöperate with Minister VanZandt. They concluded a treaty (John C. Calhoun having succeeded Upshur as American Secretary of State) on April 12, and on June 8 the American Senate rejected it by a decisive vote. Again Texas was humiliated, and besides, had offended England and France, to say nothing of Mexico, who immediately declared the armistice at an end, and threatened another invasion.

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VanZandt asked to be relieved and was not replaced, giving the impression to the Washington politicians that Texas was offended almost to the point of severing diplomatic relations with the United States.

The rejection of Texas by the United States Senate was water on the wheel of France and Britain, who had been disconcerted at the discovery that Texas was again negotiating for annexation. Their new hopes were quickly turned into fears by the turn of politics in the United States. The Democratic party came out for "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas," and Clay, the Whig leader, was compelled to hedge on his former position of outspoken opposition.

Through Dr. Ashbel Smith, Texan Minister, Great Britain suggested an alternative by which Texas would agree to retain her sovereignty in return for the protection of Texas against Mexico and Mexico against the United States, by France and England. While no answer was sent, the proposal gave Texas another string to her diplomatic bow, and eventually (in the spring of 1845) bore fruit in the shape of an offer from Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas on the condition that she would agree not to annex herself to or become subject to any other country.

All this, of course, was a deep, dark secret to all but President Houston, his Secretary of State (soon to be President) Anson Jones, and a few other intimates and officials. It would have been music to the ears of the anti-annexationists had it been made public; and many notable men, from Lamar's time forward, sincerely believed that Texas would ultimately be better off standing alone than as a State in the American Confederacy. George W. Terrell was one of them, and he was sent to England to replace Ashbel Smith as Minister. There would have been more anti-annexationists could they have foreseen that the "sovereign states" would, within a few years, be subject to coercion by arms as well as by law.

The Last President—By 1844 Texas, both the government and the people, had come far along the road to prosperity. Immigration and wealth had increased, the revenues had risen, government expenses had been reduced. All this was the result more of natural evolution

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than of statesmanship, though the responsible heads of the government conscientiously bent their efforts, as far as they would go, to these desirable ends. Revenues increased through the creation of new wealth from the land, and the consequent increase of commerce. Expenses of government fell as a result of comparative quietude on both the Mexican and the Indian frontiers. Congress had made no progress in solving the money problem, and the unpaid obligations of the Republic were still an unknown quantity. Her currency, however, was in better shape.

The Presidential election was enlivened by the issue between east and west on the location of the government, the latter insisting that it be returned to the permanent capital at Austin. The removal had been made under clear constitutional authority applying to war conditions; now, they argued, such conditions did not exist and the same Constitution required its return. Houston answered that the breakdown of the mail service had made it impracticable to efficiently transact the public business from a point so remote from the world at large as Austin.

Dr. Anson Jones was the natural heir to the Houston mantle, while General Edward Burleson (an annexationist) was the candidate of the western, and other anti-administration, interests. The sentiment for annexation was also strongest in the east, but some of the more impatient annexationists were also dissatisfied with the slow progress in that direction. There was a well-founded suspicion that Houston and Jones were flirting too much with England; and Jones was openly charged with being opposed to annexation.

The feeling rose high, but the delicate diplomatic situation, in which the government was trying to avoid giving offense to any friendly Nation, prevented Houston and his Secretary of State from publicly clarifying their position.

The capital issue and the annexation issue, therefore, cut across and confused the issue between the administration and its opponents. The election of September 2 gave Jones 7,037 votes to Burleson's 5,661. Kenneth L. Anderson, law partner of Thomas J. Rusk and James Pinckney Henderson, was elected Vice-President.

In his message to Congress (December 3) President Houston assured the country that, while Texas had kept on good terms with Great Britain and France, there was not the slightest danger of Texas

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becoming a British appanage. This bugbear had been raised in the United States to scare the opposition into accepting annexation, and doubtless many Texans honestly believed it.

The new administration was inaugurated December 9, and President Jones set forth his policies on every public question except annexation. Generally speaking they were identical with those of Houston on money, tariffs, the public credit, the Indian and the Mexican questions.

Nothing of great significance came from the regular session of the Ninth Congress, and it adjourned on February 3, 1845, before the result of annexation proceedings in the United States could be forecast.

The Turn of the Tide—The mills of the gods grind slowly, but the grist needed only a few more turns of the millstones. Annexation became an issue in the Presidential election of the United States, with "Polk, Dallas and Texas" as the password. It buried Clay and the "holier-than-thou" clique together.

President Tyler answered Mexico's challenge of war and clearly placed the issue in the lap of Congress when he delivered his annual message on December 5. Instead of a treaty, the procedure now was to clinch the matter, so far as the United States was concerned, by a joint resolution of Congress. Such a resolution passed the Senate by the close margin of two votes, Whigs (with two exceptions) opposing and Democrats favoring. It had previously passed the House by a good majority.

President Tyler, like Jackson, had the supreme satisfaction of closing his term with an official act in behalf of Texas. One day short of the ninth anniversary of the Texas declaration of independence, and two days prior to the eighth anniversary of her recognition by the United States, Tyler affixed his signature to the annexation resolution. On his last day in office he sent instructions to the American *chargé d'affaires*, Andrew Jackson Donelson, on the matter of presenting the proposal to the Texan Government. Donelson hastened to Texas to forestall the (supposed) nefarious designs of Great Britain.

The Patriarch's Blessing—The news brightened the gloom of a lonely old man over in Tennessee, as the sands of a long and vigorous life were running low. When it reached the Hermitage, Andrew Jack-

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son joyfully wrote his felicitations to his friend and protégé, Houston, and among his wise admonitions for the future glory and prosperity of Texas was this prophetic passage: "To protect your morals, and to cap the climax of your prosperity, and protect the labor of your country, you must provide in your Constitution . . . that your legislature shall never establish a bank, or any corporation whatever, with a power to issue paper; that no banks shall be established . . . except on a specie basis . . . There never was nor ever could be use for any other kind except for speculators and gamblers in stocks, and this to the utter ruin and morals of a country."

The Coy Maiden—The passage of the annexation resolution stirred the British and French into ardent efforts to keep Texas an independent Nation, and when Donelson arrived on the scene he quickly found that its acceptance by Texas was by no means certain. Having been a suppliant and almost a beggar for nine years, the young Republic now found herself in the position of a rich and beautiful damsel, assiduously courted by several suitors. She could afford to be coy, and she played the part so well that the jealous rivals vied with each other in promises.

Houston and Jones had worked hand in hand for annexation, but, like every other true Texan, were not willing to accept it on any terms. The joint resolution passed by the American Congress, they thought, lacked a good deal of perfection. This, Donelson learned definitely, when he went to Huntsville to confer with Houston, who bluntly told him that he thought Texas ought to have something to say about the terms on which she entered the Union. He, Houston, therefore preferred the treaty method, by which both her prestige would be recognized and her material interests better served. He outlined eight points as a substitute for the resolution and a basis for negotiation.

In the meantime mass meetings were being held, enthusiastically endorsing annexation. Mr. Donelson had been profuse in promising quick and opulent benefits, not covered in the resolution, and the people generally were ready to accept them at face value. The mass meeting at Houston on San Jacinto Day expressed its "full confidence in the honor and justice of the American people," and a naïve faith that Texas would receive "every privilege that freemen can grant without

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dishonor and freemen can accept without disgrace." What a pity that the author of this resounding phrase could not see into the future, and know that honor and justice are the attributes of individuals, not of nations; that when popular passion rules or pecuniary interests are at stake, honor and justice are often crucified.

President Jones had not the personal following that his predecessor had, nor had he the gift for "eloquent silence" and political finesse of which The Raven was master. His coquetry with Great Britain and France had a sound purpose, but was misunderstood—or perhaps deliberately misinterpreted—by the annexationists. He called Congress into special session June 16, to decide the question, and before it met had also issued a call for a convention of specially elected delegates to meet July 4 for the purpose of confirming the action of Congress and forming a State Constitution.

This should have been evidence enough that he regarded annexation as a foregone conclusion, but when Congress met, a proposition was offered to impeach the President. It was voted down, but a counter-resolution offering the President a vote of thanks was also defeated.

He presented both the Mexican treaty and the annexation question. Congress spurned the former and voted unanimously for the latter.

The question of representation in the forthcoming convention had agitated the public mind, the east feeling that "people, not acres," should govern the apportionment. The west was just as firmly convinced that its frontier burdens entitled it to retain the representation of 1836. Congress had no power to reapportion the representation without a census, and a census had never been taken. The question threatened, however, to be brought into Congress, and President Jones neatly cut the Gordian knot by allocating the delegates, in his official call, on the basis of the votes cast in the recent election, which pleased the east; and calling the convention to meet at Austin, which satisfied the west.

This gave three delegates each to six East Texas counties—Harris, Harrison, Nacogdoches, Red River, Washington, and Montgomery. Fannin, Galveston, Houston, Liberty, Lamar, San Augustine, and Shelby had two delegates each, while Brazos, Jasper, Milam,

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Rusk and Sabine were limited to one delegate. Bowie County does not appear in the lists at hand, but Bancroft (relying on Niles' Register) says sixty-one delegates were *sent*, of whom thirty-five were anti-annexationists and twenty-six annexationists! He also credits Montgomery with four instead of three delegates.

At any rate East Texas had a handsome majority in the convention—thirty-seven or thirty-eight out of sixty-one allotted—and among them were such figures as Rusk, Isaac Parker, Isaac VanZandt, Edward Clark, George T. Wood, James L. Hogg, the Latimers, H. R. and A. H., George W. Wright, J. Pinckney Henderson, Abner S. Lipscomb, John Hemphill, and others whose illustrious names illuminate the history of Texas, both as Republic and State.

Rusk was elected president of the convention, and VanZandt, who a few years before was carving a saddle-tree from a sassafras and making a cradle for his baby with his own hands, served as chairman of the committee on General Provisions.

The convention was in session from July 4 to August 27 (1845) and by a vote of fifty-six to one accepted annexation on the terms offered. Richard Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, and delegate from Galveston, wrote his name large in history by voting against annexation, but afterward made it unanimous by signing. One wonders what came over all of the other anti-annexationists! One of them, J. S. Mayfield, who had previously objected to the terms laid down in the Tyler proposition, made the motion for adoption of the ordinance, and the vote was taken without discussion.

The Constitution was submitted to the voters in October and received their hearty endorsement. In December the first State election was held under the Constitution, and the laws of the United States (except imposts) were extended over Texas.

On February 16, 1846, the first legislature assembled, and in relinquishing his office President Jones was able to report a "universally prosperous condition . . . foreign relations . . . closed in a manner satisfactory . . . to all the governments with which we have had intercourse. The frontier . . . quiet and secure, and the husbandman sows and reaps his harvest in peace." Industry and enterprise, home markets and immigration, were in a healthy state. "The expenses of government . . . have been paid in undepreciated currency; consid-

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erable debt . . . has been paid off, and a surplus of available means sufficient to defray the expenses of the government, economically administered, for the next two years . . . is left at the disposal of the State."

A pang of regret must have mingled with pride, in the hearts of those who had borne the heat and burden of creating a Nation, only to see it pass under another flag just at the moment when it was strong enough to stand alone. Callous, incapable of the higher emotions they would have been, indeed, had not tears flowed freely as the Lone Star banner was lowered and the President pronounced: "The Republic of Texas is no more!"

Retrospect and Speculation—"The world is subject to the temporary influence of those who play upon the passions of the hour," remarks John Henry Brown. "But it is also subject to what is popularly designated as the sober second, and generally right, thought . . . The abuse, in years gone by, heaped upon Bowie, Houston, Burnet, Lamar, and others" (he might well have named Anson Jones) "aside from the personal recriminations between some of them, have long since ceased to disturb the reflective judgment of just and wise men. Each has come to be judged . . . as a man and a patriot. And so it should be."

Ten years, less two weeks, the Republic of Texas had struggled against overwhelming odds without and confusion within. Her leaders as well as the mass of her people were sincerely attached to the institutions under which they had grown up in the United States, and Lamar was almost alone in questioning the expediency of immediate annexation. Certainly Houston, in 1837, had no other ambition for Texas than to see her in the sisterhood of states.

But Texas was turned away like an outcast from her parental home, made the football of demagogues, libeled as a Nation of thieves, the offspring of a league with hell. Many of her friends in the United States as well as many Texans believed that a greater destiny awaited her as an independent Nation, untrammelled by the growing power of the protective tariff advocates in the United States, and free of the schism on slavery which was becoming more violent with every passing year.

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Houston was more capable of reading political weather signs than most of his contemporaries, and observing the scene in the Union to which he was devoted, it is not surprising that he seems to have turned to silently planning an independent career for Texas during his last Presidency. Certainly he and Jones together brought her to a position in which she could hold up her head among nations, and maintain her political and commercial integrity. But his personal loyalty to Jackson, whose heart was set on bringing Texas into the Union, did not permit him to openly avow his revised attitude; if, as there is good reason to believe, he did in fact change his mind.

In the spring of 1845, however, the prospect of early annexation, so long deferred, threw Texas into a frenzy of enthusiasm, fanned by the charge that Jones was selling out Texas to England. That the sentiment was not universal, though undoubtedly the most noisy, was shown by mass meetings at Bastrop and Crockett. The first condemned Jones for calling the annexation convention; the second pledged itself to use all honorable means to "perpetuate inviolate the independent national existence of the Republic of Texas." An unequivocal declaration from Houston might have turned the tide, even at this late day; but he was too good a politician to breast such a popular storm, even had his personal loyalty to Jackson permitted.

He seems to have tried to salvage the best interests of Texas from the "temporary influence of those who play upon the passions of the hour" in his interview with Andrew Jackson Donelson. Had Texas entered the Union by treaty as an equal, as he proposed in that interview, her status in the crisis of 1860 would have been immeasurably changed.

They wrought gloriously, those architects of a Nation; and not the least glorious of their achievements was the voluntary liquidation of their handiwork in behalf of a broader ideal, than even the broad expanse and soaring visions of Texas could encompass as a separate Nation. That many of them surrendered their heartfelt convictions in yielding to the overwhelming voice of the people is proof enough that their attachment to the principles of democracy was stronger than personal ambition.

Knapp and Allied Families

By MYRTLE M. LEWIS, RIDGEWOOD, NEW JERSEY



NAPP, as a surname, is of local derivation, meaning "at the knap," a summit or hilltop, from residence thereon. In various spellings the name occurs in the early records of several English counties.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Or, in chief three close helmets sable; in base a lion passant of the last.

Crest—An arm embowed in armour proper, garnished or, the hand of the first grasping by the blade a broken sword argent, hilt and pommel of the second, with a branch of laurel vert.

(Burke: "General Armory." Visitation of Suffolk, 1577.)

Motto—*Spes nostra Deus.* (God is our hope.) (Visitation of Suffolk, 1577.)

I. *Nicholas Knapp*, American progenitor of this family, is said to have come from England in Winthrop's fleet in 1630 and died at Fairfield, Connecticut, April 16, 1670. The English home of Nicholas Knapp, of Watertown, Massachusetts, is not known. It has been supposed that he was a brother of William Knapp, whom he accompanied to Watertown, but there is no definite proof of it. However, it is quite probable that they both came from East Anglia. It is likely that William did, because his daughter, Elizabeth, married into a family belonging to Bury St. Edmunds, County Suffolk.

Nicholas Knapp was a proprietor of Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1637, but sold most of his land there in 1646. He moved to Stamford about 1648-49 and at that time owned land there. He settled in that part of Greenwich, Connecticut, which later became part of New York State and now is the town of Rye, Westchester County, New York.

Nicholas Knapp made a will, dated April 15, 1670, in which he names his children, Moses, Timothy, Caleb, Sarah, Disbrow, Hannah and Lydia.

Nicholas Knapp married (first), Eleanor, who died August 16, 1658; (second), March 9, 1659, Unity, also given as Unica, widow of Peter Brown and previously widow of Clement Buxton. Children of first marriage: 1. Jonathan, born December 27, 1631. 2. Timo-

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thy, born December 24, 1632, representative for Rye in 1670. 3. Joshua, of whom further. 4. Caleb, born January 20, 1637. 5. Sarah, born January 5, 1639. 6. Ruth, born January 5, 1641. 7. Hannah, born March 6, 1642. Children of second marriage: 8. Moses. 9. Lydia.

(C. E. Banks: "The Winthrop Fleet of 1630," p. 29. O. G. Knapp: "A History of the Chief English Families Bearing the Name of Knapp," pp. 21, 188, 216. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," Vol. III, p. 34. "Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut," p. 391.)

II. Joshua Knapp, son of Nicholas and Eleanor Knapp, was born January 5, 1635, and died at Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1683, and there all his children, except the first, were born. His inventory was dated October 27, 1684. When the Indians surrendered their last tract, then called the "Hop Grounds," in Bedford Parish (North Greenwich), December 23, 1680, the surrender was signed in the presence of Joshua Knapp and David Waterbury.

Joshua Knapp married, June 9, 1657, Hannah Close. (Close II.) Children: 1. Hannah, born at Stamford, Connecticut, March 26, 1660; married Daniel Smith. 2. Joshua, Jr., of whom further. 3. Joseph, born in 1664, died in 1723; married Mrs. Mary (Lockwood) Husted, widow of Jonathan Husted. 4. Ruth, born in 1666; married John Reynolds. 5. Timothy, born in 1668, died in 1733, at Greenwich; married (first), March 16, 1699, Elizabeth Seymour, who died in 1713; (second), February 16, 1714, Martha. 6. Benjamin, born in 1673, died in 1716 or 1719, at Greenwich, Connecticut; married, February 28, 1700, Elizabeth Butler. 7. Caleb, born in 1677, died in 1750, at Greenwich; married, April 1, 1697, Sarah Rundle. 8. John or Jonathan, born in 1679, probably died young.

("Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut," p. 391. S. P. Mead: "Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich," pp. 595, 598. O. G. Knapp: "A History of the Chief English Families Bearing the Name of Knapp," pp. 216-17, 221. E. B. Huntington: "History of Stamford, Connecticut," pp. 56, 145.)

III. Joshua Knapp, Jr., son of Joshua and Hannah (Close) Knapp, was born at Stamford or Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1662-63 and died before 1750.

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According to one account, he married, about 1682, a Miss Close. According to other accounts, he married (first), March 16, 1687, Elizabeth Reynolds, daughter of Jonathan Reynolds, and (second) Abigail Butler, who died June 1, 1710. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born in 1688; married John Rundle. 2. Isaac, married, January 29, 1727, Rebecca Reynolds. 3. John, of whom further.

(E. B. Huntington: "History of Stamford, Connecticut," p. 162. S. P. Mead: "Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich," pp. 595, 598, 600, 601, 602.)

IV. John Knapp, son of Joshua Knapp, Jr., was born March 17, 1708. He married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. John, Jr., born in 1731. 2. Justus, of whom further.

("Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut," p. 391. O. G. Knapp: "A History of the Chief English Families Bearing the Name of Knapp," pp. 217, 219. Family records.)

V. Justus Knapp, son of John Knapp, was born January 19, 1735, and died in 1816. He lived in Greenwich, Connecticut, and later in Georgia. At the close of the Revolution Justus Knapp bought up soldiers' rights and went to Georgia, where he settled on his land, built stores and mills and owned the property on which later a city was erected. He accumulated considerable wealth and became one of the leading citizens in his community.

Justus Knapp married, in 1755, Sarah Reynolds. Children: 1. Justus, Jr., born October 11, 1756. 2. William, born January 5, 1759, or January 4, 1758; married Olive Rowley. 3. John Elnathan, of whom further. 4. Henry, born at Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1763, died in Cincinnati, Ohio. 5. Benjamin, born September 16, 1765; married Rachel Mead. 6. Obadiah, born at Greenwich, Connecticut, September 20, 1766, died April 1, 1850; married, in 1788, Betsy Dean. 7. Sarah, born January 6, 1768, died August 1, 1828; married Lewis Williams. 8. James, born December 17, 1770; married Sally Meigs. 9. Hannah, born March 22, 1773. 10. Gilbert, born March 22, 1775, died in 1812. 11. Mary, born January 2, 1778; married Noel Whitman. 12. Samuel, born December 5, 1781, died November 28, 1852; married Mary Colbridge.

(*Ibid.* Family records.)

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VI. John Elnathan Knapp, son of Justus and Sarah (Reynolds) Knapp, was born at Horse Neck, Greenwich, Connecticut, August 5, 1760, and died in New York City, September 5, 1832 or 1834. For many years John E. Knapp supplied New York City with Knapp's celebrated spring water. He was commonly known as John Knapp.

According to a manuscript family genealogy owned by the Rev. H. W. Knapp, of Brooklyn, New York, John E. Knapp was married four times, having two sons by his first marriage and one son by his second marriage, Gilbert Knapp, said to have held the rank of admiral in the United States Navy. Printed records, however, give only one marriage, and according to these John E. Knapp married, December 28, 1799, Hetty Covell, born December 24, 1763, at Harwich, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, died February 5, 1830 or 1832. Children: 1. Henry Reynolds, of whom further. 2. Hetty, born in New York City, March 25, 1803.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Rev. Henry Reynolds Knapp, son of John Elnathan and Hetty (Covell) Knapp, was born in New York City, November 3, 1800, and died May 13, 1862.

At the age of twenty-five years Henry Reynolds Knapp became converted and in 1834 he was ordained pastor at Greenport, Long Island, New York. He also served as pastor of the Baptist Church at Essex, Connecticut; the First Baptist Church at New London, Connecticut; and the Baptist churches at Preston City, Mystic and Rockville, Connecticut; at Rondout-on-the-Hudson, at Greenport, Long Island; at Noank, Connecticut; at Hastings-on-the-Hudson; and in New York City. He was a gifted preacher and dedicated himself to his work.

Rev. Henry Reynolds Knapp married, June 16, 1821, Mary Center, born in New York City, March 5, 1803, died in 1885. Children: 1. John Henry, born July 30, 1822. 2. Halsey Wing, born October 31, 1824, died in July, 1896. 3. Hetty Center, of whom further. 4. Mary Adeline, born August 20, 1829, died March 20, 1830. 5. Rev. Samuel Jacob, born January 31, 1832, died at Mystic, Connecticut, August 8, 1894; married, April 19, 1851, Sabrina Packer. 6. Wil-

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liam Ireland, born March 10, 1835. 7. Twin daughter, born dead, May 13, 1837. 8. Twin daughter, born dead, May 13, 1837.

("Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut," p. 391. Family records.)

VIII. Hetty Center Knapp, daughter of Rev. Henry Reynolds and Mary (Center) Knapp, was born May 8, 1827. She married Warren Beebe. (Beebe VII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Beebe Line)

Beebe and its variants, Beeby, Beaby and Beebee, are derived from a place name, Beeby, a village in Leicestershire, six miles from the city of Leicester, England, according to one authority. Another reference suggests that the name, indicating one who lived near a bee farm or apiary, was possibly of Scandinavian origin. The earliest authentic record of this family name is found in Bridges' "History of Northamptonshire, England," where mention is made of John Beby, who on February 10, 1403, was master of the Hospital of St. Leonard's at Brackley. Mention is also made of one John Beby, who was an official of the Church of St. John the Baptist, in East Farndon, in 1411 and before. The name of Ricardus Beby is found cut in the wood about the door in the Church of St. Kyneburga, at Castor, in Northamptonshire.

The church register of St. Andrews, in the village of Broughton, Northamptonshire, dating from 1560, verifies the names of John Beebe and his children (who emigrated to this country in 1650), as stated in his will on file in Hartford, Connecticut.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." Bridges: "History of Northamptonshire, England.")

I. John (2) Beebe, son of John (1) and Alice Beebe, of Great Addington, England, was born about 1577, as he is believed to have been about fifty years old at the time of his marriage in 1627. He came from the village of Broughton, Northamptonshire, and was of the yeoman class. In April or May, 1650, he sailed for America, but died during the voyage. His will, on file in Hartford, mentioning his children and stating that he came from Broughton, follows:

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It being agreabl to Civil and religious Customs as requyered by God upon the occation of his hand upon the sonnes of men as a fore-runner of death unto ye therefore to sett theyr house in order: where-
 tore I John Beebe Husbandman late of Broughton in the County of Northampton, being by Gods good hand brought on a voyadge towards New Engld to sea, and there smitten by the Good hand of God so as that my expectation is for my Chaynge, yet through mercy as yet in perfect memory and understanding; doe hereby; (my just and dewe debts being fully and dewely discharged;) give and bequeathe; unto my seven Children to say John Beebe, Thomas Beebe, Samuell Nathaniel Jeames Rebecca, and mary Beebe, all and every such monnyes or goods of what spetia or kynde some ever as all the proper estate belonging unto me the above sayde John Beebe, to be equally divided between the sayd John Thomas Samuell Nathaniell James Rebecca mary Beebe, in equall pts & portions fflurther I the sayde John Beebe, do will that my ffoure elder children to say John Thomas Samuell and Rebecca; shall have that pts of the sayd monnys & Goods, belonging unto the three younger to say Nathaniel Jeames & Mary in theyre hands as well as theyr owne proportions; and that the sayde John Thomas Samuell and Rebecca shall take Care for the provition of the three younger till that they the sayde Nathaniell Jeames & mary be of age; at wch tyme they are to have theyr pportions payde in unto ym by my sayde sonnes & Daughter John Thomas Samuell and rebecca Beebe; whom I apoynt as Executors of this my last will, and in Case that any of the three of my younger Children shall dye before they Come at adge yt y their proportion of estate so dyeing to be equally divided amongst all the survivors; further I John Beebe doe will and desyre that my Loveing ffrriends mr. William Lewis, and John Cole; be overseers of this my will; and that all my sayde Children be advised and Counsellled by my sayde overseers for theyr further despoce whether upon Chaynge of theyr Condition by marriage or otherwise for the Good of my sayde Children; lastly I will that it be understood that my daughters be att full adge for receiving theyr proportion of estate at ye adge of Eighteen yeares; as a testimony that this is my last will and testamt I have this Eighteenth day of may one thousand sixe hundred and fifty Sett to my hand and seale.

JHON
BEEBEE

Witnesses

WILLIAM PARTRIDGE

JOHN PARTRIDGE.

The inventory of the estate of John *Beebye*, deceased, was taken in May, 1650, and amounted to £73 2s. 3d. On the voyage to America,

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John (2) Beebe was accompanied by five of his children: Thomas, Nathaniel, James, Rebecca and Mary. Two other sons, John and Samuel, had preceded him by a few months. It should be noted also that the will, written on shipboard, does not mention his daughter Hannah, or his wife Rebecca, so the conclusion is that they were dead. It is also assumed that John Beebe died on or about the date of his will, May 18, 1650.

John Beebe married, in 1627, Rebecca Ladd, of Broughton, Northamptonshire, England. Children: 1. John (3), of whom further. 2. Rebecca, baptized at Broughton, Northamptonshire, England, August 11, 1630; married, January 2, 1650-51, at Hartford, Connecticut, John Rusco, of Norwalk, Connecticut. 3. Thomas (twin), born in Broughton, England, baptized there, June 23, 1633, died early in 1699; married Millicent Addis. 4. Samuel (twin), baptized in Broughton, England, June 23, 1633, died about 1712; married (first), about 1660, Agnes Keeney; (second) Mary Keeney, a sister of his first wife. 5. Nathaniel, baptized at Broughton, England, January 23, 1633, died December 17, 1724. 6. Mary, baptized at Broughton, England, March 18, 1637, mentioned in her father's will. 7. Hannah, baptized at Broughton, England, June 23, 1640, and probably died there. 8. James, probably baptized at Broughton, England, in 1641, died April 22, 1728, in Danbury, Connecticut, "aged 87," according to his tombstone; was in Hadley, Massachusetts, for twenty-five years; married (first), October 24, 1668, Mary Boltwood; (second), December 19, 1679, Sarah Benedict.

(C. Beebe: "A Monograph of the Descent of the Family of Beebe from the Earliest Known Immigrant, John, of Broughton, England, 1650," pp. 6-7, 9, 11-14. C. Beebe: "John Beebe of Broughton," pp. 9, 12-13. "A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records," Vol. I, p. 36. F. M. Caulkins: "History of New London, Connecticut," p. 339.)

II. John (3) Beebe, son of John (2) and Rebecca (Ladd) Beebe, was baptized at Broughton, Northamptonshire, England (the home of his parents for some years), November 4, 1628, and died about April, 1714.

John (3) Beebe came to New England early in 1650 and was probably for some time a resident of New London, Connecticut, and

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in the employ of John Winthrop, the founder. He received several grants of land during 1651-52, and others later. In 1651, he was mentioned as being among the planters of New London and was given house-lots and small portions of land in nearby Poquiogh and Fog Plain. In 1652 he had a grant of land east of the Mystic. A deed of 1660 describes him as a leather dresser.

John (3) Beebe was sergeant of the trainband for twenty years. He was appointed by the General Court ensign in Captain George Denison's company, in New London County, over the sixty-eight men raised in that county, May 11, 1676, for the standing army, and a part of the three hundred and fifty men raised in the Colony of Connecticut. During King Philip's War, in June, 1676, he went to Rhode Island on several military expeditions against the Indians; also to Taunton and beyond Westfield on the road to Albany. In 1690 he became lieutenant.

He was living in New London, January 21, 1707-08. In 1707 he deeded thirty-one acres of land to his son, Benjamin, but the father was probably dead before the deed was recorded on April 28, 1714.

John (3) Beebe married, before December, 1660, Abigail York or Yorke. (York II.) Children: 1. John, born probably about 1661; married, probably about 1680. 2. Benjamin, of whom further. 3. Rebecca, born about 1665; married, about 1688, Richard Shaw.

(C. Beebe: "A Monograph of the Descent of the Family of Beebe from the Earliest Known Immigrant, John, of Broughton, England, 1650," pp. 11-12, 15, 16. C. Beebe: "John Beebe of Broughton," pp. 12-13. F. M. Caulkins: "History of New London, Connecticut," p. 185. Family records.)

III. Benjamin Beebe, son of John (3) and Abigail (York) Beebe, was born at New London, Connecticut, about 1663, was baptized there at the First Church, July 9, 1693, and died at New London, Connecticut, February 19, 1752. He was a member of the first Congregational Church in New London, Connecticut.

Benjamin Beebe married, before August 4, 1695, when he and his wife owned the covenant and had a child baptized. His wife was, perhaps, Hannah Wheeler. Children: 1. Hannah, baptized at New London, August 4, 1695; married, December 3, 1722, at New London, David Crocker. 2. Benjamin, baptized at New London, July

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25, 1696; married, December 12, 1720, Jane Plumley, of New London. 3. John, baptized at New London, December 7, 1701, died at Canaan, New York, July 15, 1788; married, probably in 1726-27, at Colchester, Connecticut, Ruth Pratt. 4. Ebenezer, of whom further. 5. Rebeckah, baptized September 3, 1710; married, December 8, 1751, Jonathan Boults. 6. Zaccheus, baptized at First Church, New London, Connecticut, August 10, 1712. 7. Joanna, baptized August 8, 1714; married, May 21, 1741, in New London, Connecticut, Moses Fargo. 8. Clement, baptized in New London, Connecticut, October 21, 1716; married Mary. 9. James (possibly), baptized after November 5, 1699.

(C. Beebe: "John Beebe of Broughton," p. 15. C. Beebe: "A Monograph of the Descent of the Family of Beebe from the Earliest Known Immigrant, John, of Broughton, England, 1650," pp. 22-24.)

IV. Ebenezer Beebe, son of Benjamin Beebe, born at New London, Connecticut, October 29, 1704, died in 1783. He purchased land in Lyme, Connecticut, as early as 1738. The family homestead was probably in Old Lyme.

Ebenezer Beebe married, July 5, 1726, at New London, Connecticut, Mary Miller, of Lyme, Connecticut, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Eliphalet Adams, pastor of the First Congregational Church, New London, Connecticut. Children: 1. Eliphalet, born in 1727. 2. Ebenezer, married and had two sons. 3. Abijah, of whom further.

(C. Beebe: "A Monograph of the Descent of the Family of Beebe from the Earliest Known Immigrant, John, of Broughton, England, 1650," pp. 16, 23. Family records.)

V. Abijah Beebe, son of Ebenezer and Mary (Miller) Beebe, was born in 1729 and died September 26, 1813. His farm was on the banks of the Niantic River, near its mouth, a few miles west of New London. His former homestead in recent years has been used as a State camp ground. He also followed the sea, being master of the sloop "Richard," engaged in the mercantile trade and plying between Hartford and New London.

Abijah Beebe married, but definite information about his wife, their marriage, or their children is very scant, the early town rec-

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ords of New London having been destroyed when it was burned by Benedict Arnold. However, a record in the Lenox Library, New York City, referring to a Smith family, reads: "Nehemiah Smith, farmer of East Lyme, Baptist Deacon, prominent man, baptized June 8, 1701; wife's name, Betty; their daughter, Grace, married Abijah Beebe." Mrs. Grace Beebe died at the home of her daughter, Esther at Hudson, New York, and was buried there early in 1800. Children, perhaps others: 1. Esther. 2. George Washington. 3. Silas, of whom further.

(Family records.)

VI. Captain Silas Beebe, son of Abijah Beebe, was born at Waterford, Connecticut, September 7, 1781, and died at Mystic, Connecticut, May 1, 1863. The youngest child of the family, he was born on the west bank of the Niantic River, near the city of New London, the day after the famous battle of Groton Heights and within the sound of the guns. Early in his youth he showed strong preference for a seafaring life and he became master eventually of different vessels, sloops and schooners, engaging in the merchant trade between Hartford and New London. After his marriage, in 1805, Captain Beebe built his homestead at the head of North Cove, opening into Fisher's Island Sound. Here the deep water allowed, before the crossing of the railroad, whaling vessels of large size to come in close to the house. He was closely identified with the whaling industry and part owner of several whalers. By degrees Captain Beebe acquired a large acreage in farming lands. He employed a resident farmer, however, and continued actively in the merchant trade and to make voyages, mainly, to Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico ports. The windmill on his farm was a beacon for all incoming vessels and was used by the entire countryside for grinding corn until about 1833, when it was removed to Pistol Point, on the Mystic River, where it did duty for many years. Captain Beebe was one of the outstanding men in his community and was highly respected for his probity and ability. His frequently repeated advice to his children was: "Whatever you get, get integrity, never forget that."

Captain Silas Beebe married (first), July 14, 1805, Hannah Rathbun, who was born April 24, 1785, and died at Groton, Connecticut,

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October 26, 1812, a member of a prominent family. He married (second), at Mystic, Connecticut, September 19, 1813, Anna (called Nancy) Breed. (Breed VII-A.) He married (third), at Portersville, Connecticut, August 7, 1849, Prudence (Breed) Morgan, a sister of his first wife. (Breed VII-B.) Children of first marriage: 1. Edwin, born May 28, 1810, died January 8, 1814. 2. Silas Rathbun, born October 19, 1811, died August 25, 1899. Children of second marriage: 3. Hannah, born August 16, 1814, died April 30, 1816. 4. William J., born May 23, 1816, died October 22, 1877. 5. Charles E., born April 23, 1818, died September 15, 1892. 6. Ezra S., born July 15, 1820, died December 22, 1846. 7. Sally Ann, born July 19, 1822, died May 18, 1899. 8. Emeline, born August 16, 1824, died November 15, 1861. 9. Warren, of whom further. 10. Julia S., born March 9, 1829, died November 11, 1846. 11. Henry C., born March 25, 1831, died March 28, 1831. 12. Hamilton, born July 17, 1832, died November 9, 1833. 13. Leonard, born May 7, 1834, died June 28, 1922.

(Family data, including records from the Bible of Captain Silas Beebe.)

VII. Warren Beebe, son of Captain Silas and Anna or Nancy (Breed) Beebe, was born at Portersville, Connecticut, September 13, 1826, and died at Mystic Bridge, Connecticut, June 20, 1890. He received his education in the schools of Mystic. When he was twenty-one years old he went to New York City and entered the tea brokerage business in association with his older brothers, Silas R., William J., and Charles E., who had been engaged in this business for several years under the firm name of Beebe and Brothers. Within a short time Warren Beebe organized a tea brokerage house on his own account under the name of Warren Beebe and Company, in which his younger brother, Leonard, became associated.

Mr. Beebe became a recognized authority on tea and continued in this line of business until his death. He was often consulted by other brokerage houses regarding the quality of the tea, and his decisions were invariably accepted as final. During the active years of his business career, Mr. Beebe maintained a residence in Brooklyn, New York.

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Warren Beebe married, December 2, 1851, at Rockville, Connecticut, Hetty Center Knapp. (Knapp VIII.) Children: 1. Julia Cora Linn, of whom further. 2. Frederick Stanwood, born at Brooklyn, New York, June 26, 1856, died there September 12, 1878. 3. Herbert Manning, born at Brooklyn, New York, May 2, 1860.

(Family records.)

VIII. Julia Cora Linn Beebe, daughter of Warren and Hetty Center (Knapp) Beebe, was born in Brooklyn, New York, October 10, 1852. She married Dr. Frank Avery Coates.

("Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut," p. 644. Family data.)

(The Close Line)

Close, variously spelled Closs and Clos, was adopted as a surname from residing in an enclosed space.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Goodman Close, earliest known ancestor of the family, died in Fairfield, Connecticut, in or before 1653. Whether "Goodman" is his name or only a designation similar to "Mr.," is not revealed in any record seen, and not commented on by any writer quoted or found.

"A search of the Parish Registers for County York, England, seems to indicate that Goodman Close was born in Grinton Parish, where the family attained considerable prominence."

The above is quoted from a compilation by Spencer P. Mead, LL. B., with the assistance of Arthur S. Kimball, East Orange, New Jersey, which continues:

"Goodman Close, born about 1600, in County York, England, married Elizabeth, born about 1606, in England, came to America about 1642, and finally settled in Fairfield, Connecticut, where Goodman Close died in 1653. His widow afterwards married George Stuckey, and died in Stamford, Connecticut, September 4, 1656."

Such facts as are found in various public records, in Connecticut, follow:

He is mentioned twice in the will of William Froste, dated January 6, 1644, as follows:

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"I give and bequeath to Luke Watson the two yeare old black heifer that Goodman Close hath to the halves for fower yeares, the p^rfite to be for the said Luke, . . . to Mary Graye, daughter of Henry Graye, I give and bequeath my redde heifer that Goodman Close hath to wynter."

The will of his widow's second husband, George Stuckey, with proceedings in settlement of his estate, appears on Stamford, Connecticut, town records (Vol. I, pp. 80 and 81.) An abstract is as follows:

Will dated August 23, 1660, proved 12 month (February) 25, 1660-61. "Daughter-in-law" (*i. e.*, stepdaughter) Mary Close, under age—"shee hath bin obedient to her mothers will"—property that "hath bin her fathers" at decease of wife Ann; wife Ann and "my daughter" Elizabeth to be Executors; "if Thomas Close & his sister Hanna Recover anything of y^e Estate by y^t chalinge or Claims they have formerly made & molested me with," then he revokes what he gave to Mary Close; mentions a "mare given by me to my former wife." (End of abstract of will.)

In the proceedings it was stated that George Stuckey long since gave a mare to his former wife, who disposed of it to her son Joseph and Hanna Close; was lately claimed by Joshua Knap to be made good by said Georg Stuckey unto said Joseph and Hanna; a suit at law was intended, but Joshua accepted a mare with foal as "composition" of the matter, for his wife's share. Joseph Close died and (with approbation of George Stuckey his guardian) bequeathed what belonged to him, to his sister Mary Close; John Bishop, guardian of Mary Close, relinquished any claim in consideration of a considerable legacy which Stuckey gave to Mary by will 10 mo. (December) 6, 1660.

There is also a receipt given by John Bishopp to ffances Browne (agent for the widow Stuckey) in behalf of Mary Close, for the legacy from her "father-in-law" (*i. e.*, stepfather) George Stuckey. (George Stuckey had, by first or second wife, a daughter Elizabeth.) Children of Goodman Close and wife Elizabeth: 1. Hannah, of whom further. 2. Joseph, died before August 23, 1660. 3. Thomas, died at Greenwich, Connecticut, between December 30, 1708 (date of his will) and February 12, 1708-09 (date his will was proved); children: i. Sarah, born December 10, 1670. ii. Hannah, born March

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12, 1672; married Johannes Luqueer. iii. Thomas, born December 16, 1674; married, in February, 1703, Hannah Knapp. iv. Joseph, born November 20, 1676; married, in 1701, Rebecca Tompkins. v. Benjamin, born May 18, 1679; married (second) Mrs. Ruth (Scofield) Brown. vi. Mary, born in 1682; married Moses Hunt. vii. Elizabeth, born August 5, 1684. viii. Ruth, born November 1, 1687. ix. John, born April 8, 1689. x. Lydia. 4. Mary, married, June 25, 1668, Samuel Holly.

(S. P. Mead: "Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich, County of Fairfield and State of Connecticut," p. 518. J. H. Trumbull: "The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 465. C. W. Manwaring: "A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records," Vol. I, pp. 13, 14. "The American Genealogist and New Haven Genealogical Magazine," Vol. X, pp. 114, 115. D. L. Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 149, 592.)

II. *Hannah Close*, daughter of Goodman Close and his wife Elizabeth, married, at Stamford, Connecticut, June 9, 1657, Joshua Knapp. (Knapp II.)

(*Ibid.* Rev. E. B. Huntington: "Stamford Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths," p. 61.)

(The Breed Line)

Many Hollanders emigrated to England in the year 1200 and about that time the town of Brede in Sussex County was established. The town register dates back to about 1359. The Atford family mansion, now called Brede Place, was erected in the reign of Edward III. The family of Brede became widely distributed over England, but little is known of their history until the time of Allen Bread (Breed), who sailed to America with Governor Winthrop. In England the name is now spelled Brede, Bread, Breed, and Breeds.

(J. B. Coates: "Principal Facts of Interest Concerning the Breed Family in America," unpagcd.)

I. *Allen (1) Bread or Breed*, son of John Brede, was born in England, probably in Westoning Parish, Bedfordshire, in 1601, and died at Lynn, Massachusetts, March 17, 1690-91, aged about ninety years. He is mentioned in his father's will, dated November 13, 1656, and proved November 17, 1657. Two of his sons, Allen and Timothy,

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accompanied him to America in 1630, with Governor Winthrop. As early as 1630, Allen (1) Bread settled in Lynn, Massachusetts, where he lived on a farm. It is assumed that he emigrated to the New World at his own expense, since he received fifty acres of land for each member of his family. In the 1638 allotment of land Allen (1) Bread received two hundred acres of land, and that section became known as Breed's End.

Allen (1) Bread was a member of the group that left Lynn in 1640 to settle a new plantation on Long Island which they named Southampton. Allen (1) Bread became one of the owners of the vessel that brought this group to Southampton, but eventually he gave up his share in the vessel, receiving, in return, a house-lot, planting lot, and a farm. After a time he returned to Lynn, where he was living in 1656 at the time of his second marriage.

Allen (1) Bread or Breed married twice, but nothing is known of his first wife. He married (second), March 28, 1656, Elizabeth Knight, the daughter or widow of William Knight, who settled in Lynn in 1630. Children: 1. Allen (2), of whom further. 2. Timothy, born in 1628. 3. Elizabeth, married, about 1653, William Merriam, and lived in Lynn, Massachusetts. 4. Joseph, born in 1632. 5. John, born in 1634, died June 28, 1678; married (first), in 1663, Sara Hathorne; (second), March 4, 1677-78, Sara Hart.

(“Essex Institute Historical Collections,” Vol. XL, p. 147. “The Essex Antiquarian,” Vol. XI, No. 4, p. 145. J. H. Breed: “A Record of the Descendants of Allen Bread,” Generation No. 1. “American Ancestry,” Vol. VI, p. 14.)

II. Allen (2) Breed, son of Allen (1) Bread or Breed, was born in England in 1626 and died at Lynn, Massachusetts, after 1684. He was brought to New England by his parents in 1630. He was one of the eight assigned to a seat in the pulpit in the Lynn church by vote of a committee chosen by the town. In 1684 he was made freeman.

Allen (2) Breed married, before 1658, Mary, who died in 1671. Children, born in Lynn, Massachusetts: 1. Timothy, died before January 2, 1717-18; married (first), March 3, 1679-80, Sarah Newhall; (second), in February, 1693-94, Sara Bran; he was of Lynn. 2. Joseph, born February 12, 1658, died November 25, 1713; married, September 27, 1683, Sarah Farrington. 3. Allen, born August

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30, 1660; died, at Lynn, December 27, 1730; married, May 22, 1684, Elizabeth Ballard. 4. John (1), of whom further. 5. Mary, born August 24, 1665; married, before 1704, a Mr. Lewis. 6. Elizabeth, born November 16, 1667; married, November 16, 1687, Thomas Burrage. 7. Samuel, born September 25, 1669, died in February, 1755; married, February 5, 1691-92, Anna Hood.

(“The Essex Antiquarian,” Vol. XI, pp. 145-46. J. Savage: “Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England,” Vol. I, p. 241. J. H. Breed: “A Record of the Descendants of Allen Breed,” Generations Nos. 1, 2, 3.)

III. John (1) Breed, son of Allen (2) and Mary Breed, was born January 18, 1663, and died in 1751. He settled in Lynn, Massachusetts, but after the death of his first wife and their daughter, he removed to Stonington, Connecticut. He there purchased land from Gershom Palmer, father of his second wife, and erected a dwelling-house and a bark mill, where he carried on his business as tanner and currier. More than two hundred years later, a lineal descendant, living on the original farm, was using John Breed's ancient nether mill-stone as a stepping stone at the house entrance.

John (1) Breed was the founder of the Stonington, Connecticut, branch of the family. He and his second wife, Mercy (Palmer) Breed, were buried in the old Wequetequoc burial place with the Palmer family. The blue slate tombstone, erected in 1772, by six of their children, reads:

In memory of a pious pair, this carved stone is erected here viz., of Mr. John Breed and his wife Mercy, who lived together in ye marriage state in a most religious manner about sixty-four years and then deceased, leaving a numerous offspring, he in 1751 about ninety years of age, and she in 1752 about eighty-three years. Erected in ye year 1772 by 6 of their children then Living.

John (1) Breed married (first), April 28, 1686, Mary Kirtland; (second), June 8, 1690, Mercy Palmer. (Palmer III.) Child of first marriage: 1. Sarah, born July 15, 1687, died January 28, 1688. Children of second marriage: 2. Anna, born November 8, 1693. 3. Mary, born January 8, 1697; married, June 21, 1721, Daniel Brown. 4. John (2), of whom further. 5. Elizabeth, born January 28, 1702;

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married, March 3, 1725, John Hinkley. 6. Sarah, born February 1, 1704; married, August 19, 1724, James Miner. 7. Zermah, born August 27, 1706; married, January 22, 1730, Samuel Hinkley. 8. Joseph, born October 4, 1708; married, June 2, 1737, Priscilla Avery. 9. Bethiah, born December 30, 1710. 10. Allen, born August 29, 1714; married, February 2, 1737, Ann Cole. 11. Gershom, born November 15, 1715, died January 5, 1777; married, May 10, 1747, Dorothy McLaren.

(“Essex Antiquarian,” Vol. XI, p. 145. J. B. Coates: “Principal Facts of Interest Concerning the Breed Family in America,” unpagcd. J. H. Breed: “A Record of the Descendants of Allen Bread,” Generations Nos. 51, 52, 55, 131, 140, 185.)

IV. John (2) Breed, son of John (1) and Mercy (Palmer) Breed, was born January 26, 1700, and died January 24, 1781. He and his wife are buried in the family burial place on the home farm.

John (2) Breed married, October 14, 1725, Mary Prentice, born in 1706, died November 5, 1799. Children: 1. Mercy, born August 3, 1727. 2. John, born September 5, 1729. 3. Nathan, of whom further. 4. Mary, born December 25, 1733. 5. Sarah, born December 28, 1735. 6. Esther, born February 23, 1738. 7. Grace, born June 2, 1740. 8. Emma, born June 2, 1742. 9. Amos, born December 23, 1744; married, January 25, 1768, Lucy Randall. 10. Lucy, born December 18, 1746.

(J. H. Breed: “A Record of the Descendants of Allen Bread,” Generation Nos. 55, 56, 104, 118. J. B. Coates: “Principal Facts of Interest Concerning the Breed Family in America,” unpagcd. C. J. F. Binney: “History and Genealogy of the Prentice or Prentiss Family in New England,” p. 382.)

V. Nathan Breed, son of John (2) and Mary (Prentice) Breed, was born at Stonington, Connecticut, December 13, 1731, died October 4, 1816, and is buried in the family burial place on the home farm. He made his home in Stonington, Connecticut. He served as corporal in the Connecticut Militia, Colonel Parson’s regiment, Captain Ely Avery’s company, in the Revolutionary War.

Nathan Breed married, in 1751, Lucy Babcock, born in 1733, died January 2, 1809. Children: 1. Nathan, born March 30, 1752. 2. Lucy, born May 10, 1754; married, March 4, 1779, William Slack.

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3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. Stephen, born March 15, 1760, died March 6, 1835; married Esther Wheeler. 5. Esther, born July 4, 1762; married William Wilter. 6. Thomas, born January 3, 1764, died in 1826; married Elizabeth Clements. 7. Prudence, born in 1766; married Nathaniel Wheeler. 8. Grace, married Jesse Billings. 9. Anna, married Gilbert Grant. 10. Joshua, born in 1770.

(J. H. Breed: "A Record of the Descendants of Allen Bread," Generation Nos. 104, 105, 106, 111, 112, 113. J. B. Coates: "Principal Facts of Interest Concerning the Breed Family in America," unpagd. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 246.)

VI. Joseph Breed, son of Nathan and Lucy (Babcock) Breed, was born July 9, 1758, and died at Breedtown, Pennsylvania, January 2, 1839. In 1818 Joseph Breed went with part of his family from Stonington, Connecticut, to Cherrytree Township, Venango County, Pennsylvania, near Titusville, the trip requiring forty days. The new settlement became known as Breedtown.

Joseph Breed served in the Massachusetts Militia as a private in Colonel Thomas Poor's regiment, Captain Caleb Moulton's company, Eliphalet Hastings lieutenant in command; was wounded in the leg and carried the bullet to his grave. He enlisted June 13, 1778; was discharged February 24, 1779; and was granted a pension of \$8 a month, as was learned from his autograph letter, with his wife's name attached, dated March 2, 1833.

Joseph Breed married, January 25, 1781, Mercy Holmes. (Holmes VI.) Children: 1. Joseph. 2. Charles, married, in Connecticut, January 3, 1808, Mary Hancox; they had three sons and two daughters. 3. Nathan, married and had five sons and two daughters. 4. John, married and had two sons and three daughters. 5. Mercy, married Amos Hancock. 6. Lucy, married a Mr. Collins. 7. Anna, called Nancy, of whom further. 8. Prudence, of whom further. 9. Sarah, married a Mr. Pendleton. 10. Abigail, married a Mr. Gleason.

(J. H. Breed: "A Record of the Descendants of Allen Bread," Generation No. 105. J. A. Caldwell: "History of Venango County, Pennsylvania," p. 565. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," Vol. II, p. 458. J. B. Coates: "Principal Facts of Interest Concerning the Breed Family in America," unpagd.)

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VII-A. Anna (called *Nancy*) *Breed*, daughter of Joseph and Mercy (Holmes) *Breed*, was born at North Stonington, Connecticut, January 6, 1791, and died at Portersville, Connecticut, October 31, 1847. Her death was sudden and tragic. She was instantly killed by being thrown from her carriage while returning from a communion service at her church. She married, as his second wife, Captain Silas Beebe. (Beebe—American Line—VI.)

(*Ibid.* Family records.)

VII-B. Prudence Breed, daughter of Joseph and Mercy (Holmes) *Breed*, was born at North Stonington, Connecticut, November 17, 1794, and died at Mystic, Connecticut, September 24, 1877. She married (first) Prentice Morgan, of Noank, Connecticut, and (second), as his third wife, Captain Silas Beebe, widower of her sister Anna (Nancy). (Beebe—American Line—VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Holmes Line)

Arms—Barry of six or and azure in chief a mullet of the second, on a canton gules a cinquefoil argent. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Holmes and its variants, Holm, Holme, Holms, Home and Homes, are surnames of local derivation, meaning "at the holm," from residence on a holm, an islet in, or a flat land beside a river. As a place name the word is to be found all over England, while as a surname it appears, in its various spellings, in many early English records.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Robert Holmes, undoubtedly of English origin, though nothing is known about his parentage, was in Stonington, Connecticut, before it was so called. It became his permanent home and he bought large tracts of land there. He was registered as an inhabitant, December 25, 1670, which implied previous residence, and was a landholder and taxpayer also at that time. He took part in the Colonial Indian wars.

Robert Holmes married, but neither the name of his wife nor the date of their marriage are known. Child: 1. Joshua (1), of whom further.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 435.)

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II. Joshua (1) Holmes, son of Robert Holmes, died after June 5, 1675. He was born before his father established residence in Stonington. Shortly after his marriage he purchased land in Westerly, Rhode Island, built a house on it and made this his home the rest of his life. He willed the house and all his land to his widow, children and son-in-law. He served in King Philip's War.

A Joshua Holmes, perhaps the Joshua (1) Holmes of this generation, is named in a list of English volunteers in the Narragansett War, but no date of his period of service is given. There is also given a Joshua Holmes in the list of volunteers who drew "Cedar Swamp" lots, but likewise without date.

Joshua (1) Holmes married, June 5, 1675, Abigail (Ingraham) Chesebrough, widow of Samuel Chesebrough. She married (third), as his second wife, Captain James Avery. Children: 1. Mary, married, in 1696, Isaac Thompson, of Westerly, Rhode Island. 2. Joshua (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.* J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 103. G. M. Bodge: "Soldiers in King Philip's War," pp. 443, 446.)

III. Joshua (2) Holmes, son of Joshua (1) and Abigail (Ingraham-Chesebrough) Holmes, was born August 20, 1678. He lived with his family in Westerly, Rhode Island. In early youth he became acquainted with his future wife and was a frequent visitor at her home.

Joshua (2) Holmes married, November 21, 1698, Fear Sturgis (or Sturges). Children: 1. Joshua (3), of whom further. 2. John, born June 10, 1702; married (first) Abigail Frink; (second), April 2, 1738, Mary Smith, who died January 26, 1744; (third), October 31, 1744, Hannah Halsey. 3. Abigail, born February 28, 1703; married Jedediah Brown. 4. Temperance, born January 29, 1707; married (first), May 10, 1727, John Smith; (second) James Treadway. 5. Thankful, born November 12, 1708; married William Swan. 6. Thomas, born January 19, 1711; married Margaret Frink. 7. Mary, born March 19, 1713; married (first) Elias Palmer; (second) Captain John Randall. 8. Bethia,

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born July 29, 1715. 9. Marvin, born November 17, 1717; married Asa Swan.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of Stonington, Connecticut," pp. 435-436. R. F. Sturgis: "Edward Sturgis of Yarmouth, Massachusetts," p. 23. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 103.)

IV. Joshua (3) Holmes, son of Joshua (2) and Fear (Sturgis or Sturges) Holmes, was born August 14, 1700. He was probably a farmer and does not seem to have been active in town affairs.

Joshua (3) Holmes married, December 6, 1721, Mary Richardson. Children: 1. Fear, born July 8, 1722; married Andrew Main. 2. Prudence, born February 27, 1724; married Jonathan Palmer. 3. Mary, born May 6, 1725. 4. Joshua (4), of whom further. 5. Sarah, born March 9, 1729; married a Mr. Wallworth. 6. James, born April 17, 1731; married Surviah Mason. 7. Anna, born June 24, 1733; married Jedediah Brown. 8. Thankful, born October 7, 1735. 9. Abigail, born October 18, 1741; married Rossel Smith. 10. Joseph, born in 1743; married Martha Wheeler.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 436. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 103.)

V. Joshua (4) Holmes, Jr., son of Joshua (3) and Mary (Richardson) Holmes, was born at Stonington, Connecticut, December 28, 1726, and died there, November 21, 1799.

Joshua (4) Holmes, Jr., married, December 18, 1751, at Stonington, Connecticut, Prudence Wheeler, born at Stonington, Connecticut, December 20, 1734, daughter of Jonathan and Esther (Denison) Wheeler. Children: 1. Joshua, born March 3, 1754. 2. Prudence, born November 2, 1755; married, October 13, 1774, Beebe Denison. 3. Esther, born October 5, 1757. 4. Mary, born October 3, 1759, died unmarried. 5. Mercy, of whom further. 6. Edward, born in 1763; married Mary Grant. 7. Thankful, born July 18, 1766. 8. Sarah, born March 27, 1768. 9. Jonathan, born February 25, 1770, died unmarried. 10. Abigail, born June 17, 1772, died young. 11. Richard, born March 22, 1774, died unmarried. 12. William, born September 13, 1776; married Hannah Wheeler. 13. Amos, born December 14, 1778.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of Stonington, Connecticut," pp. 436-437. A. G. Wheeler, Jr.: "Genealogical and Encyclopedic History of the Wheeler Family in America," p. 311.)

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VI. Mercy Holmes, daughter of Joshua (4) Holmes, Jr., and Prudence (Wheeler) Holmes, was born in 1761 and died at Breedtown, Venango County, Pennsylvania, October 26, 1844. She married Joseph Breed. (Breed VI.)

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of Stonington, Connecticut," pp. 246, 437. J. H. Breed: "A Record of the Descendants of Allen Bread," Generation No. 105. J. A. Caldwell: "History of Venango County, Pennsylvania," p. 565.)

(The Palmer Line)

Palmer was first used as a surname to designate "the palmer," a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and is a common entry in the very ancient English records.

Several traditions pertaining to the English home of Walter Palmer exist, pointing chiefly to a town or village in Nottinghamshire, and claiming that Abraham Palmer was his brother.

The first General Court of Massachusetts was held October 19, 1630, when one hundred and eight or nine men were recorded as "such as desire to be made ffreemen." "Mr. Abraham Palmer" stood fifth on the list. Among those who "took the oath of ffreemen," May 18, 1631, were "Abraham Palmer" thirtieth on the list, and "Walt^r Palmer" farther on. In "The Book that belongs unto the Church of God in Charltowne: which church was gathered, and did enter into church Covenant the 2nd day of the 9th month 1632" appear among "The Names of those who did enter into the Covenant first, Abra.; Grace, Palmer"; while among those later admitted are found: "1636, 4 Mo: 1 day, walter Pamer, and Rebeckah his wife: and Grace Pamer their daughter." Walter Palmer signed, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, October 13, 1634, an agreement regarding admission of new inhabitants to the town. Hay grounds were laid out in 1635 to Abraham Palmer, on "Mistick side" of the Menatomic River. Abraham Palmer was chosen by the town in 1638 "for keeping the Towne Booke, also to Record all pprieties of Houses, Lands" and so forth. The names of both Abraham and Walter Palmer appear frequently on the Charlestown records thereafter in connection with their lands, etc., and it has been generally assumed that they were brothers, although absolute proof of their relationship is lacking.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Richard A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, County

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of New London, Connecticut," pp. 5-13, 505. Emily W. Leavitt: "Groups of Palmer Families from Walter Palmer, of Charlestown and Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 9-13.)

I. Walter Palmer, first of his line in New England, died November 19, 1661. He took the freeman's oath in Charlestown, Massachusetts, May 18, 1631. In 1638 a record was made of the land possessions of Charlestown inhabitants, and therein appears a description of "The Possessions of Walter Palmer with Charltowne," as follows: Two acres of land in the East Field "butting South on the Back street," with a dwelling house and "other aptinances, five acres of arable land, Milch cow, commons six and a quarter, four acres, more or less, in the live field, five acres of meadow on the west of Mount Prospect, three acres of meadow in the northeast of Mount Prospect, thirty acres of woodland, eighty-six acres of land scituate in the waterfield." In 1643, Walter Palmer valued his own estate at £419.

About ten years later, 1652-53, Walter Palmer and his family (except his son Jonas) emigrated to what is now Stonington, Connecticut, but was then supposed to be a part of Massachusetts, and purchased about 1,200 acres of land. The first religious meeting in the town was held at his house, March 22, 1657. After meeting in various private dwellings for four years, a meetinghouse was built in 1661. The will of Walter Palmer was probated May 11, 1662, and is on file in Boston, as Stonington was then in Suffolk County, Massachusetts.

Walter Palmer married (first), in England, Ann, surname not known, who was called Elizabeth to distinguish her from her mother. He married (second), probably in Roxbury, Massachusetts, Rebecca Short. Children of first marriage: 1. Grace, born in England in 1608-10, died in October, 1690; married Thomas Miner (or Minor). 2. John, born in 1618, died unmarried. 3. William, died unmarried; admitted to the Charlestown Church in 1641. 4. Jonas, married (first) Elizabeth Grissell or Griswold; married (second) Abigail (Carpenter) Titus. 5. Elizabeth, married (first) Thomas Sloan; married (second) Thomas Chapman. Children of second marriage: 6. Hannah, born June 16, 1634; married (first) Thomas Hewitt; married (second) Roger Sterry; married (third) John Fish. 7.

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Elihu, born January 24, 1636, died in 1665. 8. Nehemiah, born November 2 (date in other records given as November 23 and November 27), 1637; married Hannah Stanton. 9. Moses, born April 6, 1640; married Dorothy Gilbert. 10. Benjamin, born May 30, 1642; married, in 1681, but his wife's name is not recorded. 11. Gershom, of whom further. 12. Rebecca, baptized July 1, 1647; married, in 1665, Elisha Chesebrough.

(G. N. Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States," Vol. III, pp. 377, 378. Emily W. Leavitt: "Groups of Palmer Families from Walter Palmer, of Charlestown and Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 9-13. Manassah Minor: "Diary of Manassah Minor," pp. 179, 186. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, County of New London, Connecticut," pp. 506-08.)

II. Gershom Palmer, son of Walter and Rebecca (Short) Palmer, was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, probably about 1645, and was baptized in Charlestown. He died September 27, 1718. He was styled both "Deacon" and "Lieutenant" in records. He received five hundred acres of land as part of his parents' estate, June 5, 1684. May 3, 1693, fifty acres were laid out for him, followed by one hundred acres and, later, fifty additional acres. December 23, 1708, Gershom Palmer gave his sons, George and Walter, all his farm with certain arrangements for his own care and maintenance. November 20, 1711, Gershom Palmer received four hundred acres which had belonged to Mrs. Anna Stanton, Robert and Samuel Stanton, Moses Palmer, deceased, Benjamin Palmer, Thomas Hewett, deceased, and James Deed. Other deeds for gifts of land by Gershom Palmer to his sons and grandsons appear.

Gershom Palmer married (first) at Stonington, Connecticut, November 28, 1667, Ann Denison. He married (second) Mrs. Elizabeth Mason, widow of Major Samuel Mason. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Mercy, of whom further. 2. Gershom, born in 1672, baptized at Stonington, September 3, 1677, died in Killingworth, Connecticut, in 1733-34; married, probably, in Saybrook, Sarah Fenner. 3. Ichabod, baptized September 2, 1677, died April 10, 1752; married, in 1698, Hannah Palmer. 4. William, baptized April 25, 1678; married, January 10, 1701-02, Grace Minor. 5. George, baptized May 29, 1680, died May 28, 1728-29. 6. Ann, baptized

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May 20, 1682; married, March 3, 1707, Benjamin Hewitt. 7. Walter, baptized June 7, 1685, died February 11, 1726-27; married Grace Vose. 8. Elihu, baptized May 6, 1688, died young. 9. Mary, baptized June 8, 1690, died January 13, 1777; married, April 2, 1711, Joseph Palmer. 10. Rebecca, baptized July 1, 1694.

(Emily W. Leavitt: "Groups of Palmer Families from Walter Palmer of Charlestown and Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 32-33, 51, 53-54, 56, 57, 58.)

III. Mercy Palmer, daughter of Gershom and Ann (Denison) Palmer, was born in Stonington, Connecticut, in 1668-69 and died in 1752. She married John Breed. (Breed III.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 51.)

(The York Line)

Arms—Argent, on a fess cotised sable a crescent of the first between two plates.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

York, as a surname, is first found in the Hundred Rolls of 1273, when Gilbert de Ebor and William de Ebor (a Latinized form of the name) were mentioned. A poll tax of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1379 contains the name of Agnes of York. The name itself is of geographical origin, meaning "of York." The forms, York and Yorke, both appear in early records.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. James York, or *Yorke*, born in 1614, came to this country in the "Philip," which sailed from England under Captain Richard Morgan, the passenger list being dated June 20, 1635. Prior to sailing the men were examined by the minister of the church at Gravesend, County Kent, and took the oath of allegiance. According to this list the vessel was bound for Virginia, but this term was then applied to the North American coast in general, and not the Colony itself. As early as 1643 James York was on the town records of Braintree, Massachusetts, but his residence in the preceding years is not known. He was still in Braintree five years later and may have lived in Boston for a time since his son, James, Jr., later held property there. In 1660, he removed to Stonington, Connecticut, which at that time was known as Southerton and was under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The grant of land which he obtained there included,

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in 1900, the farms of Gideon P. Chesebrough, Erastus Miner and Simon Rhodes. His dwelling was located on an Indian path which later became known as the Old Post Road. The census of Stonington, taken in February, 1668, gives the names of forty-three inhabitants, including James York and his son, James, Jr. He also appears in the list of freemen of Stonington, recorded October 5, 1669. He died there in November, 1683.

James York or Yorke married Joanna, who died in Stonington, Connecticut, in 1685. Children: 1. Abigail, of whom further. 2. James, Jr., born in Braintree, Massachusetts, June 14, 1648, died October 26, 1676; married, in Stonington, January 19, 1669, Deborah Bell.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, County of New London, Connecticut," pp. 695-96. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. III, p. 184. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 669. O. J. Harvey: "Harvey Genealogy," p. 909.)

II. Abigail York, daughter of James and Joanna York or Yorke, was born about 1638 or 1639, and died March 9, 1725.

Abigail York married John (3) Beebe. (Beebe II, in America.)

(*Ibid.*)

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CAMPUS OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON, 1940, PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

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The State College of Washington

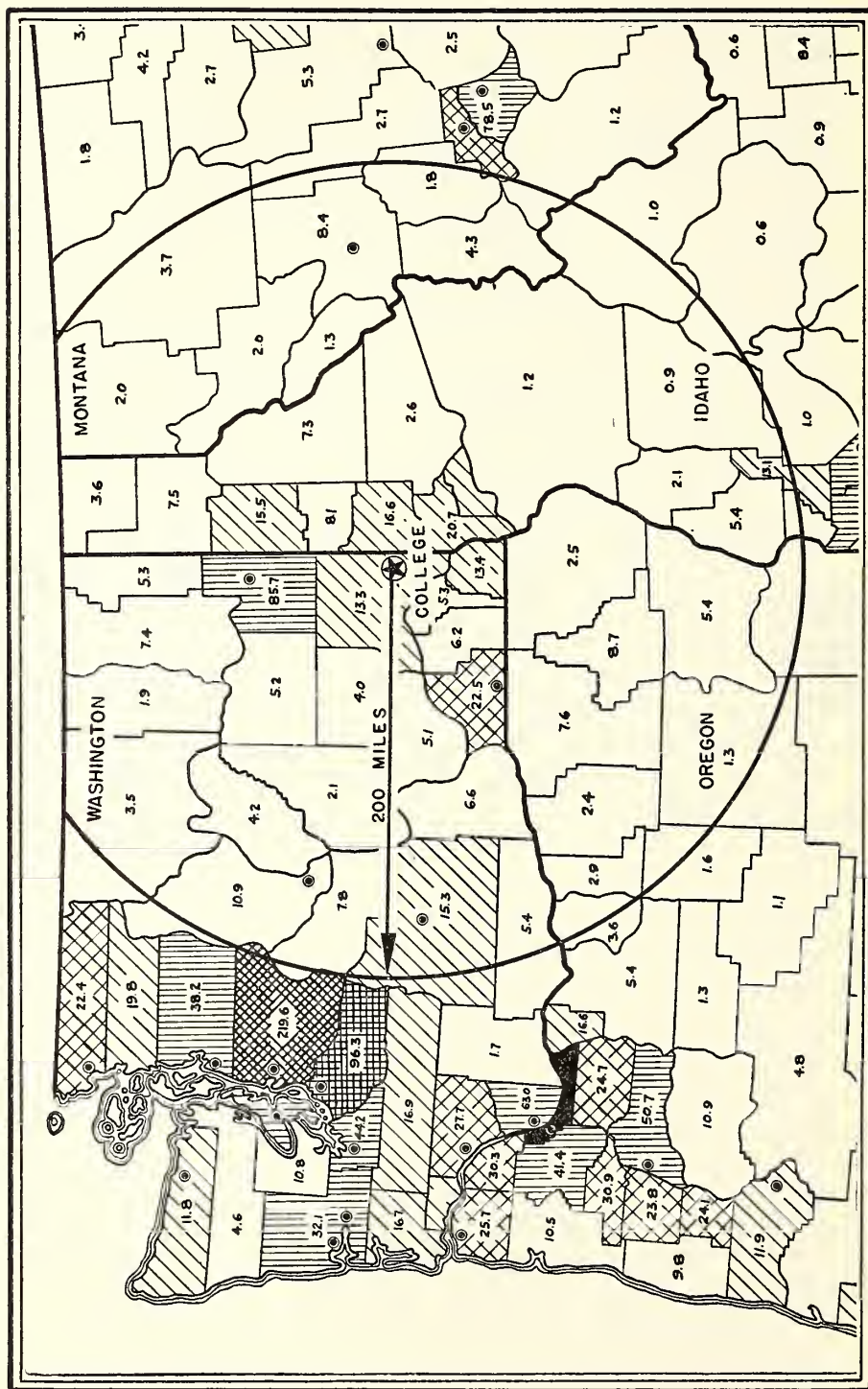
A Land-Grant College

BY ERNEST E. LINDSAY, PH. D., PULLMAN, WASHINGTON



PICTURED on the opposite page is one of the great land-grant colleges of the Nation, the State College of Washington. The College is located on a hill overlooking the town of Pullman, the total population of which is less than the number of students attending the institution. The surrounding Palouse country is very sparsely settled, being devoted almost exclusively to wheat farming, with ranches varying from one to several square miles in extent. The nearest center of population is the city of Spokane, eighty miles north.

If the campus were used as the center of an arc with a radius of two hundred miles, there would be included in the area of the State so circumscribed only four towns, including Spokane, having populations in excess of ten thousand (1930 census). If this circle were completed, there would fall within the vast additional area so encompassed only one more town in this category. The College therefore lies at the center of a circular area four hundred miles across so sparsely settled as to contain but five centers of population of more than ten thousand. Exclusive of the few villages and towns, the great majority of this area supports an average of less than two persons per square mile. There are thousands of square miles of mountains and deserts in this circle with no human population.



ENVIRONMENT OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON SHOWING POPULATION DENSITIES
(See footnote on opposite page for explanation)

A LAND-GRANT COLLEGE

A glance at the accompanying map will establish the location of the College, while a brief examination of the shaded areas will reveal the relative population densities of the surrounding territory.

The College—So much for the environment. The College itself, or rather its physical embodiment, today consists of a thousand acres of land, thirty-three major buildings, for the most part Class A, equipment and other improvements and assets sufficient to bring the total institutional valuation to \$13,500,000. The annual budget is in excess of \$2,250,000, with a permanent endowment of lands and securities of \$7,000,000.

Approximately 4,200 students attend the regular sessions of this institution during the academic year, with considerable additional numbers attending summer sessions, short courses, extension classes, *et cetera*. Five hundred ninety-one bachelor's degrees were granted in the past year, with sixty-two advanced and thirty professional degrees. The College campus is surrounded by a group of thirty-seven sororities, fraternities, and other group houses having a total student population of 1,257. On the campus are eight modern Class A dormitories housing 1,273 students.

The salaried employees of the institution number 657;* of these, 343 comprise the instructional and research faculty. This faculty is unusually active in research and original investigations, a list of their achievements during the past year occupying fifty-three pages of closely printed material. Included in the publications of the faculty during the past year were fourteen books and two hundred fifty-four published results of scientific research. The professional and scholas-

*This does not include nearly 1,400 students employed part-time by the College, earning in excess of \$210,000 annually.

Explanatory notes for map on opposite page.

★ 1, ● 2, □ 3, ▨ 4, ▩ 5, ▤ 6, ▥ 7, ▦ 8, ■ 9.

1. State College of Washington.
 2. Towns of 10,000 or more (1930 census).
 3. Population density of 0 to 10 per square mile.
 4. Population density of 11 to 20 per square mile.
 5. Population density of 21 to 30 per square mile.
 6. Population density of 31 to 90 per square mile.
 7. Population density of 96.3, Pierce County, Washington.
 8. Population density of 219.6, King County, Washington.
 9. Population density of 779.4, Multnomah County, Oregon.
- Population densities for smaller counties: WASHINGTON: Kitsap 83.0, Island 25.8, San Juan 17.4, Wahkiakum 14.5; IDAHO: Payette 17.7, Lewis 11.1; MONTANA: Deer Lodge 27.9.

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tic societies of the Nation have honored the institution by the establishment of chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Delta Kappa, Pi Lambda Theta, Omicron Nu, Sigma Xi, Phi Kappa Phi, Sigma Tau, and a score of others.

The work of the six agricultural experiment stations, with staffs totaling eighty-three members and an annual budget of \$334,500, is known throughout the civilized world. The agricultural extension division of the College, with one hundred eighteen resident full-time trained employees distributed over the State, at least one in each county, and an annual budget of \$259,200, makes the resources of the institution available to practically every family of the State in their own homes or on their own farms. The publications of this division, as requested by the citizens of the State, go out in a daily stream numbering in excess of a thousand.

The Query—Briefly, this is a picture of the State College of Washington as it exists today. In all important respects the State College ranks well toward the top of the list of similar institutions throughout the Nation. The question with which the remainder of this discussion will be concerned is, how did an organization of this magnitude develop in this environment? To answer this question successfully one must turn back to the beginning of its history and find the answers to such questions as, what were the origins of the State College of Washington? Whence did it come? What was its ancestry? Who conceived it? How did this conception become a reality?

An attempt will be made to answer these questions in the order named. First, how did the State College of Washington come into existence? On what educational philosophy has it been built? Then, what have been the progressive steps in the realization of the aims of that philosophy? Who has been responsible for this realization and for the building of this magnificent institution of higher learning, handicapped as it has been in factors of location and environment?

In the very limited space of this article it will be necessary to tell this story in synoptic form. Only the high points of activity can be included and these but in brief fashion. Such periods come intermittently in the growth of an institution as they do in the growth of an individual. The intervening times of consolidation and relatively quiet progress must be omitted entirely from the story as told here.

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The history of the College naturally divides itself into four periods, a division which this synopsis will follow:

- I. The Period of Origins and Beginnings—Ending in 1893.
- II. The Period of Establishment—From 1893 to 1909.
- III. The Period of Conflict—From 1909 to 1925.
- IV. The Period of Development—From 1925 to the Present.

I

THE PERIOD OF ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS—ENDING IN 1893

Origins—The State College of Washington had its origin in two sources. One of these was the Federal government; the other was the State government. In each of these sources, strange as it may seem, the foundations of this institution were laid by two individuals of identical types. The two in the Federal branch never knew or even heard of the two in the State source, but they are enough alike in many respects to be the same.

In both the State and the Nation a combination of a scholar and a practical politician evolved the beginnings of the State College. The name of the scholar in the national scheme of things was Jonathan Baldwin Turner, an educator and agriculturist by profession, born about the beginning of the past century in Templeton, Massachusetts. Educated at Yale and coming from that institution in the spring of his senior year to Illinois College at Jacksonville, Illinois, he became known not only as the founder of the University of Illinois, but also, in some quarters at least, as the father of the land-grant college movement in this country.

Strange as it may be that this professor of Latin and Greek should have espoused the cause of higher education for the industrial classes, it is no stranger than the fact that in the State of Washington a half century later a graduate of the University of Edinburgh should here in the far western territory espouse the same cause. For Robert Connel, born and brought up in the same village with Andrew Carnegie in Scotland, performed the same function in the State of Washington in the years from 1887 to 1890 as did Jonathan Turner in the United States during the period immediately preceding 1862.

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The National Scene—As early as 1850 Turner, speaking before a county institute of teachers in Illinois, presented a plan for a State university for the industrial classes in each of the states of the Union. This plan was also presented to a convention of farmers the following year, 1851. This convention approved the plan and adopted resolutions to "take immediate steps for the establishment of a university in the state of Illinois." This plan and the resulting resolutions were printed and widely circulated. Other conventions were held, culminating in 1853 in a petition to Congress asking that lands be appropriated for the establishment not only of a university in the State of Illinois, but similar universities in other states of the Union. From this time on until after the establishment of the University of Illinois at Urbana in 1869, Turner gave almost all of his time and strength to this movement.

It was this movement, espoused by Turner in 1850, that Justin Morrill crystallized and put into concrete proposals before the House of Representatives in 1857. His bill successfully passed both branches of Congress in this session, failing to become a law only through President Buchanan's veto. In 1862, shortly after the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, Senator Morrill introduced a similar bill which passed both houses, received the President's approval, and became a law in that year.

The essential element in this law, the germ that was to grow and flower like the bay fruit tree, was the provision it contained for the education of the industrial as opposed to the professional classes, as the term professional was defined at that time. Turner and Morrill and others of the same school of thought on the national scene proposed in this law to offer to the ninety or ninety-five per cent. of the population of the country, who carried on the every-day activities of living, that which had previously been the exclusive privilege of the small five to ten per cent. group who were to become the preachers, doctors, or lawyers of that day. The purpose of this law, as stated therein, "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life," was highly revolutionary doctrine in the educational world of 1862 in this or any other nation.

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One may say in passing that its effect over the years has indeed been revolutionary. The principles underlying and so clearly expressed in the work of Turner and Morrill have changed completely not only the intent and purpose of higher education in this country, but the method and content as well. This is true not alone in the forty-eight institutions of higher learning founded on the Morrill Act in the various states,* but also to an almost universal extent in other institutions of higher learning.

The State's Part—The man who was to play the part of Jonathan Turner in the State of Washington was born about the middle of the past century, the son of a Presbyterian minister in Boness, West Lothian, Scotland. He lived in this little Scotch village until he was twenty-two years of age, when he was sent to the high school at Edinburgh, later entering the University of Edinburgh and receiving in due course his bachelor's degree. Subsequently, Robert Connel studied at Berlin, Rome, Paris, and London. He returned to Edinburgh where, in 1873, he was granted the Master of Arts degree, and in London he attended Professor Huxley's lectures. As a comparatively young man he came to America as a representative of a Scotch mortgage company and was located in Portland, Oregon. Retiring with a competence at a relatively early age, he came to Pomeroy, Garfield County, Washington, purchased a farm, built a home and lined it with books, and devoted the rest of his life to the pursuits of a student and a philosopher.

In the years immediately preceding the entrance of the territory of Washington into the Union as a State, Mr. Connel became greatly interested in the revolution in college and university education initiated by the Land-Grant Act of 1862. He studied and read widely in the field, carrying on correspondence with men prominent in eastern land-grant colleges and universities already established, as well as with leaders of similar programs in foreign countries. His viewpoint on this subject, as well as on a multitude of others, was world-wide. He was a student of many countries and many ages, reading and writing fluently in more than a dozen languages. The results of Mr. Con-

*In some Southern States individual units are established for colored students. If these are counted as separate institutions, the total is sixty-nine instead of forty-eight.

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nel's investigations and reflections took practical form in the year 1890 when he drew up the bill for the establishment of a land-grant institution in the State of Washington. This bill naturally reflects his culture and breadth of view.

Senator Justin Morrill's place in the national scheme was taken in the State of Washington by Representative W. S. Oliphant. Born in 1849 in Ohio, a graduate of Ohio University, school teacher, publisher, successful wheat farmer, and legislator from Pomeroy, Garfield County, it was Mr. Oliphant who introduced the bill into the State Legislature in 1890 and was successful in having it pass both Houses, signed by the Governor, and become a law.

Fundamental Concepts—The close parallel in the history of the beginnings of this institution in each of its two sources, national and state, is highly remarkable. It is inspiring and essentially fundamental to any understanding of the subsequent growth and development of the College and its place in the educational pattern of the State and of the Pacific Northwest to know that this institution springs from a blending of the traditional concepts of education as represented by Yale through Jonathan Baldwin Turner, and as represented by such ancient and academically respectable institutions as the Universities of Edinburgh, Paris, Berlin, and Rome through Robert Connel.

Those who tend to think of a land-grant college as an organization somewhat limited in scope, confined perhaps to the cruder areas of educational endeavor, would do well to ponder upon the sources of the State College. For this institution took form first in the minds of men trained at some of the most ancient and revered centers of learning. Its academic ancestry is beyond reproach, and the line of its descent comes through channels whose respectability can not be questioned. It is well that this be stressed at the beginning of this brief resumé of the history of the College and that it be borne in mind as the story develops, for only an institution whose foundations were secure, representing the highest development of century upon century of educational progress in this and other lands, could possibly expand and grow in service to the State as this College has during the past fifty years.



CAMPUS OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON, 1891

A LAND-GRANT COLLEGE

Endowment and Support—Through the preliminary work of Robert Connel and the legislative skill and experience of W. S. Oliphant, the State of Washington, in the first year of its history as a State, was able to take advantage of the Federal provisions and the grant of 90,000 acres of public land for establishing and endowing a land-grant college. The bill prepared by Connel was introduced by Oliphant in the Lower House of the first legislative session (1889) to be held in the newly created State of Washington. Provision was made in this bill for the establishment of an agricultural experiment station as part of the new institution. At the suggestion of a neighbor of Robert Connel's by the name of John Robertson, the purposes set forth in the Federal Act of March 2, 1889, which provided for the establishment of a school of science and granted for the endowment of such a school 100,000 acres of public land, were also included in the bill. The bill passed both Houses and was signed by Governor Ferry on March 28, 1890.

This combination of a land-grant college, authorized by the Federal government in 1862, the agricultural experiment station, authorized by Federal Act in 1887, and the school of science, by authority of an Act of Congress of 1889, gave the newly created institution a total permanent endowment, "the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished," of 190,000 acres of land. In addition to this permanent endowment, the Federal government stood pledged to contribute \$15,000 per year for the support of the agricultural experiment station. There was also a bill before Congress at this time, which became law on the thirty-first day of August of the same year, 1890, giving an additional sum of \$15,000, increasing by annual increments of \$1,000, to \$25,000 annually to be used for instructional purposes.

Competition for School—The competition for the location of the school, so richly endowed at its inception and possessing an assured annual operating budget of \$30,000, was naturally very keen throughout the State. About all this first Legislature of the State accomplished for the new institution in addition to giving it the name, "The Washington State Agricultural College and School of Science," outlining the work to be offered, and accepting *in toto* the provisions and stipulations of the Federal enabling acts, was to appoint a locating

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commission. This commission consisted of three members, each from a different section of the State. Here again the efforts of different localities to secure the school were so great that the commission was unable to reach a decision, and so reported to the second Legislature held in 1891.

This second Legislature went a step further than the first. It did three things: first, it defined the purposes of the institution; second, it provided for the appointment of a permanent board of regents; third, it reconstituted the locating commission as a temporary body, provided for the appointment of its three members, and set a time limit within which the site must be chosen. This Act was signed by the Governor on March 9, 1891. Within a month two events occurred: first, the locating commission agreed upon Pullman as the location of the College; second, the newly appointed permanent Board of Regents met, organized, and elected the first president of the College, Doctor George Lilley.

First Two Years—The problems confronting this first Board of Regents and the first president of the institution were many and perplexing. True, the institution had been located, but the resulting wave of indignation in the various localities of the State which had not been successful was such as to make the permanency of this location seem somewhat questionable. The problems grouped themselves around three general subjects: first, the provision of buildings on the land donated by the citizens of Pullman as a campus for the College; second, the determination of the subject matter to be taught and its organization into a workable curriculum; and, third, the selection and employment of a faculty properly qualified to give the instruction called for by the curriculum as adopted. All three groups of problems had to be solved before the institution could open its doors for instruction.

The building problem was temporarily met in the summer of 1891 by the erection of a small building in the center of the donated ground, later to be known by the students as "The Crib." It was a one-story brick structure thirty-six by sixty feet and costing approximately fifteen hundred dollars. The only existing picture of this first building is shown opposite page 186. The walls of this structure still stand as part of the Old Gymnasium on the present campus. The



PRESIDENT EMERITUS ENOCH A. BRYAN

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course of instruction was formulated, a faculty of five members was provided, and the doors of the institution were opened for the first classes on the thirteenth day of January, 1892, approximately nine months from the date of the location of the institution. The enrollment this first year was eighty-four, only twenty-one of whom were listed as of college standing. Only fifteen came from outside the county in which the College was located.

Doctor George Lilley remained as president of the institution for one year after this date, retiring on January 1, 1893, in favor of Doctor John W. Heston, who had been elected by the Board of Regents as his successor. Doctor Heston's resignation was accepted by the board as of May first of the same year.

II

THE PERIOD OF ESTABLISHMENT—FROM 1893 TO 1909

The Third President—The third time the members of the board entered the field for a president, their search took them to the Middle West. There in the little town of Vincennes, Indiana, they found the man they were seeking in the person of Doctor Enoch A. Bryan. Born in the manse of the United Presbyterian church in Marietta, Ohio, in 1855, a graduate of the classical course of Indiana University, with a master's degree from Harvard University, president for the preceding nine years of Vincennes University, Doctor Bryan came to the presidency of the State College of Washington during the summer of 1893. This position he was to retain for the next twenty-three years. The story of the College from this point forward must in fact become largely the story of two men: one, Doctor Enoch A. Bryan, president from 1893 to 1916; and the other, Doctor Ernest O. Holland, president since 1916.

The situation facing the State College when Doctor Bryan assumed the presidency was not a happy one. As far as constructive development was concerned, from an educational and administrative standpoint at least, the two years since the location of the College had been worse than wasted. True, there were three buildings, The Crib, old College Hall, and a dormitory for men and women divided, according to a contemporary publication, "into two equal parts by a substantial

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cross partition." But the institution as a whole was in a state of unrest and turmoil. Doctor Bryan did not have the difficult task of starting from nothing; he first had to undo most of the results of the first two years of College history, to bring order out of chaos, to establish both institutional and personal dignity. The real beginnings of the permanent history of the State College of Washington were marked by the coming of Doctor Bryan to the campus as president in August, 1893.

Foundations Laid—The Legislature of 1893 proved to be one of the high points in the history of the College. The Assembly accepted its special committee's evaluation of the future of the College by approving the majority of the appropriations recommended. In particular, it appropriated \$25,000 to be applied toward finishing payment for the buildings on the campus as Doctor Bryan found them upon his arrival. It also provided

\$50,000 for an administration building,
10,000 for a mechanical engineering building,
1,500 for a sewage system, and
500 for a root house.

In addition, other appropriations* were made for current expenses sufficient to bring the total given to the College to \$97,000.

This \$97,000 given by the State in 1893 looms large when consideration is given to the financial strains and stresses of that year in the Nation as a whole, emphasized in Washington by the heavy crop losses of the previous season. It was a remarkable evidence of faith on the part of the representatives of the pioneers of that day—faith in the purposes of the College, faith in the future of the State, and, even more, faith in the character of the man who had but a few months since taken over the administration of the institution. The action of this Legislature of 1893 was the turning point in the history of the College which up to this time had been exceedingly drab or lurid. The foundations of the institution of today began to be laid.

Political Control Attempted—Substantial growth took place during the period 1893-97. In the latter year the College faced another

*In addition this Legislature approved of three other items recommended by its committee totaling \$23,000 which the Governor vetoed.

CAMPUS IN 1893



CAMPUS IN 1895



CAMPUS OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON, 1893 AND 1895

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crucial test. This came about through the accession to power of the Populist party, the immediate cause being the appointment of a sufficient number of new members to the Board of Regents to give this party a controlling vote in the destinies of the institution. The new fusion party was prepared to carry out the plans of certain factions in the State to oust the administration and gain political control of the affairs of the College. The ensuing battle was won by the College.

On this point of political control public institutions of higher learning are continually subject to criticism by similar privately endowed institutions. The statement is frequently made that the policies and purposes of state colleges and universities are dictated by political rather than educational considerations. So deep is this impression in the minds of some that the chief, if not the sole purpose of the endowed college or university of today has recently been authoritatively conceded to be that of an example of non-political control—a model, so to speak, for the benefit of the publicly supported educational institutions.*

Throughout the history of the State College from 1893 forward, education, not politics, has been the governing motive. True, attempts have been made to reverse this order, but they have been uniformly unsuccessful. The policy in this matter, as in many other vital ones, was laid down and successfully established in the early years of the institution's history. So definite has tradition in this regard become that Doctor Bryan, writing long after his retirement as president and looking back over the years in retrospect, could say:

I do not believe that at any time during the twenty-three years of my service as president of the State College any one could have secured employment in any capacity in the institution through political influence, and I am quite sure that no one was ever removed or disturbed by the board of regents because of his party affiliations.†

Doctor Bryan's immediate successor in the presidency, Doctor Holland, from the vantage point of his twenty-fifth year of similar service, heartily approves of the elimination of all political considerations in the internal administration of the institution.

*Hutchins, Robert Maynard, "What Good are Endowments?", *Saturday Evening Post*, November 11, 1939, p. 45.

†Bryan, E. A., "Historical Sketch of the State College of Washington, 1890-1925," Inland-American Printing Co., Spokane, Washington, pp. 180-81.

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Important Events—Several other important events in the history of the College occurred during this period. One was the first commencement. The class of 1893 was ready for graduation in June, 1897. Much was made of this occasion and very properly so. It represented the first fruits of a definite policy, one extremely difficult to initiate and adhere to. This was the policy that the work of the State College should be of college grade and of increasingly high standard. This policy, established in 1893, has since been rigorously maintained. Throughout the years the efforts of the State College have always been to raise, not to lower, its academic standards.

Outside the limits of the campus three events occurred during the biennium 1897-99 that affected the history of the College. These were the Spanish-American War, the discovery of gold in Alaska, and the subsequent change in the economic attitude of the legislative body. At the outset of the Spanish-American War in 1898 the entire cadet battalion of the College volunteered in a body. In view of the great over-abundance of volunteers in this State, nearly twice as many offering themselves as could be accepted, the Governor did not accept the battalion. Many members who volunteered individually, however, were accepted and rendered notable service as non-commissioned and commissioned officers.

The Alaska gold rush began in the summer of 1897. On July 16 of that year the newspapers of the State published news of the strike. The effect of this strike on the history of the College was marked because of the resulting change in the economic life of the State.

. . . . Hard times in the State of Washington vanished in a day. . . . In short, the industrial and economic life of Washington was profoundly affected by the series of events known as the golden era of Alaska.*

This improved economic situation resulted in an appropriation for the College by the Legislature of 1899 of \$144,250, as compared to the \$29,000 appropriated by the session of 1897. This \$144,250 permitted additions and replacements on the campus with the results shown in the picture opposite page 194.

*Meany, Edmond S., "History of the State of Washington," 1924, p. 294. MacMillan.

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Western Washington Experiment Station—During this period the property which was later to be developed into the Western Washington Experiment Station at Puyallup was first occupied. The first superintendent of this Station took office on July 1, 1905. It is impossible to develop the history of this Station in this brief account of the activities of the College. Suffice it to say that it has been in continuous operation since that date, has been the object of specific appropriations by most legislative sessions since 1907, and has developed its work until its current biennial budget approximates \$175,000. It is not a branch of the Main Experiment Station, but is directly responsible to the administration of the College.

Change in Name—A lasting accomplishment by the Legislature of 1905 was the change in the name of the College. This was done in compliance with the request of the regents who had repeatedly urged this action upon each of the past three sessions of the Legislature. The name up to that time had been "The Agricultural College, Experiment Station, and School of Science of the State of Washington," a cognomen so long and so complicated as to be almost useless for practical purposes. Common usage had reduced it to a variety of meaningless contractions, for example, "Pullman College." The action of the 1905 Legislature changed this to the present usable and more truly descriptive title of the State College of Washington. Many former graduates requested and were granted the privilege of changing their diplomas for similar ones bearing the new name.

Capital Investment Doubled—The College was growing with even more than its usual rapidity. The enrollment of seven hundred ninety-three for the biennium 1903-05 increased to 1,100 in 1905-07. The demands for experimental and extension services were expanding. The campus was crowded in every nook and corner, even hallways being partitioned off for classrooms. As a result of these factors the administration, board, and friends of the institution over the State concentrated on putting a suitable building program before the coming Legislature. The Legislature of 1907 met at a time when economic and financial conditions within the State were good. No hint of the panic of 1907 which broke later in the same year was in evidence.

The College's plea for support was based on facts and was ably

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presented. The result was an appropriation of \$575,754, more than three times as large as any previous similar provisions. This record-breaking appropriation included \$247,254 for maintenance, \$12,000 for the purchase of farm lands, and the following building provisions:

Library and Assembly Hall (Bryan Hall)	\$130,000
Recitation Building (College Hall)	125,000
Domestic Science Building (Van Doren Hall)	25,000
Engineering Laboratories	12,000
Veterinary Hospital	11,000
Farm Buildings	7,000
Total	<hr/> \$310,000

It is interesting to note that this total of \$310,000 for buildings was \$50,000 more than the value of all the buildings then on the campus as given in the current biennial report of the Board of Regents.

The rapid growth of the College during the first eighteen years of its history is shown, too, by the funds necessary for its maintenance. These, as received from all sources, are given in the tabulation following:

<i>Biennium</i>	<i>Total Income</i>
1891-1893	\$132,500
1893-1895	167,333
1895-1897	156,167
1897-1899	114,549
1899-1901	250,140
1901-1903	236,393
1903-1905	278,649
1905-1907	296,667
1907-1909	717,847

By 1909 the faculty of twelve in 1893 had grown to ninety-eight, including research and extension staffs, and the student body of one hundred ten had increased to 1,371. The library contained 17,000 bound volumes.

III

THE PERIOD OF CONFLICT—FROM 1909 TO 1925

Clouds on the Horizon—About this time clouds appeared on the horizon, clouds that were to accumulate with increasing rapidity for



CAMPUS OF THE STATE COLLEGE, 1899 AND 1903

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several years and were to break finally into the stormy weather of 1915-17. Calm was not to come again until 1925. The beginnings of this difficult era took the form of a report of a legislative investigating committee. This committee had been appointed by the Legislature of 1909 to investigate State officers and State institutions.

Among the institutions visited by the committee were the State College and the State University. The section of the committee's report to the Legislature covering these two institutions proposed a new and unique conception of the function of the College. This conception is summarized by the committee's statement that

we believe that if the College at Pullman devotes its efforts primarily to experimental, agricultural and scientific work, and the University at Seattle continues to develop into a university of the highest type, the best interests of the state would thereby be subserved.

Such a recommendation if followed strictly would have meant, of course, that the College would have become little more than an agricultural experiment station, thereby nullifying many of the purposes for which the institution was created.

In the light of future developments it is important to note and to remember that the same Legislature which received this committee report reaffirmed the original conceptions of the functions of the State College by reenacting the original charter provisions setting forth the functions of the institution as three-fold, consisting of instruction, research, and extension. It would indeed be difficult to conceive of a wider field of instructional service, one entirely omitted from the committee's report, than that made mandatory by the following, taken verbatim from the law enacted by the Legislature of 1909, whose committee recommendations were cited above:

The course of instruction of said College shall embrace the English language, literature, mathematics, philosophy, civil and mechanical engineering, chemistry, animal and vegetable anatomy and physiology, the veterinary art, entomology, geology, political economy, rural and household economy, horticulture, moral philosophy, history, mechanics, and such other courses of instruction as shall be prescribed by the Board of Regents.

This specific statement of curricula, with the attendant provisions for its enlargement as occasion might warrant in the judgment of the

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Board of Regents of the College, makes clear the fact that the Legislature of 1909 did not concur in the committee's idea that the College should be restricted to "experimental, agricultural and scientific work." Nor did succeeding legislatures prove any more favorable to this new conception of the College's function. Nevertheless, the line of battle had been drawn by this legislative committee of 1909.

First Millage Law—The Legislature of 1911 established a new method of determining the support of State institutions of higher education by enacting what came to be known as the "millage tax law." Such an Act had been advocated by the College for several years previously. The advantages stressed in its favor included the increased economy and efficiency possible within the several institutions if a fixed income could be anticipated over a period of years in the future and the large savings to the State as a whole by removing the State institutions of higher learning, their officials and friends from the biennial scramble for funds at each session of the Legislature, with the inevitable and extremely costly log-rolling and trading of votes.

The Act provided for higher education a total annual levy of 1.05 mills on all property subject to taxation in the State. The income of this levy was divided among the several institutions in accordance with a fixed stated ratio based upon recent past appropriations. The College's share of this levy was set in the law at .325 of a mill. It was anticipated that the growth in taxable wealth and consequent assessed valuations within the State would keep pace with or exceed the growth of the various institutions, an anticipation which proved inaccurate.

Beginnings of Federal Support of Agricultural Extension Service—During this period the first money for agricultural extension service was received from the Federal government, the sum of \$10,000 for 1914-15 being the initial payment for this purpose. From this modest beginning this support has grown until the College in the last complete biennium, 1937-39, received \$434,740 from the Federal government for this work. The extent to which the College agricultural extension service covers the State today is shown by the Extension Map on page 216.

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The development there shown grew out of the conception of the College, common to all land-grant colleges, that it was responsible for making all of its resources available to all of the people of the State. This conception of service cannot be realized to any adequate degree through instructional work in the classrooms on the campus or through experimental work in the laboratories. All of the people of the State cannot come to the campus of the State College as students. Neither can all of the people of the State discover the results of scientific research carried on at the College by coming to the campus. This is true even though these results might be immediately applicable in a very profitable way in their own work. And so the College has undertaken to carry to the people of the State in their own homes, on their farms, and in their factories such instruction and the results of such research as may be applicable to their individual needs.

This work began with the opening of the College in 1892, for in that same year farmers' institutes were held in neighboring towns. The first specific State appropriation for the farmers' institute work was \$5,000 in 1905. This increased to \$29,792 in 1909, the word "extension" appearing in this appropriation bill for the first time. By 1912 the extension work had grown to such an extent that it was formally organized by the Board of Regents as the Agricultural Extension Service and placed on an official parity with the two other major functions of the College, namely, instruction on the campus and research.

The President Resigns—At the end of the period 1913-15 the Board of Regents received an important formal communication from the president of the institution. This contained the following significant statement:

. . . . I have the satisfaction of seeing the college with a splendid plant, a thoroughly organized curriculum, a competent faculty, a fine student body, a good annual income and a magnificent permanent endowment, enjoying the confidence and support of the citizens of this commonwealth. So far as I can discover, there is neither internal friction nor external danger to the institution from any source.

This quotation is given because it contains the retiring president's summary of the condition of the College at the time of his resignation. If one compares the picture so drawn with the analysis of con-

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ditions existing when Doctor Bryan took over the presidency in 1893, given at the first of this article, some measure of his leadership may be secured. Comparison of the picture of the campus given opposite page 200 with that for 1893 will reveal the physical growth achieved during the twenty-three years of his administration.

Selection of New President—The selection of a new president was undertaken by the Board of Regents in a logical and praiseworthy fashion, the field being limited only by the candidates' training and experience. Thirty or more men from all parts of the country were considered. Several of these were invited to meet and consult with the board at its expense. The president of the board also went East to secure pertinent information in certain of the candidates' home territory, usually a most profitable procedure.

The result of these activities over several months was the extension of an invitation by the board to Doctor Ernest O. Holland, then Superintendent of Schools in Louisville, Kentucky, to become president of the State College as of January 1, 1916. This invitation was accepted by Doctor Holland. His connection with the College in this capacity has been continuous since that date. The new president was forty-one years of age when he assumed office. The son of an Indiana physician, he received his first degree from Indiana University in 1905 and his doctorate from Columbia University in 1912. His professional life before coming to the State had been spent in the public schools of Indiana and Kentucky, with several summers spent in study in Europe.

The Storm Breaks—With the new president selected, the major task was that of preparing to meet the attack on the life of the institution. This task the board was fortunately able to share with two able administrators, the retiring and the incoming presidents. It was well that this was so, for the tranquil state of affairs, characterized in Doctor Bryan's letter of resignation as a condition wherein "so far as I can discover, there is neither internal friction nor external danger to the institution from any source," proved to be the calm before the storm, a storm such as the State College had not been called upon to weather before nor has since, although repercussions occurred with diminishing effect over a period of ten years.



PRESIDENT ERNEST O. HOLLAND

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The storm broke shortly after the convening of the 1915 Legislature in the enactment into law of a bill which proposed

a comprehensive survey . . . to determine more definitely the purpose, sphere and functions of the University, the State College and the State Normal Schools,

provided for the employment of experts, the publication and distribution of their findings throughout the State, and fixed a maximum expenditure of \$5,000. The survey was interpreted in some quarters as an attempt to make the State College a purely technical institution and to remove from it its curricula of liberal arts and science.

The Situation Facing the New President—Thus matters stood when Doctor Holland became president in January, 1916. Some space was devoted at the beginning of this synopsis to the situation facing Doctor Bryan when he became president in 1893. The situation facing the incoming president in 1916 also merits comment. Through no fault of the retiring administrator, and this should be emphasized strongly, Doctor Holland entered upon his responsibility as president during the most turbulent and most potentially dangerous biennial period of the College's entire history to the present time. Certain elements within the State had been organizing, propagandizing, and preparing in every possible way over a period of at least six years (since the 1909 "investigating committee" of the Legislature) for this occasion. Their plans were carefully laid and they were fully prepared to carry them out.

The Law of 1917—This was perhaps the poorest possible time for a new leader. It was a terrific task for the incoming president and a period of extreme stress for the institution as a whole. Nevertheless, he and the College won through to an era of unprecedented growth and development for the institution. There is no point in recording here the various steps by which the victory was won. Suffice it to say that as a result of the heroic struggle led by President Holland and the faculty of the State College there was written into the laws of the State by the 1917 Legislature an Act "regulating courses of instruction in the State University, College and normal schools." The provisions of this Act as they affect the College and

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the University have been summarized by a qualified authority as follows:

The net result of some eight or ten years of superficial discussion and jangling about "duplication" had thus worked itself out into a more complete duplication than had before existed. The single value of the legislative compromise of 1917 was that it brought a settlement. It should remain undisturbed.*

In fairness, it should be recorded here that many leading citizens of the State, including several of the substantial and strong members of the University of Washington faculty, had at no time been in sympathy with this movement.

Redistribution of the Millage—Two points of conflict remained to be settled. Both had to do with the redistribution of the financial support provided the College and the University. One dealt with current support given each biennium, and the other with the permanent support in the form of endowment funds. The current support of the two institutions by the State was determined by the terms of the millage law passed in 1911. This same law contained provisions for a review of these millages any time after January 1, 1916. The culmination of the efforts against the State College naturally was timed to meet this provision. It may safely be regarded as the crux of the whole situation. So while charges were made about this course or that, this sentence in the catalog or that, the best possible of foundations was being laid, so it was thought, toward the provision of a higher education millage by the Legislature of 1917 which would recognize in a substantial and permanent fashion the rightful place of the State College in the educational scheme of the State as an "agricultural experiment station."

Again may it be said to the credit of the president of the College and to the fairness and impartial statesmanship of a sufficient number of the legislators of the State that this attempt did not succeed. The total millage for higher learning was increased from 1.05 to 1.578, to be divided among the five State institutions of higher learning. This division was to last four years. It was revised by the Legislature in 1921, again in 1925, and again in 1935.

*Bryan, E. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 423-25.



CAMPUS OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON, 1915

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Reassignment of Permanent Endowments—It had been suggested also that the 100,000 acres of land granted to the State College in 1891 for a permanent scientific school fund be transferred to another institution. This suggestion suffered the same fate as the rest of the program to reassign the field, functions, and support of the State College when the Legislature passed and the Governor signed on February 10, 1917, an Act for the "allotment of lands and funds to the State College." It is significant that this Act was passed by both Houses of the Legislature and signed by the Governor on the same day that similar action was taken on the bill "regulating courses of instruction in the State University, College, and normal schools," previously referred to. Legislative action on the millage bill discussed earlier came within two weeks. It was all one program and it all fell together.

This concludes the record, so far as space permits, of the cycle of events leading up to and culminating in the three decisive acts of the Legislature of 1917, acts phrased uniformly to maintain the obligations undertaken by the State in the establishment of its land-grant college. This biennium, from the passage of the Act by the 1915 Legislature creating a "commission of experts" to the passage by the Legislature of 1917 of three acts (1) "regulating courses of instruction in the State University, College, and normal schools," (2) a "levy of millage tax for higher education," and (3) "allotment of lands and funds to the State College," was the two-year period most packed with struggle, drama, and the resolution of pivotal issues of any in the history of the State College to date.

The Inauguration of a New President—One event occurred during this period which is unique in the first fifty years of the history of the institution. This was the inauguration of a president. The fact that this is unique in the history of the College makes the College itself unique among other such institutions. In the absence of the exhaustive research necessary to establish the fact, it is probably safe to surmise that few if any of the colleges or universities of first rank in this country have gone through the first fifty years of their history with but one presidential inauguration.

Such occasions have long been common in older centers of culture; but the State of Washington in 1891-92-93, when the first three presi-

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dents of the College took office, had not yet developed that far, academically speaking. The inauguration ceremonies of March 24, 1916, by which the present executive, President Ernest O. Holland, was inducted into office, remain the first and only occasion of this kind in the first fifty years of the life of the State College.

The handicap under which President Holland began his administration is again recalled by noting that this initiation into his new duties took place at the same time that the committee of "experts" appointed to conduct the "comprehensive survey" was gathered in Seattle to determine the future of the College, and less than one week before the announcement of its momentous decisions. Another aspect of this historical event is its relationship to the truly phenomenal growth of the College, which may in no small measure be traced to the fact that it has changed administrators but once since 1893, and then with little if any break in policies and fundamental procedures.

Branch Agricultural Experiment Stations—A series of events occurred during the years immediately following 1915 that must be chronicled in any history of the State College—the enlargement of the work of the Main Agricultural Experiment Station of the College by the creation of several branch stations. One of these was located near the town of Lind in Adams County and has since been known as the Adams Branch Experiment Station. It was located in this territory in order to permit study under local conditions of the problems arising in the vast areas of the State which have a small annual rainfall. In coöperation with the United States Department of Agriculture many profitable findings have been published in bulletin form as a result of these investigations. Two other similar branch stations established about this time were those at Waterville in Douglas County and at Winthrop in Okanogan County. During the period of their activity important contributions were made by each of these.

A little later two other branch agricultural experiment stations were established, each of which has since been in continuous operation. One of these was located near Prosser in the lower Yakima Valley. In order that it could study agricultural problems connected with irrigation, the station was located in what was at that time the major irrigated region of the State. When one considers the thou-

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sands of additional acres in this State shortly to be subject to irrigation upon the completion of the Columbia Basin and Roza irrigation projects, the importance of the basic work of the Prosser Station in this field cannot be over-estimated. As these irrigation projects develop into their final form over the years immediately ahead, the significance of this type of work must be greatly augmented.

The completion of these vast irrigation projects must affect sharply also other phases of the work of the College. At present two-thirds of the 1,600,000 people of this State are to be found in a rather narrow strip of land lying between the Cascades and the Pacific Ocean, one-third of the 4,200 students of the College coming from this area three hundred miles distant. However, with the Roza irrigation project under construction in central Washington, and the great Coulee Dam irrigation and power project in eastern Washington, the situation as to population will be changed. It is predicted that fifteen hundred families will soon occupy farms on the Roza project, and between twenty and twenty-five thousand families within four decades will be cultivating the land in the Big Bend territory irrigated by water from the Grand Coulee Dam.

The other experiment station established during this period was located near Ilwaco in Pacific County. Its experimental work was focussed on the study of insects injurious to cranberries and blueberries. In the years that it has been maintained coöperatively by the College and the Bureau of Entomology of the United States Department of Agriculture, the station has contributed immensely to the success of the cranberry and blueberry industries of this State. Somewhat later the tree fruit industries of the State benefited similarly by the establishment of a branch station at Wenatchee.

Organization of Colleges and Schools—Following the close of the legislative session of 1917 the College was permitted for a time to devote its attention and energies to its internal affairs and to the purposes for which it was created. The major development on the campus during this period was the organization of the instructional divisions of the institution into colleges and schools. Heretofore the departmental system had prevailed with one dean of faculty over all divisions of the College. It was felt that the College with its 1,800 stu-

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dents and two hundred five faculty members had outgrown the effective limits of departmentalization under one administrative unit. Now it seemed to be ready for university organization. Plans were laid accordingly, and the board, on June 12, 1917, adopted the president's recommendations.

By this action the twenty-one departments under one dean were regrouped to form five colleges and four schools, each under a separate dean, as follows:

- College of Agriculture
- College of Mechanic Arts and Engineering
- College of Sciences and Arts
- College of Veterinary Science
- College of Home Economics
- School of Mines
- School of Education
- School of Pharmacy
- School of Music and Applied Design

The work in physical education and military science was retained on a departmental basis. There were then nine schools and colleges and two independent departments, an organization intact up to the present time, with the addition in 1924 of the Graduate School as a formal organization, and in 1938 of a Graduate School of Social Work.

The World War and the College—The World War fell within this period with a marked effect on the College. Students flocked to the colors; the enrollment in 1918, instead of following the established upward trend from the 2,130 of the previous year, fell to 1,839. Faculty as well as students served with honored distinction. The roll of students who met death in service during this war and whose names are permanently inscribed in the place of honor on the campus numbers forty-two.

The situation on the campus was also most seriously affected by the "flu" epidemic of 1918. During this period the government housed at the College two detachments of troops, one of three hundred, the other of six hundred. About eight hundred twenty-five of these suffered with the "flu," with forty-one deaths resulting. The College was, of course, entirely unprepared to house such an addition to its

A LAND-GRANT COLLEGE

normal population. Even with no epidemic the situation would have been acute. When the "flu" struck, temporary hospitals were set up in churches, fraternity houses, and in three or more of the major college buildings. The Home Economics, Extension, and other faculties assisted in preparing diets. The well waited on the sick. The College nurse, Mary Packingham, lost her life in line of duty during the early days of this epidemic. The devotion of this heroic woman and many others resulted in a death rate of about five per cent., much less than common in the country as a whole at that time.

Building Problems Met—Later in this period student enrollments increased rapidly. The total enrollment which had sunk to 1,839 during the war period of 1917-18 rose to a high in 1920-21 of 2,678, an increase of forty-five per cent. in three years. This tremendous influx of students brought two types of building problems, instructional and residential. The State in 1919 appropriated \$420,000 to meet these problems. Because of rapidly rising construction and other costs during this period this sum proved woefully insufficient. To meet the emergency thus created, the administration devised and put into operation a plan which has meant much to the College. This plan permitted use of private capital in building student dormitories and dining halls.

The way in which this necessity was met is, after all, a simple one. A group of citizens interested in the progress and development of the institution formed themselves into a holding company known as the Community Building Company. Properly incorporated under the laws of the State, this company issued bonds for the erection of the dormitories as needed. The security back of these bonds was the income-earning power of the entire dormitory system of the College. The actuarial work on which these bond issues were based has proved sound over a period of years. The bonds have been a secure investment for the public-spirited citizens who assumed the initial risk. Later the Legislature of the State recognized the merit and soundness of this type of development by the passage of necessary laws to facilitate the work of such organizations, not only on the campus of the State College, but on the campuses of the University of Washington and of the colleges of education* of this State.

*Previously normal schools.

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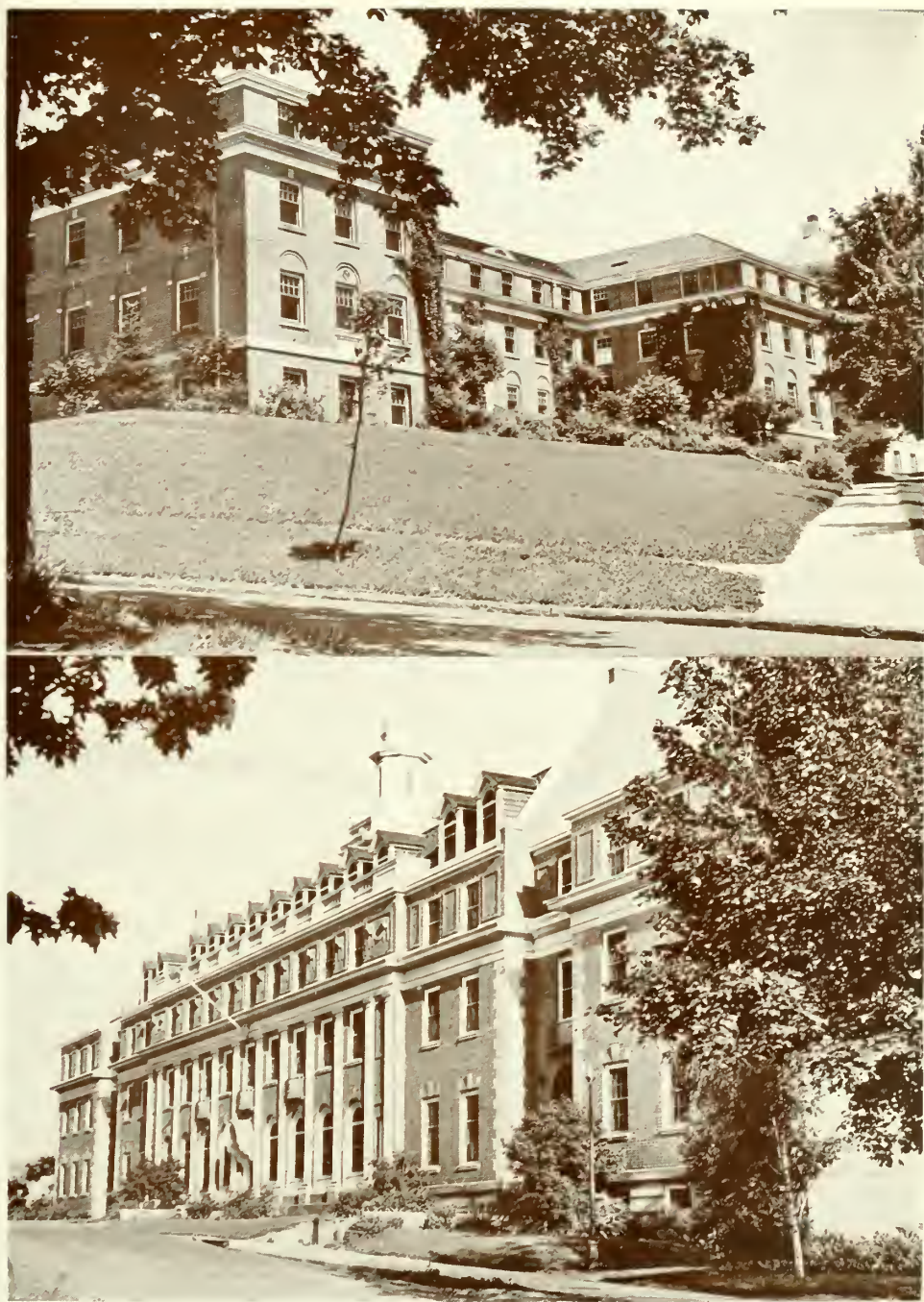
By the operation of this plan the College has been able to erect six dormitories, four for women and two for men, housing a total of approximately nine hundred students, and a community dining hall known as The Commons, seating a total of five hundred forty-four students. Valued conservatively at \$1,500,000, these buildings will come to the State free of all costs or obligations. Pictures of two of these buildings are shown on the composite plate opposite.

Campus Building Funds—The Legislature of 1921 increased the College's millage from .45 of a mill to .67 of a mill, resulting in an increase of \$525,000 a biennium. The same Legislature also passed another law that was to mean much to the College in the years to come. This was an Act "providing for the collection and disposition of tuition fees." Shortly after the close of the World War the students of the College presented a petition to the Board of Regents asking that the board establish an assessment of ten dollars per semester or twenty dollars per year, the income from which would be used for the construction of college buildings. The students had in mind, of course, more particularly buildings which would aid in such student activities as are ordinarily not provided for by legislative appropriation. The Board of Regents acceded to this request. The action of the Legislature of 1921 in making this assessment a legal tuition broadened the use of the resulting funds to include

for either buildings or equipment or operation or maintenance as may be determined more advisable for the interest of the institution.

A sequence of the legislative action of 1921 creating a tuition fee was the presentation by the students in 1927 of a petition to the Board of Regents requesting that another special building assessment be levied. This was a fee of five dollars per semester or ten dollars per year against all students, the income of this assessment to be placed in an Associated Students Building Fund. The purpose of this fund was to be the same as that of the original ten dollars per semester fund. The board acceded to this request.

The results have been of inestimable value to the College. At the present time, with over four thousand students enrolled, this fund accumulates at the rate of \$40,000 per year. Some of the buildings that have been made possible through the operation of the Associated



REPRESENTATIVE DORMITORIES AT THE COLLEGE

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Students Building Fund have been the Finch Memorial Hospital (\$88,000 of such aid), the Field House (\$133,000 of such aid), the Stadium (\$67,000 of such aid), and the Women's Gymnasium (\$83,000 of such aid).

Additional Administrative Reorganizations—The internal affairs of the College during this period were marked by three developments, all of which may be considered as having their beginnings in the reorganization of the work of the College instituted in 1917. These were:

- Creation of the Graduate School,
- Establishment of an institutional Research Council,
- Formulation and adoption by the faculty of definitive statements of its own organization.

The College had done graduate work since its early years. The first graduate students' names appear in the catalog of 1898, and the first advanced degree was given in 1902. By 1922 a total of ninety-six advanced degrees had been granted. The action of the board in June, 1922, creating a formal unit of the College to be known as the Graduate School with a responsible head was entirely similar to its actions of 1917 organizing the other existing work of the College into schools and colleges. The activities in the graduate field have developed remarkably since 1922. The total graduate degrees given by the College since the formulation of the Graduate School in 1922 has been six hundred forty-five, as compared to the ninety-six granted previous to that date.

The Research Council, established also in 1922, is an organization of men selected from the various divisions and departments of the College on the basis of their interest and proven ability to do significant research. Its function is that of stimulating, coördinating, and publishing faculty and student researches throughout the institution. These functions have been exercised in a vigorous fashion, research work among the faculty as well as among the graduate students of the College having had a most significant development in the past eighteen years.

Continued attacks from without had fostered a fine spirit of unity and loyalty to the administration and to the institution among the one hundred sixty-eight members of the instructional faculty of the Col-

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lege. In 1922 this faculty, with the advice and counsel of the administration, formally adopted a set of statements which clearly define the status and function of three faculty organizations, each of which has since achieved a notable place in the guidance and control of the institution. These were:

The Faculty as a whole,
The Faculty Senate, and
The Board of Deans.

Academic Standards—The constant effort of the College through the years to raise academic standards cannot be too frequently stressed. Previous to 1922 a student could graduate from any department of the College by securing only passing grades in all of his subjects in his four-year course. In the spring of that year a system was introduced which made this no longer possible. This was accomplished through the installation of a merit point system. From this time forward the College has required for graduation not only one hundred twenty-eight semester credit hours of passing work, but also one hundred twenty-eight merit points, a requirement which means a minimum average grade of C. According to a college publication of the period, the effect of this merit system is that

loafers and incompetents are eliminated at the State College within a very brief period and with less cost to the State.

Abolition of Joint Board of Higher Curricula—In accordance with the terms of the 1921 Act, the Joint Board of Higher Curricula, established by the law of 1917, proposed recommendations to the 1925 Legislature for revision of the millage. By this time the continuous acrimony and bitterness within the board had developed to such an extent that the record reveals no attempt to analyze the requests of the various institutions in order to make a recommendation to the Legislature based on a reasoned judgment as to their respective needs. Quoting from the printed report of the millage meeting of this board, a motion was made and carried that the Joint Board recommend to the Legislature that it adopt the millage asked by the institutions for operation and maintenance for the next quadrennial period as follows:

State University	1.520
State College770
Bellingham State Normal.....	.285

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Centralia State Normal.....	.100
Cheney State Normal.....	.225
Ellensburg State Normal.....	.160*

The meeting of which the above quotation is a partial record proved to be the last held by the Joint Board of Higher Curricula. As a result of this action and similar procedures over much of the period of the board's existence, the State College at this point prepared and issued to the Governor, members of the Legislature, and people of the State generally, a minority report of the board as representing the dissenting vote of the representative of the State College on the board. This report began with a request that the board be abolished permanently, and then proceeded to submit reasons for the request. These reasons were supported by plain statements of fact with figures and graphs which made apparent the sort of thing the board had been doing.

The result of this report was Chapter 17 of the Session Laws of 1925, being

an act repealing section 4543 of Remington's Compiled Statutes establishing a joint board of higher curricula for higher educational institutions of the State of Washington.

To remove certain defects in the legal form of this Act, the succeeding Legislature of 1927 also passed an Act removing any possible doubt that the Joint Board of Higher Curricula was no longer in existence. The Legislature of 1925 increased the College's millage from .67 of a mill to .8746 of a mill, which made an annual increase of approximately \$237,000.

Growth During Period of Conflict—The growth of the College during the sixteen years from 1909 to 1925 is shown by the following tabulation of total income by bienniums:

<i>Biennium</i>	<i>Total Income</i>
1909-1911.....	\$784,059
1911-1913.....	824,390
1913-1915.....	1,088,453
1915-1917.....	1,232,123
1917-1919.....	1,521,701

*"Fourth Biennial Report of the Joint Board of Higher Curricula," Part II, p. 42.

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1919-1921.....	2,500,133
1921-1923.....	2,564,777
1923-1925.....	2,785,162
1925-1927.....	3,941,072

The student body had grown from 1,371 in 1909 to 3,388 in 1925, while the total faculties of ninety-eight in 1909 had increased to two hundred eighty-four in 1925, divided as follows:

Instructional	191
Research	32
Extension	61

The library of 17,000 volumes in 1909 had increased to 104,000 in 1925.

IV

THE PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT—FROM 1925 TO THE PRESENT

The year 1925 witnessed the closing of the stormy era which had begun sixteen years earlier in 1909. The abolition of the Joint Board of Higher Curricula by the Legislature of 1925 marked the beginning of better understanding and more friendly relations between the sister institutions of higher learning of the State. Now permitted to concentrate all of its efforts on the performance of the functions for which it had been created, the College entered upon a period of unprecedented development and expansion which has continued to the present in spite of the severe handicaps brought about by the period of national economic depression. This period from 1925 to date has been marked by notable expansion in the physical plant of the institution, by advances in the standards of instruction offered, and by large growth in the services rendered to the State by each of the three divisions of the College's activity, instruction, research and extension.

Building Program—The first major event of the period was an extensive building program. This was imperative because of the large increase in the number of students over a period of ten years with no additions in classroom facilities. The student body had more than doubled during this time, increasing from 1,532 in 1914-15 to 3,129 in 1925-26. High costs during the first part of this period made a



CAMPUS OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON, 1928

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recess in construction advisable, and an economic depression during the latter part of the period made such a recess necessary. Now delay seemed no longer either advisable or feasible. Something had to be done. As a result the Legislature of 1925 made specific capital outlay appropriations totaling \$516,490. The College was able to add to these appropriations considerable sums accumulated from student fees. With these combined resources the new gymnasium adjoining the athletic field, Rogers Field, was erected, Troy Hall (the dairy manufacturers building) was completed and equipped, as were Wilson Hall (the agricultural building) and the Mechanic Arts Building, and other improvements to the campus made. The result may be seen in the picture of the campus opposite.

The Depression Years—A major event in the history of the College during the following years occurred off the campus. It was the economic crash of November, 1929, of which no description need be included in this story. The record would be woefully incomplete without mentioning it, however, because the reverberations of this and succeeding events dominated the life of the institution during the succeeding six years.

During these years the income of the College suffered as did most other incomes, and for the same reasons. Drastic economies had to be made. These in the main took three forms: first, the reduction to the irreducible minimum of all maintenance, repair and replacement work on buildings, grounds, and equipment; second, the depletion of stocks of supplies of all sorts to the lowest possible level, and the purchase of new instructional or other supplies only when absolutely essential for day to day use; third and last, reductions in salaries and wages. This last step was put off as long as possible. In the fall of 1932, however, a program of reduction in salaries was initiated, even heavier cuts being necessary the following spring. These reductions amounted to an average of approximately twenty-five per cent. of the annual salary. It was not possible to restore these until 1937. In the meantime the institution lost some of its strongest teachers and research workers.

How the College attempted to meet the problems brought by the decreasing income during the depression years is shown by the data in the following table:

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CURRENT EXPENDITURES OF THE STATE COLLEGE DURING DEPRESSION YEARS 1930-1933

<i>Year</i>	<i>Salaries or Wages</i>	<i>Operating Expenses</i>	<i>Books and Equipment</i>
1930	\$1,138,716	\$392,565	\$102,127
1931	1,225,736	372,106	80,080
1932	1,160,572	297,085	43,393
1933	871,949	236,541	35,398
Decrease in Percent- ages and Dollars. . }	30% or \$353,787	40% or \$156,024	60% or \$66,729

Student Aid—The students also were having a difficult time with their budgets. As many of them were attempting to cut their essential living costs by doing their own housework, the College assisted in their efforts by providing kitchen and dining space in one of the dormitories for women. Efforts to secure such quarters in the community were carefully supervised, and for the men small houses or trailers were permitted on college-owned property. In them the men could live comfortably at a minimum of expense. The student housing problem at the College was further solved during this ten-year period by a healthy increase of chapters of national fraternities and sororities. By the end of the biennium 1933-35 there were thirty-six such organizations on the campus housing eleven hundred students.

The National Youth Administration, which began during this period, has made relatively large amounts of money available to hundreds of students in the years since its initiation. To date approximately \$256,000 has been granted in 3,800 individual instances, always in remuneration to the students for doing some needed work under the supervision of campus officials. The average of \$70 per student earned in this manner during a college year has played a large part in the budgets of individual students during these difficult times. The work done on the campus for these sums has also played no small part in relieving the strain on the College budget.

Housing of Federal and State Agencies—Another development of the period was the great expansion of Federal and State activities in the agricultural field. The College, being the land-grant institution of the State, naturally was the center of this activity in Washington. Cordial coöperation was given in every possible way during this

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period, both in providing personal service and the use of physical plant space and equipment. Among the Federal and State agencies quartered at the College were branches of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Bureau of Agriculture Economics, the Soil Conservation Service, the Federal and State forage crop work, the Federal Soil Erosion Experiment Station, and the United States Bureau of Mines. Entire floors of some of the buildings were turned over to one or more of these agencies. The personnel of various divisions of the College have at all times coöperated closely with this work and with agencies such as the Rural Electric Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, the United States Public Health Service, the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission and many others.

At present the State Electro-Metallurgical Laboratories on the College campus, in coöperation with the United States Bureau of Mines, are conducting investigations on the application of cheap electric power in the reduction of lighter metals, including magnesium and aluminum, and also with electrolytic manganese from the Olympic Peninsula and the chromium ores of this State. The Engineering Experiment Station and the Division of Chemical Engineering are also conducting important investigations which, it is believed, will lead to the rapid expansion of small industries in this State and a large increase of population. This would mean the utilization of much of the electric power now being generated at the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River, and later by the very large Grand Coulee Dam project.

Extensive Building Activities—By 1935 another ten years had passed with very little building activity on the campus, because of the same two factors operative from 1915 to 1925; namely, high costs and low income. In 1935, as in 1925, additional classroom space became imperative. Provision of this space was made possible through several factors. One of these was the granting of sums to the College by the Federal Public Works Administration, totaling to date approximately a half million dollars. These grants, together with funds which had accrued in the Associated Students Building Fund, the student tuition fund of the College, the local receipts account, and

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from the State Emergency Bond Issue, made possible the erection during the next few years of four new Class A fireproof buildings and other physical plant improvements totaling approximately one million six hundred thousand dollars. At the same time the student residential problem was mitigated through the construction by private capital (Community Building Company) of two dormitories costing approximately six hundred thousand dollars. Thus it is that the College has been able to add approximately two and one-quarter million dollars of modern Class A fireproof buildings to its campus since 1935—a notable achievement immediately following such a long and exhausting period of depression. Even more notable is the fact that the total contribution of the State of Washington to this two and one-quarter million dollar building program was approximately four hundred thousand dollars of emergency bond issue.

Revision of Millage Tax—The story of the financial and physical plant developments during this period would be incomplete without reference to the action of the Legislature of 1935 in revising the law basic to the State's support of the institution. In 1934 an initiative measure became law which limited the total tax levy permissible in any division of the State in any one year to forty mills. The part of this Act most definitely affecting the College was the clause therein limiting the levy by the State to "two mills to be used exclusively for the support of the University of Washington, Washington State College, and the Normal Schools." This was a sharp reduction from the law then in force as passed by the session of 1925 which gave to these same institutions a total levy of 2.9846.

The initiative measure did not divide the two mills for higher education among the various institutions. It became necessary, therefore, for the Legislature of 1935 to make the division. This was accomplished by Chapter 131 of the laws of this session, which gave the State College .58607 of one of the total levy of two mills. The millage itself of .58607 compared very unfavorably with the former millage of .8746, but the specific statement that this millage be based upon the current assessed valuation proves a redeeming feature. The previous millage of .8746 was based on a fixed valuation affording no opportunity for increasing support.

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Although the law does not specify, it is understood by all parties concerned that this new low millage now in effect for the State College is to be supplemented by specific provisions for unusual needs as they arise, such as securing Federal grants for extension and other types of work, essential increases in physical plant, *et cetera*. This understanding is witnessed very effectively by the amount of appropriations given to the State College by the first succeeding Legislature, that of 1937.

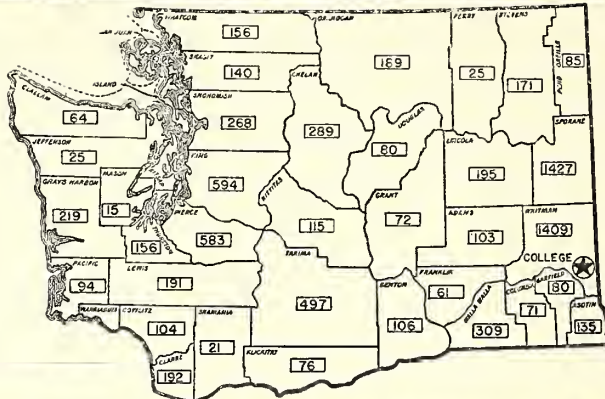
Academic Standards—It is impossible to close this synopsis of the story of the State College without one additional reference to the constant effort made throughout the years to increase the standards and the type of work done. During the period of development since 1925 these efforts have more than kept pace with the other phases of the institution's work. In 1927 the College was granted a charter of Phi Beta Kappa, the foremost national scholastic organization. During the ten-year period 1926-35 the College was able to meet the exacting requirements of twenty-one other similar organizations in specific fields, such as Phi Delta Kappa in education, Alpha Chi Sigma in chemical engineering, Phi Sigma in the biological sciences, Pi Gamma Mu in the social sciences, Delta Phi Delta in fine arts, and Alpha Kappa Pi in business administration. The high standards of eligibility were successfully met in all instances by the College. It is noteworthy that many of these developments occurred during the years of the depression.

Since 1925 several of the schools and colleges have lengthened their curricula, the School of Pharmacy from two to four years, and the School of Education and the College of Veterinary Medicine from four to five years.

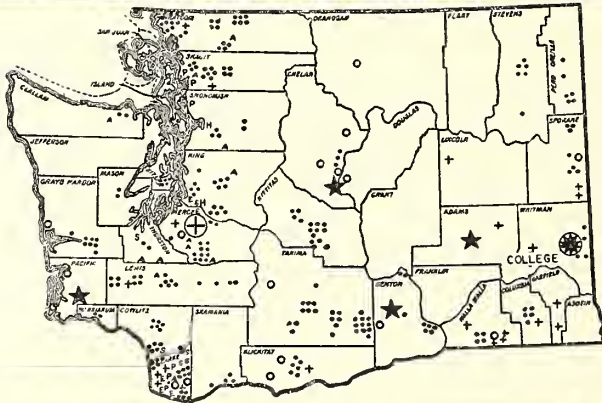
Many notable additions to the curriculum have been made in recent years. Such changes are constantly necessary in any institution of higher learning which attempts to keep pace with the ever-changing world of today. Certainly any institution with the background and purpose of the State College must do this. A few such curricular additions may be noted here, as: increased specialization in mining and geology; the initiation and development of courses in game management; radio and civil pilot training courses; and the organization of the Graduate School of Social Work.

DISTRIBUTION THROUGHOUT THE STATE OF THE COLLEGE'S THREE TYPES OF SERVICES

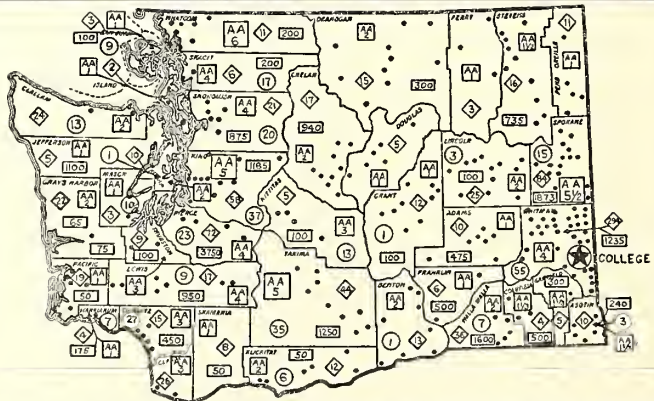
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
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


An important factor in maintaining and increasing the academic standards of the College throughout the years has been the library. As the type of work of an institution of higher learning advances the library facilities become more and more important. The rapid growth of graduate and research activities during recent years has laid an unusually heavy burden upon the library. An organization known as The Friends of the Library has aided very materially in recent years in developing the resources of the library to meet these demands. Not limited to the campus, the membership of this organization includes business men and alumni, as well as faculty and students. Through the efforts of this group the library has acquired much valuable material both through purchase and through contribution which could not have been secured otherwise. The library, with 402,640 bound volumes and over 2,000,000 unbound pieces, stands first in the list of separate land-grant college libraries of the Nation. No institution of higher learning can achieve its highest service without a great library, an outstanding faculty, and adequate laboratories and other facilities for research.

Growth During Period—The growth of the institution during the period of development to date, 1925-40, is shown by the following tabulation of total income by bienniums:

Instruction: The figures given are the catalog enrollments for the two years of the past biennium.

Research:  1,  2,  3,  4, + 5, • 6,
 A 7, E 8, H 9, P 10, S 11.

1. Main Agricultural Experiment Station located at the College.
2. Western Washington Experiment Station located at Puyallup.
3. Branch experiment stations.
4. Fruit and vegetable experiments, coöperative with individual growers.
5. Crop variety tests, coöperative with individual growers.
6. Fertilizer experiments, coöperative with individual growers.
7. Experiments in the field of agronomy, coöperative with individual growers.
8. Experiments in the field of entomology, coöperative with individual growers.
9. Experiments in the field of horticulture, coöperative with individual growers.
10. Experiments in the field of plant pathology, coöperative with individual growers.
11. Experiments in the field of soils, coöperative with individual growers.

Extension:  - 1,  - 2,  - 3,  - 4, • - 5.

1. Number of individuals enrolled in correspondence courses.
2. Number of individuals receiving benefits of visual teaching program.
3. Number of individuals receiving benefits of club study program.
4. Number of full-time trained individuals serving in the county.
5. Sources of radio correspondence.

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<i>Biennium</i>	<i>Total Income</i>
1925-1927	\$3,941,072
1927-1929	3,693,146
1929-1931	3,601,524
1931-1933	3,264,254
1933-1935	2,762,838
1935-1937	3,131,724
1937-1939	4,340,953

The student body has grown from 3,388 in 1925 to an estimated 5,400 in 1940, while the total faculties of two hundred eighty-four in 1925 have increased to four hundred sixty-one in 1940, being divided as follows:

	<i>1925</i>	<i>1940</i>
Instructional	191	252
Research	32	91
Extension	61	118

The library of 104,000 volumes in 1925 has grown to more than 400,000 volumes in 1940. The development of the physical plant may be seen by comparing the present campus shown at the first of this article with that of 1928 given opposite page 211.

Summary—This article began with a picture of the campus of the State College of Washington at Pullman as it stands today. The intervening pages have been devoted to the story of how this campus came to be, with illustrations here and there of different periods in its development. The story ends here with a group of maps which show how the work of this institution has spread during the years over the entire State. As the picture at the first of the story is referred to as "The Campus of the State College of Washington at Pullman," so this group of maps might well be captioned "The Campus of the State College of Washington in its Entirety."

Each of the three items in this group deals with one of the three major functions of the institution. The symbols used indicate the location of the services rendered by these divisions in the various localities of the State. With their appended footnotes they are self-explanatory. This group reveals something of the astonishing extent to which the State College of Washington, located in the extreme southeastern corner of the sparsely settled two-thirds of the State, has

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been able during the fifty years of its existence to spread its influence into every county and practically every community of the State.

The question may very well be raised as to whether or not there exists in the entire country a parallel of the situation so portrayed. Regardless of the answer to this question, these three maps illustrate a high degree of development of the educational philosophy on which the Land-Grant Act of 1862 was based. It does more than this; it shows the theories which underlie this movement made into reality. It is a specific and concrete illustration of how the benefits of higher education, previously reserved to the professional classes, have been applied, to use the words of the original Federal Land-Grant Act of 1862, "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." The State of Washington may say without exaggeration that through its Land-Grant College it has succeeded in giving to the ninety-five per cent. of its people engaged "in the several pursuits and professions of life" the educational and cultural privileges previously reserved for the exclusive benefit of its traditional professional classes.

American Quaker History in the Works of Whittier, Hawthorne and Longfellow

BY M. JANE GRISWOLD, COATESVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA



IN the annals of the American past to which native writers of the nineteenth century were encouraged by critics to turn for the material of a truly national literature is a chapter which caught the imagination of certain American authors, among them John Greenleaf Whittier, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. That chapter concerns the faith, struggles, and persecutions of the Society of Friends in America—particularly in New England—during the last half of the seventeenth century. Whittier, a Quaker himself and of Quaker ancestry, was naturally interested in the activities of members of his sect in the New World. Hawthorne also was linked by ancestry with the Quakers: the first "Hathorne" in America, William, was a persecutor of the Quakers in Massachusetts—a fact which Hawthorne publicly regrets in the introductory chapter of "The Scarlet Letter" and for which he seeks to atone. Longfellow's interest was captured by the tragic nature of the early history of the Quakers in America, an aspect of modern Christendom which impressed him as appropriate for inclusion in a long dramatic poem concerning the Christian world in various ages. With fine insight, each of these writers has written into American literature the imaginative results of his examination of this chapter from the American past.

An examination of Whittier's poetical works shows eight poems based on material dealing with the American Quakers. One of these gives a description of the faith of the early Friends; six refer to the persecutions of this sect in New England; and the other pictures a typical Quaker in Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN QUAKER HISTORY

The earliest of these poems, "The Quaker of the Olden Time" (1839), consists simply of a general description of the Quakers who suffered in America for their beliefs, and is not concerned with any specific person or happening. But "The Exiles" (1840), "Cassandra Southwick" (1843), "In the 'Old South'" (1877), "The King's Mis-sive" (1880), "How the Women Went from Dover" (1883), and "Banished from Massachusetts" (1884) all deal with actual episodes which took place in New England between the years 1658 and 1677.

The poem "Banished from Massachusetts" is based upon the troubles which grew out of the enforcement of a law enacted in 1658. Whittier, in his introductory note to this poem, gives the substance of the law passed on October 19, 1658, by the General Court of Massachusetts, banishing on pain of death all Quakers from the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth. The poem pictures, with imaginative insight, the departure of an unnamed couple, who were forced by this law to abandon their pleasant home, their cattle, their orchard, and the grave of their child. "In simple trust, misdoubting not the end," the Friend and his wife go forth to a new and unknown home. Two specific examples of Quakers thus banished are given in the poem—Thomas Macy and his wife, and the "gray Southwicks." The places of refuge for such exiles are named: Aquidneck's Isle, Nantucket, and Narragansett. The poem ends on a note of regret for the loss Massachusetts suffered in the banishment of such "pure and gracious" women and such honorable men.

Historical fact lies behind this poem. The law of banishment to which Whittier refers is set down in the "Records of the Massachusetts Colony,"¹ under the date October 19, 1658. Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick were actual residents of Salem who were sent from their home in 1659 under the provision of this law,² and found refuge at Shelter Island, near Long Island.³ George Bishop, the seventeenth century English chronicler of the American persecutions of the Quakers, describes the banishment of the Southwicks in 1659 as follows:

1. "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," N. B. Shurtleff, ed. (Boston, 1854), IV, Part i, 345-47.

2. The law ordering the banishment of the Southwicks, enacted (in accordance with the law of October 19, 1658) by the General Court of Massachusetts on May 11, 1659, appears in the "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part i, 367.

3. Rufus M. Jones, "The Quakers in the American Colonies" (London, 1911), p. 77.

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Your Governor said, Beware you are not here after the 8th of June (which was about Fourteen days after) so they were constrained, *viz.* Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, and Josiah Southwick (who were for England) to take the Opportunity that presented, in four Days after, to pass to England, by Barbadoes; so they passed for England, and Lawrence Southwick and Cassandra to Shelter-Island (where shortly after, in three days of each other, they both died).⁴

The Thomas Macy of this poem, however, was not banished from Massachusetts; he left voluntarily because of the harsh laws of that Colony.

The poem "Cassandra Southwick" recounts another actual incident of 1659. Whittier's note of introduction to this poem explains that in 1658 two young persons, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, of Salem, were fined for non-attendance at church. Because they were unable to pay the fine, the General Court issued an order empowering "the Treasurer of the County to sell the said persons to any of the English nation of *Virginia* or *Barbadoes*, to answer said fines." When an attempt was made to carry this order into effect, no shipmaster was found willing to convey them to the West Indies. Whittier gives, in this poem, a convincing picture of the Quaker maiden on the night before the proposed sale. Sorrowful and fearful, she is tempted to renounce her faith, but at length she feels "a blessed presence invisible to sight," which brings her a sense of peace. On the following day the sheriff conducts her through the streets to the place of the sale at the water's edge, where Endicott, his clerk Rawson, a "priest," and a group of citizens and sea captains have assembled. After the sheriff reads the "law against the poor," he calls repeatedly for a volunteer to take the girl and sell her in *Virginia* or *Barbadoes*. No one will agree to do this, and one captain speaks in her defense, saying,

"Pile my ship with bars of silver, pack with coins of Spanish gold,
From keel-piece up to deck-plank, the roomage of her hold,
By the living God who made me!—I would sooner in your bay
Sink ship and crew and cargo, than bear this child away!"

At this the three officials present—Endicott, the "priest," and the clerk ride away in fury, and the sheriff sets the girl free, much to the

4. George Bishop, "New-England Judged" (London, 1702-03), Part i, 105.

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delight of the crowd. The poem ends with her words of rejoicing and thanksgiving at her deliverance.

George Bishop gives in detail⁵ the information which Whittier includes in his introductory sketch to this poem. The only inaccuracy in the ballad itself is the name of the girl. Cassandra was, in reality, the name of her mother; the girl's name was Provided. There is no mention by Bishop of her being in prison before the day of the attempted sale, nor is there any mention of the presence of Endicott and Rawson, but they may well have been at the "sale." Bishop's account of the words spoken by the sea captain in defense of two Quaker children is as follows:

. . . . and one of them, to try Batter [the sheriff], said—That they would Spoil all the Vessel's Company,—laying that as an Argument, why he would not carry them; Oh no (said Batter) you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless Creatures, and will not hurt any Body (or words to this purpose:) Will they not so? (said the Ship-Master) And will ye offer to make Slaves of so harmless Creatures?"⁶

Although Whittier embellishes the story with fictitious details the main points of his representation are true to the historical event.

In the poem entitled "The Exiles," Whittier pictures the kind of treatment which Quaker-sympathizers received in New England in the seventeenth century. This ballad tells the story of Thomas Macy and his wife. They are represented as sitting before their home on a sultry afternoon, watching the approach of a storm, when a travel-stained and weary stranger arrives and asks for shelter. He tells them that he is a "hunted seeker of the Truth" and that harboring him may be dangerous for them, but the "goodman's wife" bids him come in. While the storm is raging, ten horsemen ride up to the door. The "parish priest," who is one of them, orders Macy to surrender his guest, reminding him of the penalty for "harboring banished Quakers" and telling him that he may be thankful if forty stripes repay his "deadly sin." Macy refuses to obey the command, and is about to defend his home with firearms, when the old Quaker courageously gives himself up to the horsemen to be conveyed to the Bos-

5. Bishop, *op cit.*, Part i, 107-12. See "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part i, 366, for the order for the sale of Daniel and Provided Southwick. This order was issued on May 11, 1659, instead of in 1658, the date Whittier gives in his note.

6. Bishop, *op cit.*, Part i, 112.

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ton jail. Then the "priest" orders the sheriff to take Macy too, but he and his wife flee to the river nearby and escape in a wherry, leaving the pursuers behind on the bank. The storm ceases, a rainbow appears, and the exiles continue their way past Pentucket, Salisbury, Deer-Island, Newbury and Plum-Island to the sea, and thence past Agawam, Cape Ann, Gloucester, and Cape Cod. They finally land at Nantucket, and dwell there thenceforward. As time goes on, other persons settle in Nantucket and become fishermen. Whittier's concluding stanzas praise that "isle" as "a refuge of the free," the last stanza running:

God bless the sea-beat island!
And grant forevermore,
That charity and freedom dwell
As now upon her shore.

Some details in this poem are historically accurate, others are legendary. Thomas Macy was a real person, for awhile a resident of Salisbury, sympathetic with the Quakers, and important as one of the first settlers of Nantucket in 1659.⁷ Writing of the early settlement of Nantucket, an eighteenth century descendant of Thomas Macy, Zaccheus Macy, makes the following statements:

In the year 1659, Thomas Macy removed with his family from Salisbury, in the county of Essex, to the west end of the island, to a place called in the Indian tongue Madakit Harbour. Thither came Edward Starbuck, James Coffin, and one Daget, from Martha's Vineyard, for the sake of gunning, and lived with him as boarders.⁸

A law had been passed by the General Court of Massachusetts on October 14, 1657, imposing a fine of forty shillings an hour, plus imprisonment until the fine was paid, on any person within the jurisdiction who entertained a Quaker.⁹ There is evidence that Thomas Macy was fined ten shillings in violation of the law while he was living in Salisbury;¹⁰ but that he was forced to leave Salisbury in the manner described by Whittier on account of having harbored a Quaker is not historically correct.¹¹ A modern historian of Nantucket says,

7. Jones, *op cit.*, p. 123.

8. Z. Macy, "A Short Journal of the First Settlement of the Island of Nantucket," "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society" (Boston, 1810). First series, III, 156.

9. "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part i, 308.

10. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, "Nantucket" (New York, 1914), p. 61.

11. "Nantucket Historical Association Bulletin," Vol. II, No. 2, p. 55.

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. . . . the island of Nantucket had been purchased and deeded [to Macy and others] before the charge [of entertaining Quakers] was made, and Macy had returned to Salisbury to settle his affairs, and was actually living there in 1664.¹⁰

As descriptive of an event in the life of Thomas Macy, then, "The Exiles" is more legendary than historical. Whittier's own reference to this poem as "a kind of John Gilpin legend" may mean that he did not intend it to represent actual fact.

Of his poem "The King's Missive," Whittier wrote, on July 22, 1880, to James R. Osgood:

I have concluded to take as subject for a poem the missive of Charles II to Governor Endicott, in 1661, sent by Samuel Shattuck, a Quaker, of Salem, forbidding the further persecution of the Quakers. Shattuck had been banished from the country on pain of death, went to England, and was made the king's agent to convey the royal mandate to Massachusetts.¹²

In the resulting poem the stern Governor Endicott is pictured seated in the Council Chamber,¹³ strengthening his resolve to deal firmly with the troublesome Quakers, the poisoners of "the wells of the Word." Suddenly his clerk Rawson enters the room to announce the return of the Quaker Shattuck of Salem, who had been banished on pain of death, but had been brought back to Boston "in Master Goldsmith's ship." Endicott angrily orders the clerk to bring the Quaker in, and "with hat on head" Shattuck enters. Then, the poem continues:

"Off with the knave's hat!" An angry hand
Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
With a quiet smile, "By the king's command,
I bear his message and stand in his stead."
In the Governor's hand a missive he laid
With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
Uncovering, "Give Mr. Shattuck his hat."

10. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

12. Samuel T. Pickard, "Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier" (Boston, 1907) (one-volume edition), pp. 658-59.

13. In Whittier's introductory note to this poem he says: "The interview between Shattuck and the Governor took place, I have since learned, in the residence of the latter, and not in the Council Chamber."

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The missive is an order from the King for the release of jailed Quakers. It is obeyed forthwith—to the great happiness of those delivered, who go through Boston rejoicing.

The historical accuracy of this poem was promptly questioned at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Dr. George E. Ellis, a minister of Boston, wrote a paper to be read at a later meeting of this society, asserting particularly that the message of Charles II did not have the effect attributed to it in Whittier's poem.¹⁴ Whittier replied to this paper in the Boston "Advertiser" in March, 1881. He admitted that the King's missive did not mean the end of Quaker persecution in America; but that imprisoned Quakers were really released from jail because of the King's order he reaffirms by reference to several historical sources.¹⁵

In its essentials the poem is historically correct. John Endicott was Governor of Massachusetts in 1661, and Edward Rawson was then Secretary of the Colony. John Endicott had taken extreme measures with the Quakers, sentencing four of them to death. The message to which Whittier refers was sent by King Charles II to Governor Endicott, in 1661, *via* the banished Samuel Shattuck, who was brought back to America in Ralph Goldsmith's ship, and the result was the freeing of the imprisoned Quakers. George Bishop's seventeenth century account of the incident includes the letter sent to the Governor:

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that several of Our Subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been, and are Imprisoned by you, whereof some have been Executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like: We have thought fit to signifie Our Pleasure, in that behalf, for the future; and do hereby require, That if there be any of those People, called Quakers, amongst you, now already Condemned to suffer Death, or other corporal Punishment, or that are Imprisoned, and Obnoxious to the like Condemnation, You are to forbear to proceed any further therein, but that you forthwith send the said Persons (whether Condemned or Imprisoned, over into this Our

14. Pickard, *op. cit.*, p. 659.

15. The sources which Whittier enumerates are as follows: "Drake's History of Boston," Bryant and Gay's "History of the United States," the "Journal" of George Fox, Dr. Evans' "History of Friends in the Seventeenth Century."

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Kingdom of England, together with the respective Crimes or Offences laid to their Charge, to the end such Course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to Our Laws, and their Demerits: And for so doing, these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge. Given at Our Court at White-hall, the ninth Day of September, 1661. in the thirteenth Year of Our Reign.

"Subscribed, To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, John Endicott, Esquire; and to all, and every other the Governour, or Governours of Our Plantation of New England, and of all the Colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be: And to all, and every, the Ministers and Officers of Our said Plantation, and Colonies whatsoever, within the Continent of New-England.

"By his Majesty's Command,

"WILLIAM MORRIS."

The manner of the delivery of the King's order, and the effect the mandamus had in New England are described thus by Bishop:

The King's Letter being received, a Ship was provided, and Samuel Shattock of Salem, one of the three Banish'd by you, that came over here, went over with it, and a Friend of ours was Master of the Ship, one Ralph Goldsmith; and over your Hundred Pound Fine, and Law of Death, for any Ship-master that shall bring a Quaker over to your Jurisdiction, came he, as the other did; . . . and something it was for you to see the Quakers come before you with your Judgment, whom you would Condemn with Fine and Death, and give Judgment upon; and your Governour Endicot fretted with himself; and one while he would order Samuel Shattock's Hat to be taken off, and another while he bad give it to him; and your Plagues were doubled upon you; and great hurl it made amongst you, and out must the Quakers be put of the Prisons; and your Courier, Colonel Temple, must post beforehand, and he must bespeak the King, with the having set the Quakers at Liberty, and so had obeyed his Command, as a Present to appease him, whose Wrath you feared was kindled against you.¹⁶

Whittier's sense of the dramatic is strikingly manifested in his poetic account of this historical event. Endicott's confident and domineering attitude is shown in his ordering Samuel Shattuck's hat to be taken off when that Quaker comes into his presence. Then occurs an impressive reversal, which Whittier fittingly makes the climax of his poem. The Governor learns that the man who stands before him represents the King and bears an order which means the end of Endi-

16. Bishop, *op cit.*, Part ii, 343-46.

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cott's high-handedness. The proud man is forced, by virtue of these circumstances, to "uncover" and bow before the very man whom he has just been abusing, to release from prison the persons he had planned to punish, and to abandon his scheme of destroying all Quakers. In this poem Whittier points to this event as bringing to Boston the first glimmer of "Christian liberty," which was later to shine forth strongly there, and he refers to the Quakers as the prophets of the "freedom of the soul."

The persecution of the Quakers in New England did not cease after the King's message to Endicott, but was only suspended for a time. A law which had been passed in May, 1661, before the receipt of King Charles' missive, was destined to be applied to several "vagabond Quakers." This law is typical in phrasing and in harshness of all the laws passed in New England against the Quakers. It is quoted in part here as evidence of the care taken by the legislators to provide for the apprehension and punishment of anyone who might possibly be a Quaker :

This Court, being desirous to try all meanes, with as much lenity as may consist with our safety, to prevent the intrusions of the Quakers, who, besides theire absurd & blasphemous doctrine, doe, like rouges & vagabonds, come in upon us, & have not bin restrained by the lawes already provided, have ordered, that every such vagabond Quaker found within any part of this jurisdiction shall be apprehended by any person or persons, or by the connstable of the toune wherein he or she is taken, & by the connstable . . . conveyed before the next magistrate of that sheire wherein they are taken . . . [and] shall, by warrant under the hand of the said magistrate or magistrates, commissioner or commissioners, directed to the connstable of the toune wherein he or she is taken, or in absence of the connstable or any other meete person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards, & tied to a carts taylor, & whipped through the toune, & from thence immediately conveyed to the connstable of the next toune towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as theire warrant shall direct, & so from connstable to connstable till they be conveyed through any the outward most toune of our jurisdiction.¹⁷

The poems "How the Women Went from Dover" and "In the 'Old South'" deal with the enforcement of this act on two different occasions. Whittier's introductory note to the first of these poems

17. "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part ii, 2-3.

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includes the warrant issued by Major Waldron,¹⁸ of Dover, in December, 1662, ordering the whipping of three "vagabond Quakers," Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, through the "jurisdiction." The poem tells the story of these three women, stripped to the waist, and whipped at a cart's tail in the dead of winter through Dover, to Hampton, where they received a second cruel whipping. The crowd murmured in vain against this inhumanity. A woman tried to offer a drink of milk to the sufferers, but was roughly warned that she might be fined for such an action. The Quakers then were marched through woods and over "sand-hills bare" to Salisbury. There the constable refused to execute the order, and at the command of Justice Pike released the women.

This story is told by Bishop, and it is clear that Whittier's poem is a versification of his account. Bishop inserts the warrant, which is identical—except for a few unimportant words—with the one which Whittier quotes in the introductory note to his poem. His impassioned description of the execution of this warrant is as follows:

So, in a very cold Day, your Deputy, Walden, caused these Women to be stripp'd naked, from the middle upward, and tyed to a Cart, and after a while cruelly whipp'd them, whilst the Priest stood and looked, and laughed at it, which some of their Friends seeing, testified against, for which Walden put two of them in the Stocks: Having dispatch'd them in this Town, and made way to carry them over the Waters, and thro' Woods to another: the Women deny'd to go, unless they had a Copy of their Warrant . . . the Copy being given them, they went with the Executioner to Hampton, and through Dirt and Snow at Salisbury, half way the Leg deep; the Constable forced them after the Cart's-tayl, at which he whipp'd them; under which Cruelty and sore Usage, the tender Women traversing their way through all, was a hard Spectacle to those who had in them any thing of Tenderness; but the Presence of the Lord was so with them, (in the extremity of their Sufferings) that they sung in the midst of them, to the astonishment of their Enemies.

At Hampton, William Fifield, the Constable, having received the Women, to Whip them there, said, I profess you must not think to make Fools of Men; meaning thereby, as if he would not be out-done, upon the Relation of the Constable of Dover, what work he had with them. The Women answered, They should be able to deal with him, as well as the other. So this Constable, Fifield, who professed him-

¹⁸. Bishop gives the Deputy's name as Walden. See "New-England Judged," Part ii, 366.

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self so Stout, the next Morning would have whipp'd them before Day; but they refused, saying, That they were not ashamed of their Sufferings. Then he would have whipp'd them on their Cloaths, contrary to the Warrant, when he had them at the Cart. But they said, Set us free, or do according to thy Order; which was to whip them on their naked Backs. Then he spake to a Woman to take off their Cloaths. The Woman said, She would not do it for all the World; and so did other Women deny to do it. Then he said, I profess I will do it myself. So he stripp'd them, and then stood Trembling with the Whip in his Hand, as a Man Condemned, and did the Execution as a Man in that Condition. . . .

Now, amongst the rest of the Spectators, Edward Wharton, not knowing ought of what they were about, passing along the Way, and meeting with them, came to be one; whose Eye beholding their torn Bodies, and weary Steps, and yet no remorse in their Persecutors, affected his Heart, and he could not with-hold, but testified against them, seeing this bloody Engagement. . . .

But the Lord unexpectedly wrought a way* at that time [in Salisbury] to deliver them out of the Tyrants Hands; so through three Towns only were they whipp'd, but Cruelly, and then they were discharged.

Being set at Liberty, the Women returned to Major Slapleigh's House, near unto Dover. . . .

A comparison of this account of the event with Whittier's poem reveals only a few deviations from historical fact in the latter. No mention is made by Bishop of the woman with the "noggin of milk" or of the general murmuring of the crowd against this cruel performance, but his description of the objections of the two men in Dover and the one in Hampton indicates that in the crowds of observers there were some who sympathized with and championed the women. The one thing which is contrary to historical fact in this poem is Whittier's representing Justice Pike, of Salisbury, as responsible for the freeing of the women. Pike does not appear at all in Bishop's relation, and Walter Barefoot is named as the person who set the women at liberty.

"In the 'Old South,'" Whittier's second poem dealing with the enforcement of the Cart and Whip Act, pictures the appearance of

*Walter Barefoot, at Salisbury, got the Constable to make him his Deputy; who receiving the Warrant, thereupon set them at Liberty, so they were deliver'd; but John Wheelwright, the Priest, advised the Constable to drive on, as his safest way.¹⁹

19. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 364-69.

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Margaret Brewster, barefoot and clad in sackcloth, in the Old South Church of Boston, where she came with a message of warning against persecutions. For this action she was whipped through the town at the tail of a cart. The concluding stanzas of the poem exalt the freedom in the cause of which she suffered.

This poem is true to history. Samuel Sewall entered in his diary for July 8, 1677, a description of the appearance of one Margaret Brewster in the Old South Church of Boston, and William Coddington gave an account of the event in a letter to Ralph Fretwell on August 16, 1677.²⁰ Both of these accounts contain information which the poem uses. Bishop adds the detail that Margaret Brewster declared she was "moved by the Lord to come from Barbadoes" to bear this testimony against the New England rulers, "she being one of these People called Quakers."²¹ A modern historian of the Quakers confirms the fact that she was punished for her action by being whipped at the cart's tail through Boston.²² He notes, further, that Margaret Brewster was the last Quaker woman to suffer whipping.²³

In both of these poems Whittier's poetic ability enhances the story of the historical event which he narrates. Suggestive and grimly pictorial are his lines describing the whipping of the women in Dover:

The blood that followed each hissing blow
Froze as it sprinkled the winter snow.

The instances of the sympathy of onlookers, which Whittier imaginatively relates, are significant. His description of Margaret Brewster and of the effect of her words on the congregation is vivid and impressive. In each work, however, his comment emphasizes not so much the cruelty of the persecutors as the faith and fortitude of those who suffered in the cause of freedom of worship.

The poem in which Whittier gives a detailed picture of a typical Quaker, under normal circumstances, is called "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim." In a lengthy note to this poem Whittier calls attention to the fact that the "Pilgrims of Plymouth have not lacked historian and poet," but that scarcely anything has been written to commemorate the Quakers of Pennsylvania. In spite of the lack of sensational epi-

20. Hamilton A. Hill, "History of the Old South Church" (Boston, 1890), I, 218-19.

21. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 491.

22. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 110n.

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sodes in their history, he declares, the Quaker colonies were as much a source of the "progress of American civilization" as were the entirely different Puritan ones. "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" confirms poetically Whittier's remarks about the non-dramatic nature of Pennsylvania Quaker history. In contrast with his poems dealing with New England Quaker history, this poem is narrative rather than dramatic in style. It is, as he says in his introductory note, "a study of the life and times of the Pennsylvania colonists,—a simple picture of a noteworthy man and his locality," sketched in "sober" colors and pervaded with a "quiet and dreamy atmosphere." The colonist who is called "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" is Francis Daniel Pastorius, a learned German scholar who emigrated to America, settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and became a Quaker. The poem describes him as a tolerant, charitable, hospitable, learned, and industrious man, who lived absolutely by the rules of the Sermon on the Mount, a man whose "lifelong prayer" was that the negro slave might be freed. To his pleasant and peaceful home in Germantown, which Whittier describes in some detail, people of all conditions and faiths thronged, and there received a warm welcome from him and his kindly wife.

This characterization of Francis Daniel Pastorius is confirmed by the spirit and substance of the man's own writing.²⁴ In the preface to his book about Pennsylvania, Pastorius reveals his religious nature (even from the time of his young manhood) in telling of his distress at the sight of thousands of other youths of Germany spending "a large part of their German patrimony" "on the useless frivolities of this world, while no thought is given to the love of God, and to the wisdom of an imitation of Christ."²⁵ Meditating on this condition and concluding that no place could be found in his native country which offered him the kind of life he desired, he decided to take up his abode in the New World.

The actual facts of the life of Pastorius which are referred to in Whittier's poem are accurate.²⁶ He was a graduate of the University of Altdorf, and later a pupil of the German philosopher Spener.

24. F. D. Pastorius, "Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsylvania," translated, with an introduction, by J. F. Jameson. In "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware," A. C. Myers, ed. (New York, 1912), pp. 353-448.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

26. See G. H. Genzmer, "Francis Daniel Pastorius," "Dictionary of American Biography," XIV, 290-91.

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He founded the Pennsylvania town called Germantown, where he lived at peace with everyone. There he wrote, among other books, one called "Rusca Apium," to which the poem alludes. He had a great zeal for the freeing of the slaves. He was, in fact, one of the signers of the first petition (1688) ever made in the English colonies against the keeping of slaves.

Whittier gives not only an accurate picture, but also a very human one, of Pastorius and his gentle wife, describing significant incidents from their life together to reveal their characters and their ideals. In the poem he includes such homely details as give a real sense of the simplicity and peacefulness of life in early Pennsylvania, where the freedom of soul which Whittier exalts in each of his poems about the Quakers prevailed.

In the defense of his poem "The King's Missive," Whittier says,

It is not easy in a poem of the kind referred to to be strictly accurate in every detail, but I think the ballad has preserved with tolerable correctness the spirit, tone, and color of the incident and its time. At least such was my intention.²⁷

That he succeeded in doing this in all of the poems dealing with the Quakers is unquestionable. With the exception of the ballad about Thomas Macy, historical fact forms the warp and woof of the poems, and appropriate imaginary details which harmonize with the background lend the decorative touches. The whole fabric shines with the zeal of Whittier the reformer, who could not endure the thought of oppression in any form, and who sees in the events which he recounts the noble struggle of the soul for freedom.

Whittier's use of American Quaker history was not confined to his poetry. His one novel, "Margaret Smith's Journal,"²⁸ a charming tale of life in old New England, also treats the subject of the New England Quakers of the seventeenth century. The story is full of allusions to American Quaker history, and one of the important characters is a famous Quaker woman, Margaret Brewster.

This work purports to be the journal of a young English woman, Margaret Smith, who with her brother pays a visit in 1678 and 1679

27. Pickard, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 775.

28. This work appeared first as a serial in the Washington "National Era" during the year 1848, under the title "Stray Leaves from Margaret Smith's Diary in the Colony of Massachusetts." In the following year it was published in book form as "Margaret Smith's Journal."

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to her relatives, Edward Rawson's family, in Boston and Newbury. She writes the journal at the request of her English fiancé, Cousin Oliver Grindall, and in it she records details of the tragic and authentic love story of Rebecca Rawson. The sub-plot of this "Journal" is the story of Margaret Smith's brother, Leonard, who falls in love with and marries Margaret Brewster, a Quaker girl living in Newbury with her family. This marriage is frowned upon by Edward Rawson, Leonard's uncle, who is antagonistic towards the Quakers and has dealt harshly with them. In the pages of the "Journal" appear over one hundred characters, names of many actual places, delightful descriptions of New England scenery and customs, and numerous incidents from history.

Margaret Smith and her brother Leonard, however, are purely fictional characters. No mention is made of either of them in Quaker histories or in local histories of the towns in New England which they are supposed to have visited. The story of Margaret Brewster, the heroine of the sub-plot of the narrative, is largely a product of Whittier's imagination. Quaker historians tell very little about her. As has been noted, George Bishop gives an account of the Margaret Brewster who was "moved by the Lord to come from Barbadoes" in 1677 to warn the New England rulers to cease their persecutions of the Quakers.²⁹ Whittier represents her in his story as an inhabitant of Newbury, living there with her Quaker parents since she was a child. According to historical documents previously noted, she appeared in the Old South Church as "a sign" of warning to the cruel persecutors on July 8, 1677. In "Margaret Smith's Journal" this event is reported under the date of July 6, 1678, as a "strange thing" which Margaret Smith witnessed at the meetinghouse of Mr. Richardson of Newbury the day before. The outcome for the real Margaret Brewster was less fortunate than that for Whittier's heroine. In the poet's story Robert Pike becomes her champion, delivering her from the constable and the angry people outside the meetinghouse, and then, with Mr. Sewall and Leonard Smith, saving her from the stocks by paying the fine imposed on her, which she "could not in conscience pay." Joseph Besse's report of the trial of Margaret Brewster³⁰

29. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 491.

30. J. Besse, "A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers" (London, 1753), II, 261-65.

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reveals not only that she came from Barbados to Boston to testify against the persecutors of the Quakers, but also that she was a married woman, whose husband in Barbados had given his consent to her making the trip to Boston for this purpose. Whittier's picture of her, therefore, as a Quaker maiden, living with her parents in Newbury, and later marrying Leonard Smith and moving to Providence Plantation is fictional.

This character is the medium by means of which Whittier portrays his conception of an ideal Quaker woman, a Quaker home, and the peacefulness of the unmolested Quaker colony in Rhode Island. All of these elements give color and vitality to his story.

Besides making a Quaker woman one of the chief characters of his narrative, Whittier includes in it many specific allusions to events of Quaker history. An "ancient" and garrulous woman, Goody Lake, once employed (according to her own statement) in the home of Governor Endicott, talks to Margaret Smith about the early Quaker persecutions in Boston. She relates the story of the arrival of the first two Quaker women in Boston in 1656 and of their imprisonment and the burning of their "blasphemous books" in the streets. Her account follows that given by George Bishop of the treatment accorded to Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, the first Quaker women to come to Boston, in 1656.³¹

Goody Lake tells Margaret Smith that other Quakers who followed fared harder than the first two Quaker women, "some getting whipped at the cart-tail, and others losing their ears."³² She tells of seeing two women, one young and one old, "in a cold day in winter, tied to the tail of a cart, going through Salem Street, stripped to their waists as naked as they were born, and their backs all covered with red whip-marks." These two may have been a certain Margaret Smith of Salem and her mother, who with Deborah Wilson, were "tyed" to a cart and whipped through Salem, according to Bishop.³³ Goody Lake describes also the punishment of Hored Gardner, a

31. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 3-13.

32. On October 14, 1657, the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law stating that any Quaker man who had once suffered punishment in the Colony, should, upon returning to the jurisdiction, have an ear cropped; for a second offence he should have the other ear cropped, and for a third offence any Quaker should have his tongue bored with a hot iron. See "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part i, 308-09.

33. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 383-84.

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young married woman, who with her small child and a nurse came to Weymouth, where she was seized and sent to Boston. There both the mother and the nurse were cruelly whipped "with a threefold whip, with knots in the ends, which did tear sadly into her flesh; and, after it was over, she kneeled down, with her back all bleeding, and prayed for them she called her persecutors." Bishop relates this incident in detail.³⁴ He asserts that Hored Gardner was seized at Weymouth, whence she had come from Newport with her baby and a girl to help her take care of the child. Taken before Governor Endicott, the two women were sentenced to receive ten lashes apiece, "which were cruelly laid on their Naked Bodies, with a three-fold-knotted-Whip of Cords." This occurred on the 11th of the 3d month, 1658. Bishop bears witness to Hored Gardner's magnanimity thus:

. . . . after the Savage, Inhumane and Bloody Execution on her, of your Cruelty aforesaid, [she] kneeled down, and Prayed—The Lord to Forgive You—which so reached upon a Woman that stood by, and wrought upon her, that she gave Glory to God, and said—That surely she could not have done that thing, if it had not been by the Spirit of the Lord—³⁵

Goody Lake tells also of a Quaker man, Edward Wharton, who was punished by whipping and banishment for speaking against Governor Endicott's "iniquity" in persecuting the Quakers. This occurred, she asserts, just after the General Court passed a law banishing Quakers upon pain of death. Infuriated at Wharton's insolence, the Governor had him put in jail, and the next morning "he was soundly whipped, and ordered to depart the jurisdiction." Bishop reports that Edward Wharton, a Quaker of Salem, was sentenced under this colonial law,³⁶ but not exactly in the way described by Whittier in "Margaret Smith's Journal."

Another story which the fictitious narrator, Goody Lake, tells is that of three Quaker martyrs. On a warm, clear day about the last of October, two men and a woman were conducted to the gallows by Marshal Michelson. As they walked along "hand in hand, the woman in the middle," the marshal asked her jokingly "if she wasn't ashamed to walk hand in hand between two young men." Her reply was that

34. *Ibid.*, Part i, 60-61.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Bishop, *op cit.*, Part ii, 324-25.

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she was "not ashamed, for this was to her an hour of great joy, and that no eye could see, no ear hear, no tongue speak, and no heart understand, the sweet incomes and refreshings of the Lord's spirit, which she did then feel." At this, Captain Oliver commanded the drums to beat, so as to drown her voice. At the gallows the two men were rebuked by the minister, Mr. Wilson, for keeping their hats on, and one of them replied, "Mind you, it is for not putting off our hats that we are put to death." The two men were executed, each one having spoken briefly to the people, and then the woman was prepared for hanging, the minister's handkerchief being tied over her face. Just in time Edward Rawson rode up with a reprieve for the woman, which had been secured by her son. She was committed to jail for a time, and then sent off to her husband in Rhode Island. She soon returned to Boston, however, to plead for the repeal of the bloody laws, and for this offence she was executed.

These two men who were hanged in Boston October 27, 1659, were William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, and their companion was Mary Dyer. The story of their execution is related by William Sewel³⁷ with the same details which Whittier includes in his account, plus many more.

Three persons whom Whittier pictures as major persecutors of the Quakers in New England are Edward Rawson, John Endicott, and John Norton. The first is referred to by Margaret Brewster as "dealing hard" with the sect, and is consistently made to object strongly to Leonard Smith's marrying a Quaker girl. Indeed, when he learns that Leonard has "gone off" to the Quakers, he flies into a rage and says that Leonard will do well never to return to the Rawson household, for, he avows,

" . . . if he come hither a *theeing* and *thouing* of me, I will spare him never a whit; and if I do not chastise him myself, it will be because the constable can do it better at the cart-tail. As the Lord lives, I had rather he had turned Turk."

"Aunt" Rawson tells Margaret Smith that her Uncle Edward was "much cried out against by the Quakers and their abettors on both

37. W. Sewel, "The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers" (Philadelphia, 1728) (third edition), pp. 226-27. (Much of Whittier's phraseology in this account is identical with Sewel's.) George Bishop tells the same story in "New England Judged," Part i, 122-34.

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sides of the water," but that he had only been doing his duty in the matter.

A note about Edward Rawson in the "Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts" points out that he, as Secretary of the Colony, had to publish all the laws against the Quakers, which were taken mainly from English statutes and were passed by a small majority, and that he was probably "[no] more of a persecutor than any of the magistrates."³⁸ His inherent kindness is indicated in this note by a reference to the fact that he undoubtedly tried to save the life of Ann Hibbins, who was condemned and executed as a witch. In the codicil to her will she alludes to him as a "loving friend" and leaves him her desk and chests. That he was a persecutor of the Quakers, however, is attested by various historical records. Bishop, for example, refers to him as "a Chief Instigator of all this Cruelty,"³⁹ and prints with scorn the declaration written by Rawson, upon the order of the General Court, in defense of the measures taken against the Quakers.

John Endicott's persistence in trying to put down the Quakers is mentioned by Goody Lake in her tale of old Boston. She asserts that although Endicott "did abhor these people," he did not seek their lives and he "spared no pains to get them peaceably out the country." Her tale includes specific instances of several Quakers who suffered under his jurisdiction—Edward Wharton, Hored Gardner, and the three martyrs already mentioned.

Whittier's description of John Endicott as an abhorrer of the Quakers follows the representation of him by early historians of the Quakers. According to them, he was the arch-persecutor, always ruthless in word and usually in deed. William Sewel indicates his cruelty in many instances—for example, upon hearing that the Deputy Governor, Richard Bellingham, had had Mary Fisher and Ann Austin seized and thrown into prison, where they were deprived of all comforts and even of adequate food, and had ordered their books burned and them searched for witch-marks, Endicott's comment was, "If I had been there, I would have had them well whipt."⁴⁰ To the second group of Quakers arriving in Boston in 1656, before there were any

38. "Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts," VII, 287.

39. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 67.

40. Sewel, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

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laws against them, Endicott gave a foretaste of his later extremely cruel measures, in these words:

"Take heed ye break not our Ecclesiastical Laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a Halter."⁴¹

George Bishop's book, being the contemporary relation of the persecutions of the New England Quakers, describes instance after instance of Endicott's heartlessness in dealing with these people.

Whittier reveals John Norton's attitude towards the Quakers in a conversation reported by "Aunt" Rawson to have taken place between him and Simon Bradstreet's wife on the day of the hanging of Mary Dyer. Anne Bradstreet expresses her grief at the execution of this woman, and the minister, Norton, replies, ". . . when I did see her casting poison into the wells of life, and enticing unstable souls into the snares and pitfalls of Satan, what should I do but sound an alarm against her?" It is for the sake of the "Lord's heritage in this land," he avers, that he has been "strengthened to hew them [the Quakers] in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal." "Aunt" Rawson says that John Norton died shortly after this day and that the Quakers did not hesitate to say that his sudden death was "God's judgment upon him for his severe dealing with their people."

Whittier again follows Quaker history in picturing John Norton as one of the chief persecutors of the Quakers in New England. Bishop applies such epithets to Norton as "a great Persecutor" and "painted Sepulchre," and imputes to him, "as the Fountain or Principal, most of the Cruelty and Bloodshed herein rehearsed."⁴² By order of the General Court, John Norton wrote an attack upon the Quakers called "The Heart of New-England Rent at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation" (1659).⁴³ The vehemence of this attack is a striking indication of his bitterness towards the Quakers.⁴⁴ He did

41. Sewel, *op. cit.*, p. 157. In 1878, thirty years after the writing of "Margaret Smith's Journal," Whittier wrote a letter to George M. Whipple praising the good qualities of John Endecott and excusing that Puritan governor for his persecution of the Quakers. See Lawrence Shaw Mayo's "John Endecott" (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 247-48.

42. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 491; Part i, 67, 72.

43. J. T. Adams, "John Norton," "Dictionary of American Biography," XIII, 573.

44. In this book Norton refers to the Quakers as "false teachers," "destroyers," and "hereticks," and to their beliefs as "doctrines of devils," "lies," "heterodoxies," suitable only to "discontented, seditious, factious, and tumultuous spirits, especially if pressed with poverty or a suffering condition." To add the weight of authority to his argument against the Quakers, Norton appropriated this Biblical quotation for his text, and had it

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die suddenly, of apoplexy, just after preaching a sermon in the First Church of Boston, where he had been pastor since 1653. His death occurred in 1663,⁴⁵ not long after the execution of Mary Dyer (1660), as "Margaret Smith's Journal" reports. Bishop's comment on Norton's death exemplifies the Quaker attitude to which Whittier alludes:

An Eminent Hand of God's Displeasure hath also been manifested on some of the Priests; as John Norton, Chief-Priest in Boston, and Chief in stirring up the Rulers to persecute and take away the Lives of the Innocent, who sunk down, and died suddenly, confessing the Hand of the Lord was upon him—⁴⁶ as he was walking in his House after Sermon.⁴⁷

Other lesser persecutors or revilers of the Quakers whom Whittier includes in his book are Richard Bellingham, Simon "Broadstreet," John Richardson of Newbury, and John Ward, son of the author of "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam." In "New-England Judged" George Bishop describes the attitude and actions of Bellingham⁴⁸ and "Broadstreet"⁴⁹ towards the Quakers, and his comments about "Broadstreet" are especially vitriolic. Historically John Richardson and John Ward were ministers of Puritan churches. Joshua Coffin, an early nineteenth century American antiquarian, states that John Richardson was ordained as the minister in Newbury in October, 1675,⁵⁰ and according to John Winthrop's "History of New England," in 1645, "a church was gathered at Haverhill upon the north side of Merrimack, and Mr. John Ward chosen and ordained pastor."⁵¹ Neither Bishop nor Sewel mentions either one of these ministers as persecutors of the Quakers. However, as Puritan divines, naturally opposed to Quaker beliefs, they undoubtedly held the opinions against Quakers which Whittier makes them express in his book.

printed on the title page of his book: "I know thy works, and thy labour, and patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil; and thou hast tryed them which say they are Apostles, and are not, and hast found them Lyars." (Revelations, 2, 2.)

45. Adams, *loc. cit.*

46. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 484.

47. *Ibid.*, Part ii, 491.

48. *Ibid.*, Part i, 3-13.

49. *Ibid.*, Part i, 46-47n, 77; Part ii, 316, 346, 379, 382. In Whittier's spelling of Bradstreet's name, "Broadstreet," he follows Bishop and Sewel.

50. J. Coffin, "A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury" (Boston, 1845), p. 115.

51. J. Winthrop, "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649," James Savage, ed. (Boston, 1825), II, 252.

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It is evident from these examples, that Whittier follows history closely in "Margaret Smith's Journal." With the exception of Margaret and Leonard Smith, his main characters were actual people of the seventeenth century. Where he diverges from fact in his accounts of historical persons and events he does so for artistic reasons. His whimsical "editorial" note to this allegedly authentic "Journal" reveals both his awareness of the inaccuracies which exist in it and the object he was trying to realize in writing it. This note is as follows:

The intelligent reader of the following record cannot fail to notice occasional inaccuracies in respect to persons, places, and dates; and, as a matter of course, will make due allowance for the prevailing prejudices and errors of the period to which it relates. That there are passages indicative of a comparatively recent origin, and calculated to cast a shade of doubt over the entire narrative, the Editor would be the last to deny, notwithstanding its general accordance with historical verities and probabilities. Its merit consists mainly in the fact, that it presents a tolerably lifelike picture of the Past, and introduces us familiarly to the hearths and homes of New England in the seventeenth century."

A striking feature of the book is Whittier's fair presentation of both sides of the Quaker-Puritan controversy of the seventeenth century. He asserts, in a review of Longfellow's "Evangeline" in 1847, that a true history of the Puritans of New England has not yet been written. The "caricatures of the Church party" do not truly represent them, nor do the "self-laudations of their own writers." At a point midway between these two extreme views, he believes, "an impartial estimate of their character may be formed."⁵² He speaks with profound admiration of the true and noble qualities of the Puritans of New England, and he admits the "fanaticism and folly" of some of the Quakers in seventeenth century New England,⁵³ but he maintains that the Puritans—themselves persecuted in England "for the crime of denying the divine authority of church and states"—were hardly the ones "to cast stones" at the Quakers. Moreover, he concludes, in this review,

⁵² J. G. Whittier, "Evangeline" (review of), "Prose Works" (Boston, 1872), II, 67.

⁵³ In his sketch of James Nayler, "Prose Works" (Boston, 1872), I, 268-86), Whittier freely acknowledges him to have been a poor deluded "fanatic" of seventeenth century England.

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. . . . in expressing our gratitude to the founders of New England, we should not forget what is due to truth and justice; nor, for the sake of vindicating them from the charge of that religious intolerance which, at the time, they shared with nearly all Christendom, undertake to defend, in the light of the nineteenth century, opinions and practices hostile to the benignant spirit of the Gospel and subversive of the inherent rights of man.⁵⁴

The subject of the persecution of the Quakers in seventeenth century New England is treated by Hawthorne in an early story called "The Gentle Boy." In three introductory paragraphs to this tale, Hawthorne presents a brief history of the Quakers in America: the coming of the first Quakers in 1656; the persecution by fines, imprisonments, and stripes, which the Puritans inflicted upon the later "wandering enthusiasts" of the sect; and the martyrdom of two Quaker men in 1659. Hawthorne's reference to the historian of the Quakers who affirms that "by the wrath of Heaven, a blight fell upon the land in the vicinity of the 'bloody town' of Boston, so that no wheat would grow there" and who tells that the persecutors "died suddenly and violently and in madness" and that the "fierce and cruel governor," Endicott, suffered "'death by rottenness,'" affords a fairly sure indication that George Bishop, whose words these are⁵⁵ was the source of Hawthorne's material for this story. Hawthorne's allusion, in this introduction, to the martyring of the two Quaker men in 1659, forms the point of departure for the tale of "The Gentle Boy."

This story centers upon Ilbrahim, the son of one of these executed persons, and Catharine, the boy's Quaker mother. The child is named Ilbrahim because he was born while his father and mother were in Turkey preaching their faith. On the night following the hanging of the two Quaker men, the six-year-old boy is found by a Puritan sobbing on his father's grave. Tobias Pearson, the Puritan, possesses "a compassionate heart, which not even religious prejudice could harden into stone," and he is moved by his sympathy to take the child into his home.

The second Sunday after Ilbrahim's arrival at the Pearson home, Tobias and his wife Dorothy take him to church with them. At the

54. Whittier, "Prose Works," II, 71.

55. See Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 485, 481-85, 444.

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end of the service a muffled woman goes forward to the pulpit, throws off the cloak which has concealed her garb of sackcloth, and denounces the Puritan persecution of the Quakers as the work of the devil. This woman is the Quakeress Catharine, Ilbrahim's mother. As she leaves the church, the boy rushes to her, and each of them rejoices that the other still lives. She is scorned by everyone else except Tobias Pearson and Dorothy, who offers to take care of Ilbrahim for her. After much deliberation, Catharine accepts the offer, and departs sadly from the church and town.

The Pearsons are harshly criticised by the other Puritans for adopting this Quaker lad. The boy, though gentle, intelligent, and pleasant, is shunned by other children because he is a Quaker. At last when he thinks he has won the love of one of them, who has been nursed through an illness at the Pearson home, he is publicly repudiated by that one and stoned and beaten by all the Puritan children. His spirit and his heart are broken, and this condition leads to his death. Just before he dies, his mother returns from her wanderings with the joyous news of an order from King Charles commanding that persecutions of Quakers in New England shall cease. Her child's death is almost more than she can endure, and she cries out for the first time against her lot. Then she throws herself more vigorously than ever into the work for her cause, for although there were no more executions as a result of the King's decree, still persecution of the Quakers did not cease for many years. When it finally abated, Catharine gave up her wanderings to live with the Pearsons, and was then kindly treated by the other Puritans.

History and fiction are skillfully blended in the fabric of this story. The starting-point of Hawthorne's tale—the hanging of the two Quaker men in Boston in 1659—is a historical fact. Bishop⁵⁶ and other historians of the Quakers, as has been noted, describe the event. The execution of these two Quakers took place on the gallows on Boston Common, however, instead of on the outskirts of the town with a fir-tree serving for a gallows, as Hawthorne represents. Hawthorne's reasons for deviating from history in this detail are obvious enough. The martyrs would not have been buried under the gallows on Boston Common, and the artistic effect of the juxtaposition of the

56. See Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 122-34.

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site of their graves and the site of their execution is not to be neglected. Also the mourning of the little boy for his father is more poignant if set at the scene of both the execution and the burial. It is not likely that he would have been permitted to remain until dusk at his father's grave if that grave had been in a more public place. A picturesque and poetic touch is added by the image of the lone fir tree, "which in after times was believed to drop poison with its dew," a touch which is lacking in the image of the stark gallows on Boston Common.

While the starting-point of Hawthorne's story is a historical event, the characters in the story are fictitious. There is no record showing that either William Robinson or Marmaduke Stephenson, the executed men, had a wife named Catharine or a son named Ibrahim, or that either one of them went to Turkey at any time. The name of Tobias Pearson, whom Hawthorne represents as a member of the General Court in 1659, does not appear in the Records of the Massachusetts Colony. Hawthorne's characters in this story seem to be imaginary creations such as he fancied would have been produced by the seventeenth century.

In Catharine, however, Hawthorne presents a composite of three actual Quaker women of the seventeenth century. When she goes into the Puritan meetinghouse, in sackcloth and ashes, to revile the Puritans for their persecution of the Quakers, she suggests the Quaker woman, Margaret Brewster, who appeared in the Old South Church of Boston in 1677 for the same purpose. The details of Catharine's having been in Turkey with her husband can be identified with an incident from the life of Mary Fisher, one of the first two Quaker women to journey to America. Bishop notes that this Mary Fisher, "a Maiden Friend," was moved by the Lord "to go and deliver his Word to the Great Turk." She answered the Lord's call, and was treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness by the Great Turk and his subjects.⁵⁷ In Catharine's imprisonments, banishments, wanderings, and persistent returns to the place from which she was banished there is a reflection of the activities of Mary Dyer, one of the four Quaker martyrs in New England. Although Mary Dyer had barely escaped hanging and had been banished from Massachusetts upon

57. See Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 22-24.

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pain of death a second time, she returned, as Hawthorne's Catharine does, in defiance of the law.⁵⁸ The force of Mary Dyer's religious convictions and of her belief that she must testify against the cruel measures which the Puritans were inflicting upon members of her sect would not let her rest; in spite of Puritan laws, she was impelled to keep returning to the center of persecution for the sake of other Quakers. When Catharine is ordered from the Puritan meetinghouse by the minister, her reply is such a one as Mary Dyer might have uttered:

"I go, friend, I go, for the voice hath had its utterance," replied she, in a depressed and even mild tone. "I have done my mission unto thee and to thy people. Reward me with stripes, imprisonment, or death, as ye shall be permitted."

Catharine is made the instrument by which Hawthorne brings out two important points of Quaker belief: the directing, by the inward voice, of an individual's personal life and the aversion to war. The latter point is shown in Catharine's hesitation to give up her child to the care of a family the head of which is a military man. Catharine bears witness to the former when she says she hears "the voice" speaking within her and directing her finally to leave her boy with the Pearson family.

Through Catharine the historical event of King Charles' ordering the cessation of Quaker persecution in New England is introduced into the story. It is by virtue of this mandate that Catharine returns to New England; she seems to be one of the messengers of the glad tidings. The failure of the King's missive to halt the persecution of the Quakers leads Catharine to go forth again in defense of her sect. It is not until the severities of the Puritans towards the Quakers cease that she goes to live with the Pearsons.

Two other important events in American Quaker history are alluded to by Hawthorne in this story. In describing the conditions in New England in the months following the execution of the Quaker men, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, he says,

. . . neither the fierceness of the persecutors, nor the infatuation of their victims, had decreased. The dungeons were never empty; the streets of almost every village echoed daily with the lash; the life

58. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 106.

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of a woman, whose mild and Christian spirit no cruelty could embitter, had been sacrificed; and more innocent blood was yet to pollute the hands that were so often raised in prayer.

The sacrificed woman here referred to is Mary Dyer, who was executed in May, 1660;⁵⁹ the "innocent blood" yet to be shed is that of William Leddra, who was hanged on March 14, 1661.⁶⁰

The most impressive feature of this story is Hawthorne's charming characterization of the gentle boy himself. Sorrow, fear, and want had developed in Ilbrahim a maturity far beyond that of the average six-year-old child. His sensitive spirit is the cause of both his pleasure and his pain. It enables him to derive enjoyment from the most trifling events and it makes him miserable when he is not received by the other boys and girls. His sorrows spring from wounded love, which causes him to shrink painfully within himself. Hawthorne compares him to a plant "that would twine beautifully round something stronger than itself, but if repulsed, or torn away, it had no choice but to wither on the ground." Throughout the story the reader is prepared for the inevitable breaking and wasting of Ilbrahim's tender spirit when the one friend on whom the child has lavished his affection turns against him.

The life of the Pearsons is changed and enriched by the coming of Ilbrahim into their home. The light of the Quaker boy's religion gradually dawns within Tobias, who has been in a state of religious torpor, yet longing for "a more fervid faith than he possessed." The adoption of this child provides Dorothy with an opportunity for new service, which she readily and capably fulfills. To endure the criticism of the other Puritans for adopting the boy, she is called upon to exhibit a new fortitude, and she does not fail. She is courageous in facing the Puritans who stand scowling outside the meetinghouse as she brings Ilbrahim to church, and in going forward alone to speak kindly to his mother after this Quaker woman has reviled the Puritans in their own church. Although the child dies, there is no question that Dorothy has fulfilled the charge intrusted to her, and that she has provided for him the only real comfort and normal happiness of his young life.

59. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 156. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

60. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 326-30.

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Another feature of this story, besides the delicate portrayal of character, is Hawthorne's effort to be fair to both the Puritans and the Quakers. His presentation is similar to Whittier's in "Margaret Smith's Journal" in this respect, except that Hawthorne makes more of a point of the fanaticism of the Quakers than does Whittier. In his introduction to "The Gentle Boy," Hawthorne explains that since the principles of the Quakers were considered pernicious by the Puritans, it was inevitable that these rulers of Massachusetts should do their utmost to prevent the planting of the Quaker seed in their Colony. The reason the Puritan attempts to stamp out this heresy failed was that severe persecutions "were attractions as powerful for the Quakers, as peace, honor, and reward, would have been for the worldly minded." Hawthorne does not hesitate, however, to bring out the fact that the Quakers of this early period possessed an almost mad enthusiasm which led them to commit actions "contrary to the rules of decency, as well as of rational religion." But he attributes the responsibility for these extremes of conduct largely to the Puritans, led by the "bigoted" Governor Endicott—whose persecution of the Quakers, he says, was at once the "cause and consequence" of these extravagances. Although Hawthorne sympathetically indicates the strength of the Quaker spirit, what he does not condone is the fanaticism which led some Quakers to spectacular conduct. This he illustrates by his attitude towards Dorothy and Catharine. Dorothy becomes the vehicle for the indirect expression of Hawthorne's sentiments concerning the Puritan-Quaker controversy in general. She rises above the bounds of sect in taking the Quaker boy into her heart. As she listens to Ilbrahim's first evening prayer, she wonders "how the parents that had taught it to him could have been judged worthy of death." Catharine, Hawthorne declares, neglects "the holiest trust which can be committed to a woman"; in "following the dictates of a wild fanaticism" she strays from her duty to the child she has borne, and the result must be tragedy for both of them. The contrast between the two women is indicated in the scene in the church when Catharine is considering Dorothy's offer of giving Ilbrahim a home. The two women are standing near each other, each one holding one of the little boy's hands. To Hawthorne this picture forms a "practical allegory"; it was, he says, "rational piety and unbridled fanaticism contending for the empire of a young heart."

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This tale is clearly only partly historical. Hawthorne does not follow history so closely as Whittier does. For Hawthorne, historical fact is used only for a point of departure and for embellishment. Whittier's art seems to consist in employing his imagination to make history seem real, to people historical incidents with actual living characters; Hawthorne's art seems to consist more in going beyond history, to create situations that may have resulted from historical events. While Whittier emphasizes the freedom for which the Quakers suffered, Hawthorne points out the errors of fanaticism and focuses attention on the spirit of love and tenderness which his ideal Quaker boy exemplifies. To Hawthorne the suffering heart and the suffering soul are much more tragic than the suffering body; therefore, he dwells not on the external facts of the persecution of the Quakers, but rather on the spiritual effects which this grim phase of New England's history might have had on an innocent victim.

Longfellow pictured the relations of the Puritans and Quakers in a dramatic poem entitled "John Endicott," part of a larger work called "The New England Tragedies."⁶¹ The action of "John Endicott" takes place in Boston in the year 1665. In the first scene John Norton's Puritan meeting is disturbed by the intrusion of several Quakers, including Edward Wharton and Edith Christison, who have just arrived from Barbados and come into the meetinghouse to protest against the Puritan practice of condemning innocent Quakers to death. For this offence they are rebuked by Norton and later are seized at the home of Nicholas Upsall, an old citizen of Boston, by John Endicott—the son of the Governor—the marshal, and Walter Merry, the tithing-man, and carried off to prison. As the Quakers are being led away to prison, Edith Christison addresses these words to young Endicott, "Why dost thou persecute me, Saul of Tarsus?" Edith's words, her "sorrowful sweet face," and her voice of patient resignation lead the young man to repent of his indirect part in the persecution of the Quakers and bring him to intercede for them with his father and to defend them publicly at his every opportunity. His

61. Longfellow's dramatic poem concerning the Puritans and the Quakers first appeared as "Wenlock Christison" in the privately printed edition of "The New England Tragedies" in 1868. Later in that year a second edition of the larger work was published, and in that the Quaker piece was called "John Endicott," a title which it retained thenceforward. See "The Cambridge History of American Literature," ed. W. F. Trent and others (New York, 1918), II, 429.

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plea to his father for merciful treatment of the Quakers is in vain; the Governor is disturbed at his son's heresy and turns him away until such time as he will be "tired of feeding upon husks."

The Quakers and the shipmaster who conveyed them to Boston, Simon Kempthorn, are brought before the court and sentenced to various punishments. Kempthorn is ordered, under a one hundred-pound bond, to return the Quakers to Barbados; Edward Wharton is banished upon pain of death from Massachusetts; and is commanded to depart the jurisdiction within ten days; Edith Christison is sentenced to be whipped through three towns and then to be banished upon pain of death. Her father, Wenlock Christison, returning after being banished upon pain of death, is ordered to be hanged. After Edith has been returned to the prison to await the execution of her sentence, young Endicott, in whose heart a love for her has sprung up, visits her there, offering to rescue her from jail and from her fate, saying finally,

Thy God shall be my God,
And where thou goest I will go.

She admits a "tenderness" in her soul towards him, but cannot bring herself to flee her punishment while her father must endure his. She is accordingly whipped through Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester. As she goes through Boston, the young Endicott defies the law by proffering her a drink of water. For this he is arrested and fined.

Before the death penalty can be executed upon Wenlock Christison, the mandate from King Charles, ordering the release of Quaker prisoners and the cessation of persecution, is received by the Governor. Meanwhile Edith has been banished and Endicott's son has gone in fruitless search of her. She cannot resist the "inward calling of the Spirit" to return to the "cruel town" of Boston. There she is ultimately reunited with young Endicott. The closing scene shows the death of Governor Endicott, a man whose heart is broken because of the estrangement of his son. Endicott's "righteous zeal" is like a two-edged sword, bringing suffering both to the Quakers and to his own conscience and heart.

Almost all the characters who appear in this dramatic poem by Longfellow are historical, although not all of them were living in

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1665, as the author represents. Three rather humorous characters in the story are probably fictitious. Edward Butter appears as the treasurer of the Colony, whereas the real name of the treasurer was Richard Russell.⁶² [Walter Merry, the tithing-man in this poem, may have been a tithing-man in the Colony, but the name does not appear in the Massachusetts "Records." It is likely that Longfellow invented these names for the comic relief they might lend the story. [Samuel Cole, the self-righteous tavernkeeper, may or may not have been derived from the Samuel Cole whom the "Records" list as "an auncient adventurer in the publicke stocke" who was granted three hundred acres of land by the General Court in June, 1661.⁶³ There is no indication in the "Records" that this Samuel Cole was a tavernkeeper.]

The hero of Longfellow's story, John Endicott, Junior, is historical only in name. Governor Endicott's elder son, born about 1632, was named John.⁶⁴ There is not the slightest hint, however, that this young man was a Quaker sympathizer. His mother was Endicott's second wife, Elizabeth Gibson, who outlived the Governor;⁶⁵ therefore, Longfellow's scene in which the son pleads with his father in the name of his deceased mother, has no basis in fact.

The heroine of this poem, Edith Christison, is a creature of Longfellow's imagination. No Quaker woman of this name is discussed in Quaker history. Like Hawthorne's Catharine, Edith Christison is a combination of three historical Quaker women. In hailing from Barbados and in going into the Puritan meeting in Boston to cry havoc on the Puritans for their treatment of the Quakers, she suggests Margaret Brewster (1677).⁶⁶ Her suffering whipping in three towns is reminiscent of Ann Coleman's punishment in 1662.⁶⁷ Her banishment upon pain of death and her return to Boston for the purpose of testifying against the shedding of innocent blood are similar to the banishment and return of Mary Dyer in defiance of the law in 1659.⁶⁸ Like Whittier and Hawthorne, Longfellow makes his central Quaker figure an ideal of sweetness, gentleness, patient endurance, steadfast faith and courage.

62. "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part ii, 99, 142.

63. *Ibid.*, IV, Part ii, 22.

64. L. S. Mayo, "John Endecott," p. 78.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 56, 282.

66. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 490-91. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 261-65.

67. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 364-69.

68. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 84.

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Through Edith Christison, Longfellow presents many cardinal points of Quaker belief and practice. In the court scene (III, i), when she is asked to swear on the Bible, she refuses, saying in true Quaker fashion,

You offer me this Book
To swear on; and it saith, "Swear not at all,
Neither by heaven, because it is God's Throne,
Nor by the earth, because it is his footstool!"
I dare not swear.

Accused of denying the Scripture to be the rule of life, she retorts,

Yea, I believe
The Inner Light, and not the Written Word,
To be the rule of life.

When she is asked if she does not deny the Lord's Day to be holy, her reply is,

Every day
Is the Lord's Day. It runs through all our lives,
As through the pages of the Holy Bible,
"Thus saith the Lord."

Her actions are directed by the Spirit which she feels dwells within her. (In the presence of a group of Quakers assembled at Nicholas Upsall's house, she thus describes the Quaker concept of direct revelation of God to man and its effect on conduct:

Let us, then, labor for an inward stillness—
An inward stillness and an inward healing;
That perfect silence where the lips and heart
Are still, and we no longer entertain
Our own imperfect thoughts and vain opinions,
But God alone speaks in us, and we wait
In singleness of heart, that we may know
His will, and in the silence of our spirits,
That we may do His will, and do that only.

She returns to Boston because she is inwardly forced to do so. She says,

O cruel town! I know what waits me there,
And yet I must go back; for ever louder
I hear the inward calling of the Spirit,
And must obey the voice.

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Through Edward Wharton and Nicholas Upsall, also, Longfellow exhibits some feature of Quaker practice and belief. In the court scene Wharton refuses to take off his hat, and points out to Endicott the folly of requiring signs of deference such as bowing and putting off the hat. The length of Wharton's hair is an abomination to the Puritan Endicott, and he offends further by refusing to take the oath. Nicholas Upsall attests the strength of the inward calling of the Quakers when he says to the young John Endicott,

I know this people; and that underneath
A cold outside there burns a secret fire
That will find vent, and will not be put out,
Till every remnant of these barbarous laws
Shall be to ashes burned, and blown away.

In "John Endicott" some events of Quaker history are referred to as past occurrences, and others are presented as happening at the time of the "drama," in 1665. The main events which are referred to as things of the past are the execution of the four Quakers and the banishment upon pain of death of others, notably of Wenlock Christison. Governor Endicott merely alludes to the martyrs in a conversation with Norton; Edward Wharton at Upsall's house speaks of them at length, giving their names—William and Marmaduke, "our sister Mary," and Leddra—and some details of their execution. The hanging of these Quakers, discussed in relation to Hawthorne's story, took place in the years 1659 (William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson), 1660 (Mary Dyer), and 1661 (William Leddra), and so Longfellow rightly represents their executions as events of the past at the time of his dramatic poem. The sentence of banishment upon pain of death had been imposed on many persons before 1665; in 1661 the old law of banishment upon pain of death had been revoked, and in its place had been set up the cruel, but less extreme, Cart and Whip Act.⁶⁹ Governor Endicott in the court scene speaks to Edith of her father as

A bold man and a violent, who sets
At naught the authority of our Church and State,
And is in banishment on pain of death.

69. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-02.

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Wenlock Christison was not under this sentence in this particular year, 1665, but history records that he had been banished upon pain of death at the end of the year 1660, when the old law was in force.⁷⁰

The essential material of this poem by Longfellow consists of actual events from Quaker history, most of which occurred before 1665, but are telescoped together by the poet, and for dramatic effectiveness are presented as happening in 1665, the year of Endicott's death. Longfellow prepares the reader for such historical inaccuracies in his prologue to this dramatic poem:

Nor let the Historian blame the Poet here,
If he perchance misdate the day or year,
And group events together, by his art,
That in the Chronicles lie far apart;
For as the double stars, though sundered far,
Seem to the naked eye a single star,
So facts of history, at a distance seen,
Into one common point of light convene.

Simon Kempthorn, captain of the ship "Swallow," did bring Quakers from Barbados into Boston, and was placed under a one hundred-pound bond to take them away,⁷¹ as Longfellow represents in his poem. This event occurred, not in 1665, but in 1656, and the Quakers concerned were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher,⁷² not Edward Wharton and Edith Christison. The latter, as has been said, is not a historical figure; Edward Wharton was a native of Salem,⁷² and never went to Barbados. An incident in Longfellow's poem is the burning by the hangman of a pile of Quaker books; this was the fate of the books which Ann Austin and Mary Fisher brought with them to Boston.⁷³

The activities of Nicholas Upsall which are pictured in Longfellow's poem are true to history except in date. In "John Endicott" an old citizen named Upsall harbors Quakers at his home, publicly protests against the anti-Quaker laws, and is rebuked by the tithing-man for not attending the Puritan meeting on the Sabbath. In real life this man was sympathetic with the Quakers as early as 1656, when the

70. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

71. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 3-13, esp. p. 12.

72. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 205, 233, 234.

73. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

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first members of the sect came to America. Joseph Besse reports that when Ann Austin and Mary Fisher were in prison in Boston (in 1656), Nicholas "Upshall," "an old Inhabitant in Boston, and a Member of the Church there," was so touched by the uncomfortable condition enforced upon these two women that he "gave the Gaoler five Shillings per Week for the Liberty of sending them Provisions, lest they should be starved."⁷⁴ In October of that same year Upsall publicly testified against the first law made by the General Court against the Quakers. For so doing he was called to appear in court. There, according to this same historian,

. . . he told them, that the Execution of that Law would be a Forerunner of a Judgment upon their Country, and therefore in Love and Tenderness which he bare to the People and Place, desired them to take Heed, lest they were found Fighters against God.⁷⁵

He was fined twenty pounds for his objection to the law and three pounds more for not attending church, "whence the Sense of their Wickedness had induced him to absent himself," and was then banished from Massachusetts, in spite of the approach of the winter season.⁷⁵ He went to Rhode Island to live for a time, and became a "convinced" Quaker, the first Massachusetts citizen to accept the Quaker faith for himself.⁷⁶ Later he returned to Boston and was imprisoned there for two years, being released after the King's mis- sive concerning the Quakers was received in Massachusetts in 1661.⁷⁷ His intimacy with Edward Wharton in this poem is based on fact; the historian Joseph Besse notes that in 1664 Edward Wharton was found and arrested at the home of Nicholas Upsall in Boston.⁷⁸

The proclamation which is read by the marshal in the public square (II, ii) is a combination of three laws made against the Quakers by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1656, 1657, and 1658. The first part of the proclamation is the law of October 14, 1656,⁷⁹ which imposed on shipmasters who brought Quakers into the Colony a fine of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment until the whole amount

74. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

75. *Ibid.*, II, 181.

76. Jones, *op. cit.* pp. 40-41.

77. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

78. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 233.

79. See "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part i, 277-78.

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should be paid. The second part and most of the third part of the proclamation is the law of October 14, 1657,⁸⁰ which penalized every person who entertained a Quaker forty shillings for each hour he harbored that Quaker, and imprisonment until the forfeit was paid, and which enacted the following punishments on Quakers: every male Quaker who returned to the jurisdiction after being sent away should lose an ear and be confined to the workhouse until he could be sent away again; for a second offence he should lose the other ear; every returning female Quaker should be whipped severely in three towns, and be kept in the house of correction at work until she could go away again; for a third offence any Quaker should have his or her tongue bored through with a hot iron and should then be sent to the house of correction "as aforesaid." The end of the proclamation is the law of October 19, 1658,⁸¹ which imposed the sentence of banishment upon pain of death on all Quakers who were not inhabitants of the jurisdiction, and which inflicted upon Quaker sympathizers a month's imprisonment and then banishment upon pain of death if they failed to reform or to retract their opinions. Longfellow contrives to recast the essential parts of these laws in blank verse in such a way as to alter them hardly at all. An example of the way in which he transfers the legal phraseology from prose to verse in the case of part of the law of October 14, 1656, to give but one instance, is as follows:

LAW OF OCTOBER 14, 1656⁸²
 That *what Master
 or Commander of any Ship,
 Bark, Pink, or Catch,* shall
 henceforth bring into any Har-
 bour, Creek, or Cove, within
 this Jurisdiction, any Quaker or
 Quakers, or other blasphemous
 Hereticks, shall pay, or cause to
 be paid, the Fine of One Hun-
 dred Pounds to the Treasurer
 of the Country And for

JOHN ENDICOTT, II, ii, 61-69
 That *whatsoever master or
 commander
 Of any ship, bark, pink, or catch
 shall bring
 To any roadstead, harbor, creek,
 or cove
 Within this Jurisdiction any
 Quakers,
 Or any other blasphemous Here-
 tics, shall pay*

80. *Ibid.*, IV, Part i, 308-09.

81. *Ibid.*, IV, Part i, 345-47. These laws are quoted almost verbatim by Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 179, 183, 190-91, and it is probable that Longfellow took them from Besse and not from official records.

82. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 179. Cf. "Records of Mass. Colony," IV, Part i, 277-78. In the parallel pieces above, identical words and phrases are italics.

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Default of good Payments, or good Security for it, shall be cast into Prison, and there to continue till the said Sum be satisfied to the Treasurer as aforesaid.

*Unto the Treasurer of the Commonwealth
One hundred pounds, and for default thereof
Be put in prison, and continue there
Till the said sum be satisfied and paid.*

The fourth scene of act four of this dramatic poem is focused upon an event of Quaker history which occurred in 1658, the cruel treatment of a Quaker, William Brend, and John Norton's condoning it. This scene takes place before the Puritan meetinghouse, on the door of which a placard has been nailed. A crowd, including Nicholas Upsall, has gathered before the meetinghouse to read the placard. John Norton enters and inquires why the crowd is there. Upsall replies,

One William Brand,
An old man like ourselves, and weak in body,
Has been so cruelly tortured in his prison,
The people are excited, and they threaten
To tear the prison down.

When Norton asks for a description of what was done to "Brand," Upsall continues,

He has been put in irons, with his neck
And heels tied close together, and so left
From five in the morning until nine at night.
. . . . He has been kept five days
In prison without food, and cruelly beaten,
So that his limbs were cold, his senses stopped.

Norton's heartless reply to Upsall's account is as follows:

This William Brand of yours has tried to beat
Our Gospel Ordinances black and blue;
And, if he has been beaten in like manner,
It is but justice, and I will appear
In his behalf that did so.

When Norton learns that the placard declares that the jailer who inflicted such punishment on William Brend is to be dealt with sternly and justly by the court, he tears it from the door of the meetinghouse

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and tramples it in the dust. He calls the placard a "flag of truce with Satan and with Sin!" an evidence of toleration, which, according to Norton's Puritan faith, is

. . . . the first-born child
Of all abominations and deceits.
There is no room in Christ's triumphant army
For tolerationists.

Longfellow's description of the treatment of William Brend tallies with that of Quaker historians except that the details of the latter are more horrible and revolting. Joseph Besse reports that William Brend, "a man in years," who had been banished from Massachusetts in 1656 because he was a Quaker, was seized in Newbury in May, 1658, and was sent to Boston to prison. There the jailer refused to give him food for five days, beat him, and put him in irons, neck and heels close together, for over sixteen hours. Then, when Brend, in his weakened condition, refused to work, the jailer beat him so severely with a "pitched rope" that his body was unspeakably bruised and turned cold.⁸³ To prevent a tumult, the magistrates had a paper posted on the meetinghouse door, assuring the people that the "Gaoler should be dealt withal at next court."⁸⁴ This paper John Norton caused to be taken down, saying,

"W. Brend endeavoured to beat our Gospel-Ordinances black and blue, if he then be beaten black and blue, it is but just upon him, and I will appear in his Behalf that did so!"⁸⁵

Longfellow's picture of Edward Wharton, fearless, outspoken, determined, in the court scene of this poem accords with the picture given in Quaker histories. Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, suffered many whippings because he was an active Quaker.⁸⁶ He never hesitated to speak his mind. After Robinson and Stephenson had been killed, he publicly testified against the persecutors,⁸⁷ and in court when William Leddra was sentenced to death, Wharton—in peril of his own life—cried out against the sentence and its perpetrators.⁸⁸

83. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 178, 185, 186.

84. *Ibid.*, II, 186.

85. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 186. See also Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part i, 67.

86. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 205, 232, 234, 235.

87. *Ibid.*, II, 205.

88. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 318.

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Wharton's words in the court scene of the poem are almost identical with the words reported by Joseph Besse as uttered by him during his examination at court on March 11, 1660.⁸⁹ In each case he replies when he is summoned to the bar, "Yea, even to the bench"; in each he offends with his hat, his long hair, his lack of respect, his refusal to swear the oath. In both cases, also, he is sentenced on pain of death to leave the jurisdiction within ten days, and in both he remains defiant. In "John Endicott," Wharton is spared the necessity of refusing to fulfill his sentence by the arrival of King Charles' message, releasing all Quakers from punishment, but in Quaker history he is reported to have defied the Puritan authorities by remaining in the jurisdiction and even writing to them from Salem to tell them that he intended not to depart from Massachusetts.⁹⁰

Longfellow's portrayal of Wenlock Christison's return to Boston after he had been banished is true to history except in date. As has been noted earlier, Christison was banished upon pain of death at the end of the year 1660. Soon afterwards he returned to Boston and came openly into court, as Longfellow represents. The words which Longfellow puts into his mouth to explain why he came back to the place from which he had been expelled are derived from Quaker history. In "John Endicott," Wenlock Christison says,

I come to warn you that you shed no more
The blood of innocent men! It cries aloud
For vengeance to the Lord.

In Joseph Besse's history of the Quakers, Wenlock Christison says,

"I am come to warn you, that you should shed no more innocent Blood; for the Blood that you have shed already, cries to the Lord for Vengeance to come upon you."⁹¹

The rest of Longfellow's scene (III, iii), in which Christison denies the charge of coming to Boston in rebellion, is sentenced to be hanged until he is "dead-dead-dead!" and is refused an appeal to the laws of England, parallels Besse's account almost as identically as the above quotation does. The date for the execution of Christison was

89. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 220-21.

90. Bishop, *op. cit.*, Part ii, 342.

91. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 221.

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set by this court as June 13, 1661.⁹² As Longfellow in a later scene implies, Christison was saved from his fate by the timely arrival of the King's mandamus.⁹³

The effect of the King's missive seems to interest Longfellow more than the manner of its presentation to John Endicott. Longfellow adheres to history in naming Ralph Goldsmith as the master of the ship which carried to New England King Charles' order for the release of Quaker prisoners, but he makes no mention of Samuel Shattuck, who delivered the order to John Endicott.⁹⁴ The content of the King's command is correctly summarized by Endicott in the poem, and the Governor is here made to order that all Quaker prisoners be set at large but that none be sent to England. These details accord with the historical accounts of the events.⁹⁵

While the spirit of this dramatic poem is pro-Quaker, and represents the point of view of Quaker historians, the poet does not go to their extremes in making Governor Endicott an odious figure. Longfellow says in his Prologue, after quoting the thirteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians about the importance of Charity:

Let us remember, if these words be true,
That unto all men Charity is due;
Give what we ask; and pity, while we blame,
Lest we become copartners in the shame,
Lest we condemn, and yet ourselves partake,
And persecute the dead for conscience sake.

He is indeed charitable towards the Puritans in his presentation of John Endicott. It has been noted that Whittier in "Margaret Smith's Journal" and Hawthorne in "The Gentle Boy" make an effort to present both the Puritan and the Quaker point of view. Longfellow succeeds in eliciting from the reader more sympathy for John Endicott than does either of the other two authors. He effects this not simply by offering the comprehensible but cold motives which led to persecution, but also by endowing his character John Endicott with splendid qualities and a warm human heart. He loves his son with

92. *Ibid.*, II, 223.

93. *Ibid.*, II, 223-24.

94. *Ibid.*, II, 226.

95. See Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100, in addition to Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 225-27.

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a strong fatherly love, and he treasures the memory of his beloved wife. He is "stabbed to the heart" at the thought of his son's ingratitude and blindness in repudiating the teachings of his youth and embracing heresy. He feels the painful disappointment which any father would experience is being made aware that his son was not fulfilling the father's hopes for him. Governor Endicott tries to reason with the young man and show him the error of his ways; and when the boy obstinately clings to his own ideas, there is nothing left for the father to do but to turn him away to discover for himself the folly of his beliefs—although this final step is intensely painful to the father, leaving a "dismal echo" in his heart, and a hope, often repeated, that the boy will soon come home to him.

Longfellow bestows upon Endicott the qualities of a fine, upright leader, which he doubtless was. The Governor realizes the importance of maintaining the dignity and integrity of public office, and is crushed with the news from England that a tyrant king has come to power, who will divest the colonial officials of their authority and make puppets and ciphers of them. King Charles' enforcing a reversal of the policy towards the Quakers gives Endicott a sense of futility and absurdity. It is, he says,

. . . . as if
From some old general in the field, grown gray
In service, scarred with many wounds,
Just at the hour of victory, he should strip
His badge of office and his well-gained honors,
And thrust him back into the ranks again.

The accession of this kind of king troubles Endicott, for he sees that it means the end of law and liberty and the substitution of caprice. Endicott's strong sense of duty and justice leads him to have his own son arrested when John breaks the law by "abetting the sedition" of the Quakers. It leads him also to carry out the letter of the law in his dealing with the heretics. He has a courage of conviction which enables him to give judgment, in the face of skepticism, against the obstinate and exasperating insolence and law-breaking of the Quakers.

Both an opponent and a colleague of Endicott praise him in this poem. Nicholas Upsall, the Quaker sympathizer, in a conversation with young Endicott, says of the boy's father,

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You know your father only as a father;
I know him better as a Magistrate.
He is a man both loving and severe;
A tender heart; a will inflexible.
None ever loved him more than I have loved him.
He is an upright man and a just man
In all things save the treatment of the Quakers.

Deputy-Governor Bellingham's oral epitaph for Endicott, the last words of the poem, uttered just after the death of Endicott, implies that the one blot on the soul of the Governor is attributable to the conditions of the time:

How placid and how quiet is his face,
Now that the struggle and the strife are ended!
Only the acrid spirit of the times
Corroded this true steel. Oh, rest in peace,
Courageous heart! Forever rest in peace!

In this poem Endicott is represented as a rational and moderate man, not as a wholly impulsive and ruthless persecutor. In the very first scene, in discussing with John Norton the problem of dealing with the Quakers, Endicott says, quite in contrast to Norton's words,

We must not go too far. In truth, I shrink
From shedding of more blood.

Endicott in two speeches absolves the Puritans from the guilt of the slain Quakers' blood, saying that the Puritans but guarded the passage to the city with a sword pointed towards the Quakers, and when the members of that heretical sect rushed upon the sword, their blood was on their own heads.⁹⁶ In the last scene—a scene full of pathos which springs from the picture of the dying man, broken-hearted and longing for his estranged son—Endicott repents of his part in the persecution of the Quakers. He says to Bellingham,

I greatly fear
That in my righteous zeal I have been led
To doing many things which, left undone,
My mind would now be easier.

⁹⁶. This image is used by Rawson in a declaration defending the Puritan persecution of the Quakers. See Bishop. *op. cit.*, Part i, 140.

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And again,

Yet now I would that I had taken no part
In all that bloody work.

Finally, as he watches Kempthorn's ship sail out of the harbor, Endicott seems to allude once more to his part in the "bloody work" by saying,

Would that my soul had wings
As spotless as those shining sails to fly with.⁹⁷

Altogether the historical facts in this poem are presented with a certain freedom, though not with so much as to give an erroneous impression; [the poet disregards history, as has been noted, only in his representation of John Endicott's son, in his creation of Edith Christison, and in his assigning the date 1665 to events that happened in other years—and such deviations from fact are allowable to a poet.

The poem illustrates graphically the repulsiveness of cruelty and intolerance and the beauty of charity. John Endicott is the only one of the Quaker persecutors who is redeemed in the eyes of the reader at the end of the piece. His redemption is effected by his repentance for his lack of charity towards the Quakers; the other sharers in the "bloody work" of persecution are reported to have died suddenly and horribly with their sins upon their heads. To teach the lesson of the greatness of charity was Longfellow's purpose in treating this particular theme from the past of America, the persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans. The birth of the idea was recorded thus in his notebook in the year 1842 while he was at Marienburg:

Christus, a dramatic poem, in three parts:
Part First. The Times of Christ. (Hope.)
Part Second. The Middle Ages. (Faith.)
Part Third. The Present. (Charity.)⁹⁸

Longfellow's purpose is definitely stated in the Prologue to "John Endicott":

97. Lawrence Shaw Mayo in Chapter XIX of his recent biography of John Endecott (1936) gives a reasonable and fair account of this Puritan governor's relations with the Quakers. It is interesting to observe that Longfellow, many decades before this modern biographer, attempted to present John Endicott in a more favorable light than that in which he was usually portrayed.

98. Samuel Longfellow, "Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow with Extracts from His Journals and Correspondence" (Boston, 1886), I, 403.

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"Why touch upon such themes?" perhaps some friend
May ask, incredulous; "and to what good end?
Why drag again into the light of day
The errors of an age long passed away?"
I answer: "For the lesson that they teach:
The tolerance of opinion and of speech.
Hope, Faith, and Charity remain—these three;
And greatest of them all is Charity."

This justification which Longfellow makes in his answer may be applied equally well to the treatment in creative works by Whittier and Hawthorne of the "errors of an age long passed away." In his own way each one of these writers brings understanding to both sides of the persecution of Quakers in seventeenth century New England. For all of them the past of their country is not only personally interesting, but also highly instructive, and as antiquarians, as literary men, as moralists, they examine and depict a portion of American history in which the Quakers took a prominent part. All three of these authors—Whittier, Hawthorne, and Longfellow—present with imagination historic instances of "resolute adherence to principles esteemed just," of "heroic suffering and unwavering faith," of courage in the face of great odds, and of other such qualities which early nineteenth century American critics deemed appropriate and important for literary treatment, and urged American writers to bring to light out of the colonial past.

Deming and Allied Families

By J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

I



JOHN DEMING, to whom lands were granted by the town of Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1636 and 1645, was admitted a freeman in 1645. He recorded his homestead in 1641 as a house, a barn, and five acres of land, bounded by High Street on the west, the Great Meadow on the east, Thomas Standish's homestead on the north, and Richard Crabbe's homestead on the south.

John Deming's father-in-law, Richard Treat, made a will, dated February 13, 1668, in which is the following bequest:

Item: my debts being paid, I give to my loving sons John Demon and Robert Webster, equally, all the rest of my goods and chattels, whatsoever, except Mr. Perkins book which I give to my son John Demon and my great Bible to my daughter Honor Demon and that money in my cousin Samuel Welles, his hand, unto my cousin (evidently the old fashioned use of cousin for nephew) David Deming, son of John Demon senior.

From this is implied that there was a John Demon, Sr., as well as John Demon, the son-in-law, and that the father of John Deming, of Wethersfield, was probably also named John. Richard Treat calls David Deming his cousin and indicates the same relationship with Samuel Welles, who was evidently the son of Governor Thomas Welles and who married Elizabeth Deming, called a sister of John Deming.

Within the boundaries of Wethersfield, across the river, were the "Naubuc Farms," which were later incorporated into the town of Glastonbury. One of the first to obtain a lot here was John Deming, in 1640. His name on the records is spelled John Demion. He was chosen a selectman in 1647-48 and 1661. He was one of the patentees named in the charter of 1662. John Deming sold his land on the

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east side of the river to Samuel Wyllis before 1668 and was taxed for land in Eastbury in 1673. His will, dated June 26, 1690, was proved November 21, 1705, the year in which, it is supposed, he died. He signed a codicil February 3, 1692, his last recorded act. The recorded statements about John Deming show that he was a man of intelligence above the average and had some education. The fact that he was constable of Wethersfield in 1654 showed that he was in the confidence of the Governor. The historian, Trumbull, calls him one of the fathers of Connecticut.

John Deming married, about 1637, Honor Treat. (Treat—American Line—II.) Children: 1. John (2), of whom further. 2. Jonathan, born in 1639, died January 8, 1699-1700; held the rank of sergeant; married (first), November 21, 1660, Sarah Graves, who died June 5, 1668, probably the daughter of John Graves; married (second), December 25, 1673, Elizabeth Gilbert, who died at Wethersfield, Connecticut, September 3, 1714, daughter of Josiah Gilbert. 3. Frances, born about 1643; married Richard Beckley. 4. Rachel, born about 1644; married, November 16, 1665, Captain John Morgan. 5. Mary, born about 1646; married, about 1670, John Hurlbut. 6. Samuel, born in 1648, died April 6, 1709; married, March 29, 1694, Sarah Bucke Kirby, who married (second) Jonathan Church. 7. David, born in 1652, died at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1725; married, July (or August) 16, 1678, Mary. 8. Sarah, born about 1654, died at Hadley, Massachusetts, September 29, 1717; married Samuel Moody. 9. Hannah, married Thomas Wright. 10. Ebenezer, born about 1659, died May 2, 1705; married, July 16, 1677, Sarah.

(H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 272-74. J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 3-5, 8, 9.)

II. Sergeant John (2) Deming, son of John and Honor (Treat) Deming, was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, September 9, 1638, and died in Wethersfield, January 23, 1712. He was a selectman in 1662 and representative to the General Court in 1669 and 1672. He probably took part in the Indian wars of that period. In 1674 the town gave him ten acres of land at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, which

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was bounded on the northeast by the highway leading to Great River. He drew land in the allotment of 1694, at which time he and his wife were among the members of the church at Wethersfield. In 1692 Sergeant John (2) Deming was called a "knacker," that is, a maker of rope, like his father and brother David.

Sergeant John (2) Deming married, at Northampton, Massachusetts, September 20 or December 12, 1657, Mary Mygatt. (Mygatt II.) Children: 1. John, born September 9, 1658, died November 25, 1729; married, June 5, 1684, Mary Graves; he was called "the Drummer." 2. Joseph, born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, June 1, 1661, died at North Woodstock, Connecticut, January 7, 1742; married Mary Bowen. 3. Jonathan, born February 12, 1662-63, died between 1719 and 1726; married, October 27, 1687, Martha Buck. 4. Mary, born July 1, 1666. 5. Samuel, born August 25, 1668. 6. Jacob, of whom further. 7. Sarah, born January 17, 1672. 8. Hezekiah, born at Wethersfield, about 1680, died at Farmington, Connecticut, June 11, 1747; married, November 22, 1700, Lois Wyard.

(H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 265; Vol. II, pp. 272-74. J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 8-9, 10, 15, 19.)

III. Jacob Deming, son of Sergeant John (2) and Mary (Mygatt) Deming, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, August 26, 1670, and died probably before 1712. He settled in Hartford, Connecticut. At the May, 1698, session of the General Court at Hartford he was granted a sum of money as compensation for personal injury: "Jacob Demmon having been wounded in the countrey service in firing the great gunes in Hartford (by order from the Govern'r and council when peace was proclaimed) whereby he susteined great losse and dammage, this court orders that he shall receive out of the countrey treasurye the sume of ten pounds cash to be paid to him by the treasurer." He later received an additional five pounds.

The name of Jacob Deming disappears from the Hartford records after 1703, and it is probable that he moved away. His wife, Elizabeth, was living in 1718 and was probably a widow at that time, since her father's will bequeathed ten pounds to each of his daughters, with

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the provision that Elizabeth was to receive her portion at once as she might need it for her maintenance.

Jacob Deming married, March 14, 1695, Elizabeth Edwards. (Edwards III.) Children: 1. Jacob, born March 24, 1696. 2. Timothy, of whom further. 3. Abigail, born January 21, 1700. 4. Lemuel, born in 1702.

(J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 10, 17-19. H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 274.)

IV. Timothy Deming, son of Jacob and Elizabeth (Edwards) Deming, was born at Hartford, Connecticut, March 26, 1698. He lived in Glastonbury, Connecticut, then East Hartford, Connecticut, where he is first of record in 1736. In 1754 he was named among the proprietors of Hartford and received a grant of land. The baptisms of Timothy Deming's children, Israel and David, appear on the church records of East Hartford, but no other birth record for any of his children has been found.

Timothy Deming married Thankful Risley. (Risley IV.) Children: 1. Lucy, born in 1733, died in 1814. 2. Lemuel, died at East Hartford, Connecticut, December 9, 1801; married Hannah Risley. 3. Israel, baptized at East Hartford, October 29, 1749, died at Avon, Connecticut, October 15, 1834; married, November 22, 1779, Lydia, who died January 7, 1837. 4. David, of whom further. 5. Ruth, married John Riley, of Wethersfield.

(J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 19, 37-38, 76, 77, 78. H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 274.)

V. Captain David Deming, son of Timothy and Thankful (Risley) Deming, was baptized at East Hartford, Connecticut, October 20, 1751, and died at sea, in October, 1795. At the time of the Lexington Alarm, in April, 1775, he enlisted from the town of Hartford, Connecticut, and served six days; he is called lieutenant.

David Deming was a sailor and attained the rank of captain. He died at sea while his ship was making the voyage from Port au Prince to Hartford.

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Captain David Deming married Anne Abbey. The surname of his wife is surmised to be Abbey, as after Captain Deming's death his son, David Abbey Deming, a minor, chose Russell Abbey for his guardian. Anne (Abbey) Deming married (second) Deacon Stevens, of Litchfield, Connecticut. She removed there with her younger children. Children, all baptized at East Hartford, Connecticut: 1. Anne, baptized October 18, 1778, died in April, 1785. 2. Mary (Molly), born January 30, 1780, baptized February 6, 1780, died in Michigan, November 16, 1837; married, January 25, 1805, James Thompson. 3. Elizabeth (Betsey), baptized March 25, 1781; married Joel Olmstead. 4. David Abbey, baptized November 17, 1782, died April 23, 1857; married, September 14, 1808, Chloe Olmstead. 5. Susan, baptized November 23, 1783; married, in 1802, Arnold W. Foster. 6. Wait, baptized May 14, 1786. 7. Timothy, of whom further. 8. Anne, baptized November 1, 1789, died unmarried. 9. Jude, baptized October 16, 1791, died in Herkimer County, New York; married, late in life, a widow. 10. Lydia, baptized June 9, 1793, died unmarried. 11. Lucy, baptized November 23, 1794, died April 19, 1855, unmarried. 12. Sarah (Sally), baptized April 17, 1796, died in Oswego, New York, in 1874, unmarried.

("Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution," p. 13. J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 19, 37-38, 78, 150.)

VI. Timothy Deming, son of Captain David and Anne (probably Abbey) Deming, was born at East Hartford, Connecticut, February 13, 1788, was baptized April 27, 1788, and died in East Hartford, August 14, 1879. He was a freeman of East Hartford in 1817. He was called a "knife-strap" manufacturer. Timothy Deming served in the War of 1812 as a fifer in Captain Amherst Reynold's Company of the Connecticut Militia. His period of service was from August 3, 1813, to September 16, 1813.

Timothy Deming married (first), November 19, 1808, Olive Treat, born October 29, 1786, and died April 19, 1818, daughter of Matthias and Tryphena (Risley) Treat. He married (second), at East Hartford, November 22, 1825, Eliza Wing, daughter of Sylvanus and Anna (Smith) Wing. Children of first marriage: 1.



Timothy Leming



Eliza (Wing) Leming

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Edwin, born June 12, 1810, died at East Hartford, Connecticut, June 19, 1877; married, October 15, 1838, Ann Sage. 2. Eliza, born January 15, 1813, died May 3, 1876; married, October 23, 1833, Eleazur P. Howlett. 3. Sarah, born July 25, 1815; married, September 8, 1834, Griswold Wright. 4. Olive, born March 23, 1818, died February 16, 1898; married, September 7, 1841, Elihu Eggleston Sage. Children of second marriage: 5. Charles, of whom further. 6. Lucius, born March 31, 1829, died at St. Louis, Missouri, March 25, 1880; married, October 28, 1850, Mary Elizabeth Arnold. 7. Harriet, born April 24, 1831; married William Low. 8. Mary, born October 24, 1834, died June 14, 1885; married, December 29, 1862, Oliver Hurd. 9. Antoinette, born February 19, 1837, died June 12, 1883; married, May 20, 1862, Franklin Green Comstock. 10. Sylvanus Wing, born March 18, 1840, died September 2, 1843. 11. John Wing, born May 2, 1845, died February 22, 1896; married, March 12, 1875, Nina Weathers.

(J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 78, 150-51, 271, 272. "Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of 1812," p. 45.)

VII. Charles Deming, son of Timothy and Eliza (Wing) Deming, was born at East Hartford, Connecticut, October 29, 1826. After his marriage he moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where he established his home. He was engaged in the manufacture of horse collars, in those days an art and definite trade which required three years to learn.

Charles Deming married, January 4, 1848, Harriet Baker, born January 31, 1829, died December 15, 1886, daughter of Asa and Charlotte (Burr) Baker. Children: 1. Charles Elliott, born April 22, 1850, died August 19, 1858. 2. Alice Baker, born May 17, 1852; married, January 14, 1873, Robert Lester Willis; they resided in Missouri. 3. Frank Lucius, born May 2, 1857; married, May 29, 1879, Pauline E. Gray. 4. Everett Brainard, of whom further. 5. Arthur William, born September 24, 1862; married, February 10, 1893, Lulu White. 6. Laura Lillian, born October 19, 1865, died April 19, 1870. 7. Hattie Judd, born July 21, 1868; married, Janu-

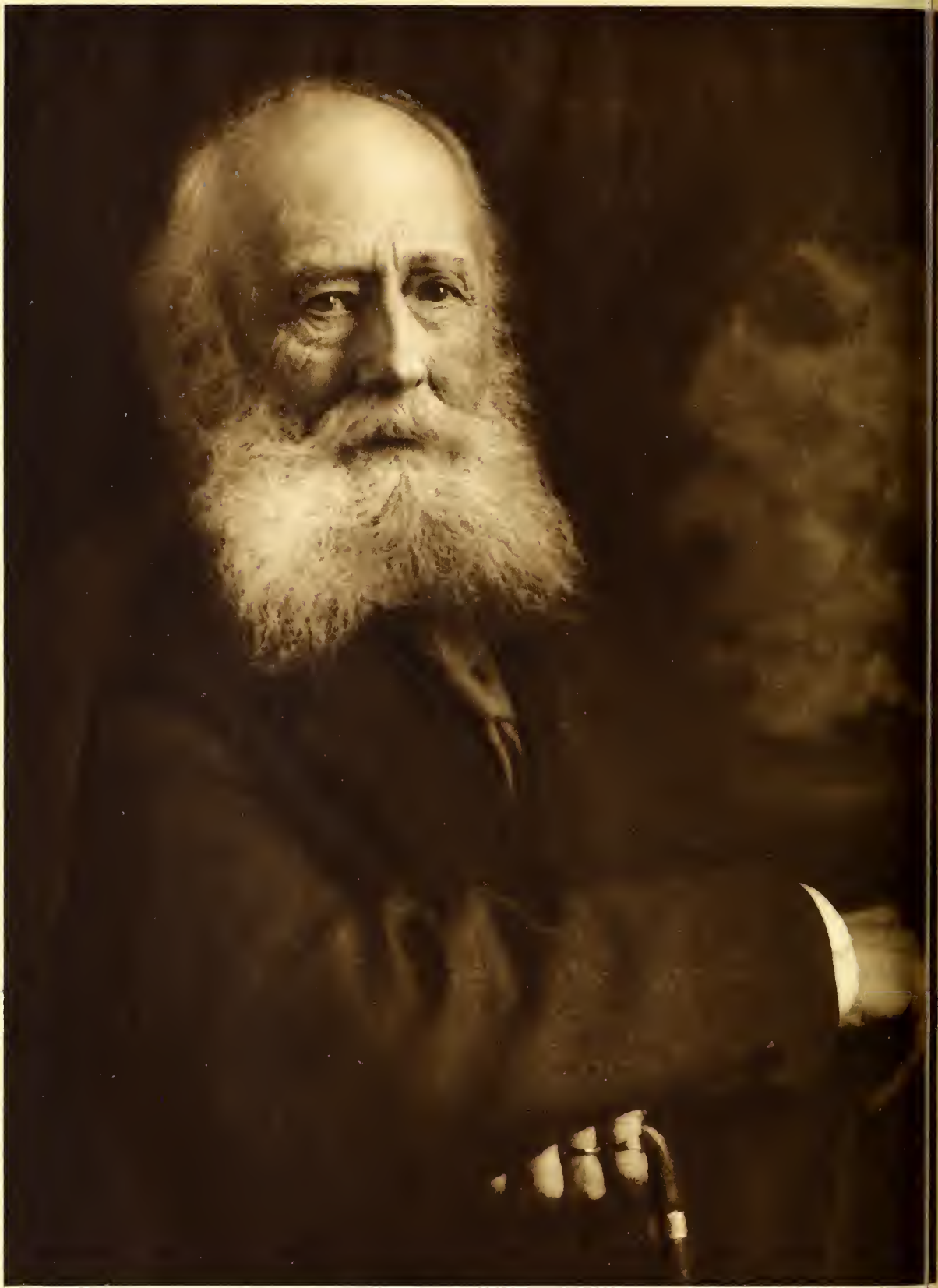
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ary 14, 1892, George Henry Boynton; they settled in Wallingford, Connecticut.

(J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 271, 430, 431.)

VIII. Everett Brainard Deming, son of Charles and Harriet (Baker) Deming, was born at St. Louis, Missouri, September 13, 1860. His early boyhood was passed amid the conflict of loyalties which divided the State throughout the period of the Civil War. The hardships of those times were brought home to him by intimate, personal experience, and his entire youth was one of difficulty, deprivation, and hard work. He began his active career immediately upon completing his high school course, when he accepted the first position offered him and became a cutter of buckle leather for horse collars in a St. Louis factory. Here his wages were two dollars a week. The hard manual labor involved did not disturb him, but the monotony and repetition of his task were galling to his alert and ambitious spirit. Nevertheless, his will went into his work, and so he grew in stature of character by the strengthening of those qualities of persistence and endurance that are the foundation of any true accomplishment in the world. "The poor boy has a better chance in life than the son of a rich man," Mr. Deming said in later years. "In the fullest sense the poor boy learns how to work, and work, with the saving of a part of one's earnings, is the foundation of success in every country." Particularly notable was the application of these principles in his own life.

After a few years in the St. Louis factory, which furnished him his initial employment, Mr. Deming was ready for his first upward step. At the age of eighteen he became a billing clerk in the wholesale grocery house of Goddard, Peck and Company, in St. Louis, and from the vantage point of that position learned all phases of merchandising—what the retailers were buying and why, and what general trends business followed. With this experience behind him, he celebrated his twenty-first birthday by joining his brother, F. L. Deming, in the formation of the St. Louis brokerage house of F. L. Deming and Company. Four years later this partnership became the Deming and Gould Company, the name under which it forged ahead to sure and established success. By 1893, the year of the panic, it had



Charles Deming

PHOTO TAKEN ABOUT 1906



Harriet (Baker) Loring

PHOTO TAKEN ABOUT 1865

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made such rapid strides that it was able, in spite of unfavorable business conditions, to open an office in Chicago and prosecute a campaign designed to secure for itself a share of the wholesale trade in the Chicago territory. This step was also successful, and Mr. Deming, seeing the need for coördinating the business with its source of supplies, became associated with several others in the purchase of the Central California Cannery, which was later sold to the powerful California Packing Corporation. Financing this expansion of the Deming and Gould interests presented some problems, but none which were not easily met through the reputation of the firm for probity and success.

"A man can make many failures and many mistakes without serious consequences," Mr. Deming has said, "if his first undertaking is a success. The world remembers our successful undertakings, and the spell of a fortunate and profitable venture will erase succeeding mistakes; but the first effort must be a success. If the first attempt is a failure, that will mark a man or a business.

"I remember our first deal of magnitude. It was in prunes and involved far more money than we could command. But we went ahead with our contracts for fruit and pushed our sales activities. When we went to the bank we had no difficulty, for we had both contracts to buy the prunes and orders for them. The bank was perfectly safe and we had made a profit. It isn't hard to secure capital. That is easy, if you can demonstrate that you have made good in the past and there is reasonable assurance of profit in the future."

Meanwhile, with the gradual development of its interests, canned salmon became an important item in the business of the Deming and Gould Company. Consequently, just as it had gone to California to seek a closer tie with the source of fruits and vegetables, it now went to the source of salmon supply and in 1899 embarked upon the salmon canning venture at Bellingham Bay, Washington, which soon became a dominant factor in the industry. In the following year Mr. Deming removed to Fairhaven, Washington, and personally took charge of the new plant. Fairhaven became a part of Bellingham soon after his arrival there, and from that time onward he has been a commanding figure both in the life of Bellingham and in the salmon industry.

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By 1905 Mr. Deming was able to organize the Pacific American Fisheries, whose affairs he guided from the outset as president. Under his leadership in the following two decades, it was developed into the second largest packing house in its field, while with its many affiliates, recently merged with the parent concern to form the Pacific American Company, it has constituted for some years the largest salmon packing organization in the world. Pacific American Fisheries, operated over 2,000 miles of coast line, has regularly produced twelve per cent. or more of the canned salmon sent to the markets of the world from the United States and Alaska. In the period from 1923 to 1927, inclusive, the corporation packed an average of 734,018 cases of salmon per year, which was distributed in the markets of the world by its sales agents, Deming and Gould. It operates twelve canning plants and four steamships, employs thousands of men and with its capital of \$7,500,000 is amply equipped with the resources necessary for any further development of the industry. Principal subsidiaries now merged with the parent company include the Hoonah Packing Company, the Bellingham Warehouse Company, the Shumigan Packing Company and other properties.

It was largely through Mr. Deming's vision and continuing efforts that the Pacific American Fisheries became a self-contained industrial project, making its own catch, operating its own steamships and tenders and its canneries and can and box factories, building its own warehouses and shipyards, and handling all its equipment on a large-scale basis. Those who best knew the history of the company were most amazed that he was able, without previous knowledge of the fishing industry, rapidly to build up such a gigantic organization. They neglected to take note of the fact, however, that he was an organizer of undoubted genius, who recognized and was capable of dealing with the vital human factors no less than the problems and sale. As he himself said:

"When we took over the plant I knew what we wanted in the way of a product, but I didn't know how to produce it. My problem was to build an organization that would deliver canned salmon we could sell. I realized that it couldn't and wouldn't be a one-man job and have tried to make our men realize that the organization was theirs,



Everett Brainard Loring



Caroline Young Spratt Deming

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that the problems we had to meet were their problems. And we have solved most of them.

"I believe in giving men responsibility. The only thing I am interested in particularly is results. I believe that the men who contribute to the success of an institution like ours should profit, if the enterprise is successful, and that has been my policy."

It was said of him that Mr. Deming never permitted a man to ask for more money, but offered that man more money himself. It was also said that his employees never went on strike. How wise and successful has been his labor policy, may be seen from the following remarkable tribute which is quoted from the November 7, 1934, issue of the "Labor World," official organ of the Bellingham Central Council:

When Mr. E. B. Deming stated in the daily press that he had sold the controlling interest in the Pacific American Fisheries it was a shock to many people.

We know of no man in this city who has done more for his home town than has Mr. Deming. The good that he has done will never be known.

The business of which he is the head spent millions of dollars in this city, not that he alone could reap the benefits, but that he could put the organization of which he was the head at work, and hundreds of men and women of this city at work at the same time. And no one can say that at any time in his long career in this city he was a man who tried to grasp things for himself. Far from it. His charitable acts will never be known. They are numbered by the thousands. Perhaps Mr. Deming would rather we had not said these things, but we believe that a man should be given the praise that is due him. We are glad we said it. And there are just thousands of people right here in Bellingham who think just like "The Labor World." And let us repeat again: His charitable acts will never be known.

As he says in the daily press, it is time to ease up. At seventy-four years of age few men could have stood the gaff that he has stood. His is a record to be proud of, and this city is proud of him.

It is a record climaxed, perhaps, by his consummate management of his company during the recent depression years. Throughout this difficult period, up to 1932, he sustained an operating loss which reached the staggering figure of \$1,800,000, but he kept the wheels of industry turning through a sense of obligation not only to his stock-

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holders, but to the employees of the company and to the city of Bel-
lingham, which could with difficulty have sustained the shock occa-
sioned by the closing of such an important enterprise. At length, in
1933, he enjoyed the great satisfaction of bringing the company
safely "out of the red," and when he recently, 1934, disposed of the
controlling interest in the corporation, it occupied once more a strong
and unassailable position. He had kept his business record clean, had
fulfilled as always every obligation.

Although he has chosen to dispose of active control of his fisheries
through their merger into the Pacific American Company, Mr. Dem-
ing is unable to contemplate with equanimity a life of idleness and still
retains a substantial interest in his enterprises and today he continues
as director of the Pacific American Company.

One further incident of Mr. Deming's business career requires
particular mention. It was during the period of the war that Pacific
American Fisheries first began to build ships for their own use and
shortly afterwards found themselves doing the same thing for the
United States Government. Mr. Deming undertook this task as a
patriotic service, and when the government work of his company was
completed and the balance sheets drawn up, everything was clean—
no claims existed on either side. This record was unsurpassed by any
other shipbuilding company and constituted one more chapter in Mr.
Deming's lifelong history of exact contractual performance and clean
business methods.

The public announcement of the recent sale by Mr. Deming of his
controlling interest in Pacific American Fisheries was the occasion for
many tributes to the value of his life and work in the Northwest. The
following lines, taken from the "Business Chronicle" of Seattle, may
be quoted here:

By happy intertwining of circumstance, and association of ideas
given impulse by their recital, we would draw from the career of E. B.
Deming an exemplification of the eternal verities as expressed in terms
of human achievement. More, we would light therefrom a beacon,
burning brightly, to guide the pathway of others in the encircling
gloom of doubt and uncertainty that in these strange days of seeming
epochal change make even the stout-hearted quail before the fear of
the unknown that may sweep into oblivion a lifetime of honorable
effort.

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Recently the daily press gave front-page prominence to news of the sale by Mr. Deming of controlling interest in Pacific American Fisheries, Inc. . . . This same autumn of 1934 records the 74th birthday of Mr. Deming, the 52nd year of being in business continuously for himself, the 35th year of residence in Bellingham. Of this long period of usefulness, thirty-five years have been devoted to the major objective of creating and maintaining against a variety of odds that would have staggered a less courageous soul, the world's most renowned salmon canning multi-establishments located on Puget Sound and in Alaska. And, incidental thereto, has been the industrial and civic leadership that makes of Bellingham one of the most desirable cities of the land in which to live, one of the safest in which to do business. . . .

In E. B. Deming is typified that rugged individualism which in the span of a lifetime carved an empire of modern civilization out of a North Pacific wilderness. In paying a tribute to the sturdy character of this man, we but pay tribute to all those giants of brain and brawn who have made the Pacific Northwest what it is today.

In the rugged individualism of him and his kind—and what they have accomplished—is the answer to the rugged collectivism of a perverted philosophy of human behavior and government. Throughout all time it has been the characteristics of mentality and heart and common honesty, so completely exemplified in the career of men of the vision and capacity of E. B. Deming, that have led mankind onward and upward.

Always the builder and creator, never the destroyer nor one who would reap where he had not sown, Mr. Deming has made opportunities for countless others while enjoying the fruits of his own planning and initiative. In creating for himself, he took nothing away from another; for what he made he made out of the waste place, building industries where no industries were, establishing payrolls where no payrolls had been. The real builder in the truest sense. . . .

With all the pressure of his business interests and despite the very real public value of these undertakings, Mr. Deming has never been content to confine his attention solely to commerce and industry. He has been a constant and unwavering friend of the cause of civic progress and has willingly assumed the responsibilities of leadership in civic and community enterprises when convinced that he could render genuine service. Many years ago one of his admirers wrote of him:

Time and decay may destroy the building which E. B. Deming has erected, the sea may claim the steamships that he has built and oper-

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ated, but neither time nor tide can destroy those monuments which have been erected in the State of Washington to his enterprise and public spirit. These belong in the larger sense to all the people and to future generations.

While it would be impossible to enumerate the many projects which have shared to some degree in his constructive efforts, three are of outstanding importance: The Mount Baker Park development and the Chuckanut Drive, which belong to the State and Nation at large; and the Bellingham Golf and Country Club, which is peculiarly Bellingham's own. The Chuckanut Drive, a beautiful stretch of Pacific highway, which blends tidewater, mountain, and forest in its grand panorama, came into existence largely as a result of his vision and energy. Similarly, he was chiefly responsible for the creation of the Bellingham Golf and Country Club, and while no single figure could claim credit for the idea which brought about the eventual development of Mount Baker Park, Mr. Deming was one of the first to respond and it is common knowledge that he more than any other man gave force and organization to that idea. He supplied the funds necessary for the preliminary work to enlist public support, organized the Mount Baker Development Company, a \$350,000 corporation, and became its administrative head and chief stockholder, personally directing its efforts so that this should be primarily a public and not a commercial enterprise. In June, 1927, when Mount Baker Lodge, situated at 4,200 feet above sea level and commanding one of the most magnificent of mountain views, was opened to the public, the first major step in the development was accomplished. Mr. Deming's attitude toward the work which has been done there and the vastly greater work which remains is characteristic:

That project has become my hobby, because there is so much to be done that I can never finish the job, and that appeals to me tremendously. I cannot conceive of a better hobby. It is going to keep me interested as long as I live.

The passing years and all they have brought him of success and honor or of trials and sorrow have wrought no essential change in Mr. Deming's character. He remains a man of democratic spirit and unaffected presence, warmly human in his sympathies and ready at all times to extend a helping hand to others. It has been written of him:

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With all his power and financial resources, E. B. Deming is unspoiled and retains all of his inherent simplicity of life and democracy of spirit. To a degree generally unknown in large enterprises, he has kept in touch with his employees and has a personal knowledge of many of their problems.

Mr. Deming became accustomed to hard labor early in life, and at an age when the average man of means would have retired from active participation in business, he continues active and useful, not only with his accumulated wisdom, but with the human side of a man of the widest experience and far-flung interests. His largeness of heart has brought to him and his enterprises a loyalty on the part of co-workers that is one of his greatest assets.

On November 20, 1884, Everett Brainard Deming married Caroline Young Spratt, born October 31, 1862, at Galena, Illinois, daughter of James Monroe and Elizabeth (Johnston) Spratt. Mr. and Mrs. Deming celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in 1934. On that occasion a dinner, attended only by a family group, was followed by a public reception, at which many of the great of Washington were present, together with friends and townspeople and the employees of the Deming companies down to the most humble. From all over North America messages of congratulation were also received from other friends and acquaintances, who were unable to be present, but nevertheless wished to add their tributes at the anniversary, which marked for Mr. and Mrs. Deming the completion of fifty golden years of loving companionship and of a half-century of useful labor in the world about them, crowned with distinguished success. Children: 1. Cecile, born August 29, 1885, died November 29, 1887. 2. Stuart Arthur, of whom further. 3. Robert E., born February 17, 1895, died September 19, 1895.

"Only in one way can the true measure of E. B. Deming be ascertained," a previous biographer has written, and in this estimate Mrs. Deming fully shares. "It will not be in wealth, nor in dividends, nor in property, which can be seen and appraised as community enterprises. . . . It will be found in the ties of friendship that bind him to Bellingham, in the simple fact that while he should live in New York City, the center of the commerce of the world, he deliberately planned years ago to live his natural life in Bellingham and here to lay down the burdens when Nature tells him that he has done enough.

"In the Deming plan, Bellingham and the State of Washington

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and the whole Northwest, including Alaska, have been beneficiaries beyond computation in any terms that can be made clear to human perception at this distance. The future must hold the answer, and future generations may be able to understand."

(Family data.)

IX. Stuart Arthur Deming, son of Everett Brainard and Caroline Young (Spratt) Deming, was born at St. Louis, Missouri, March 23, 1889, and died at Bellingham, Washington, May 22, 1934. He was educated in the public schools of Chicago and Bellingham and at Bishop Scott's Academy, Portland, Oregon. Of his forty-five years, thirty-four were spent in Bellingham, and his fine talents made him one of the city's most prominent young business men. He was trained to large responsibilities from an early age and capably assumed the important duties which devolved upon him, serving with fidelity and distinction as an officer of several corporations.

Mr. Deming was president of the Pacific Petroleum Products Company and of Deming, Roberg and Williams, Inc., a stevedoring concern. He was vice-president of the Bellingham Furniture Manufacturers and assistant to his father in the Deming and Gould Company. His business career was successful from the beginning, but he had other claims upon the respect of the city. He was interested in a number of civic movements and lent his prestige to their support. During the World War he answered his country's call and enlisted in the Aviation Corps, in which he rose to the rank of sergeant, first-class, and master signal electrician in the 803d Aero Squadron. Mr. Deming entered the service at Seattle, on November 11, 1917, and shortly thereafter was transferred from Fort Lawton to Kelly Field, Texas. Thence he went to Camp Merritt, New Jersey, and finally overseas. In his fourteen months in the American Expeditionary Forces he saw active service at St. Mihiel and in the Toul sector, remaining in France for a number of months after the Armistice. On his return to the United States he was mustered out at Mineola, New York, June 25, 1919, and thereafter resumed his responsibilities in civil life.

Mr. Deming was also well known as a sportsman and was a member of the Bellingham Yacht Club and the Bellingham Golf and Country Club. He was especially interested in motor boating, keeping a

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number of fine boats both on Bellingham Bay and on Lake Whatcom, where he spent many of his leisure hours. Fraternally, he was affiliated with Fairhaven Lodge, No. 73, Free and Accepted Masons, and in this order he was a member of all the higher bodies of the Scottish Rite, including the thirty-second degree, Valley of Bellingham Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and Nile Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Mr. Deming was also a member of Bellingham Lodge, No. 194, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; the Albert J. Hamilton Post of the American Legion; and the Bellingham Rotary Club. His personal warmth and charm made him a welcome companion, and the circle of his friendships was very wide. To all who were privileged to know him as a friend his early death was a great bereavement, and in the abrupt termination of his notable career the city of Bellingham at large sustained a regrettable loss.

Stuart A. Deming married Mary Most, daughter of George and Mary (Hackett) Most. Children: 1. Catherine, born August 17, 1914. 2. Mary, born November 19, 1922.

(Family data.)

(The Risley Line)

Risley, as a surname, is evidently of Norse origin, according to the family historian, who states, "They no doubt emigrated from Norway into Normandy, France, in the eighth century. The name *Risle* indicated a creek in Normandy, near where the Monastery of Bec was located." There is "evidence that they (the Risleys) found their way from Normandy, France, to England, with or following, William the Conqueror." A Robert de Rysley was in Lancashire before 1326, and from then until the time of Henry VIII (1491-1547) descendants of this Robert lived in Lancaster.

Although the ancestry of Richard Risley, the American progenitor, has not been discovered, Edwin H. Risley says: "He is believed to have descended from the Lancashire, England, Risleys."

(E. H. Risley: "The Risley Family History" (The Grafton Press), pp. 9-11, 33.)

Arms—Quarterly 1st and 4th, argent an eagle sable preying upon an infant swaddled, gules, banded argent; 2d and 3d, argent three birds volant gules.

Crest—An oak tree sable, thereon a raven perched proper.

Motto—*Fato prudentia major.*

(E. H. Risley: "The Risley Family History" (The Grafton Press), p. 9.)

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I. Richard Risley, American progenitor of this line, believed to have been of Norman descent, was born probably at Oxon, County Lancaster, England, before 1615, and died at Hockanum, in Hartford Township, Connecticut, in October, 1648. He sailed from Downs in the ship "Griffin," July 15, 1633, with a party emigrating to Massachusetts Bay Colony. Among the passengers were the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the Rev. William Stone, the Rev. John Cotton, and the Hon. John Haynes. The party arrived at Boston, September 4, 1633. In 1636 the Rev. Thomas Hooker and his parishioners received permission from the General Court to remove to the Connecticut Valley. Each male member of the Colony was allotted about two and one-half acres, and the balance of the land was held in common. Each man was required to build a house on his land within a year or forfeit his portion of the land. Richard Risley's lot was on the south side of the Little River, on the westerly site of a road running from George Steele's mill on Little River, south to the Great Swamp.

In May, 1637, Richard Risley joined forty men under command of Major John Mason, of Windsor, to make war on the Pequot Indians at Groton, and the tribe was nearly annihilated. On January 14, 1638 (old style), Richard Risley was one of those active in adopting the "Fundamental Order," the first written constitution known to history, according to E. H. Risley, in "The Risley Family History."

Richard Risley died without making a will, and his estate was inventoried at £135-5s-16d., the inventory having been taken December 7, 1648. In the settlement of his estate it is recorded: "There are three children, *viz.* One daughter by name Sarah Risley between seven and eight years, one sonne by name Samuel Risley about two years old, and one sonne by name Richard Risley about three months old." Distribution was made thus: "To the children £16 apiece to be paid to the daughter at the age of eighteen years, and to the sonnes at age of twenty-one years, Will Hill bringing them up to write and read and giving security to the Court for the payment of the several childrens portions."

Richard Risley married, about 1640, Mary, who was born probably in England and evidently was living in July, 1683. She married (second), William Hill, Sr., who died in July, 1683. Children of

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Richard and Mary Risley: 1. Sarah, born in 1641; supposed to have married a Mr. Haynes, of East Hartford, Connecticut. 2. Samuel, born November 1, 1645, died July 8, 1670, supposedly unmarried, as no mention of wife or children is made in the settlement of his estate; resided in Glastonbury, Connecticut. 3. Richard, Jr., of whom further.

(E. H. Risley: "The Risley Family History" (The Grafton Press), pp. 35-38, 192, 214-15. C. W. Manwaring: "A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records," Vol. I, pp. 31-32.)

II. Richard Risley, Jr., son of Richard and Mary Risley, was born at Hockanum, Hartford, Connecticut, August 2, 1648, and died after May 20, 1726. When commissioners were appointed to divide 1,305 acres of land east of the Great River in 1721, Richard Risley, Jr., received Lot No. 78. He also owned a tract of six hundred acres elsewhere, part of which he sold.

Richard Risley, Jr., was made freeman by the General Court in 1669. He was a man of prominence in Hockanum, where he owned much real estate, on which houses and farm buildings were erected. Two parcels of three hundred and thirty acres and two hundred and fifty-two acres, respectively, were recorded in 1684. He was named in the will of Thomas Burnham in 1688; was witness of the will of Phillip Moore, Sr., in 1693; and was one of the overseers of the will of William Hills the same year. March 16, 1716, he gave a deed to Jeremiah Risley, in which he described himself as Richard Risley, "senior."

Subsequent to the publication of the "Risley Family History," the following document has come to light:

The Testimony of Richard Risley S^r Hartford May y^e 20th 1726
These may certifie whome it may Concern y^t I Richard Risley of Hartford Do of my Certain Knowledge Know y^t my father John Addams formerly of Hartford Deceased, had seven Children viz: 4 sons & three Daughters: one son Died without Issue: I married one of y^e Daughters & Edward Higbee married another: John Brush married y^e other: y^e sisters are all Deceased but they have left Children as I herd by Jeremiah Adoms viz, two Higbee & 2: Brushes which ware well y^e Last I herd from them: ye above written I am Ready to testifie to If Cald, witness my hand
RICHARD RISLEY

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The discoverer of the document says:

The John Adams referred to was son of Jeremy Adams, one of the original proprietors of Hartford. . . . The Richard Risley who deposes that he married one of the daughters of John Adams was a son of Richard Risley, another of the original proprietors of Hartford. From other documents we learn that Richard Risley married the daughter Rebecca, Edward Higbee of Huntington, Long Island, the daughter Abigail, and John Brush of Huntington, Long Island, the daughter Sarah.

Richard Risley, Jr., married Rebecca Adams. (Adams III.) Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Samuel, died at Glastonbury, Connecticut, in 1756; married, at Hartford, Connecticut, August 1, 1704, Rebecca Gaines, daughter of Samuel and Anna or Hannah (Burnham) Gaines. 3. Thomas, died in New Jersey, between December 5, 1740, and June 4, 1746; evidently did not marry; resided at Great Egg Harbor, New Jersey. 4. Nathaniel, died between September 28, 1741, and December 1, 1741, when his will was probated; he married Elizabeth. 5. Jonathan, died in August, 1762; married Dorothy. 6. Richard, died between May 2, 1737, and June 17, 1740; married Esther; they resided at Great Egg Harbor, New Jersey. 7. (Probably) Jeremiah, died in Gloucester County, New Jersey, before 1796; was possibly a son of Samuel, son of Richard and Mary Risley, married Dinah Gale, of New York. 8. (Probably) Charles, was possibly a son of Samuel, son of Richard and Mary Risley. 9. Mary, baptized at Hartford, Connecticut, April 23, 1693. 10. Hannah (or Anna or Anner), baptized April 12, 1695, died May 7, 1772, aged seventy-seven years; married, December 23, 1717, Sergeant James Brainerd.

(E. H. Risley: "The Risley Family History" (The Grafton Press), pp. 38-42, 45, 47, 52-54, 57, 59-60. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIX, p. 316; Vol. LXVII, p. 89.)

III. John Risley, son of Richard Risley, Jr., and Rebecca (Adams) Risley, died in November, 1755. He was made a freeman and chosen a fence-viewer in Hockanum, Connecticut, in 1698. For several years he was a rate collector for the First Church of East Hartford and operated a ferry, which took members of the church east of the

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Hockanum River to the house of worship. He received, by deed from his father, lands in East Hartford.

John Risley's will was dated January, 1753, and was admitted to probate in Hartford, December 2, 1755. This will was witnessed by Jonathan Hills, his brother Jonathan Risley, and Richard Risley, son of Samuel Risley. Timothy Risley was made his father's executor. In November, 1755, inventory of this estate was recorded in the "Hartford Probate Records."

John Risley married Mary Arnold, who survived him. Children: 1. John, Jr., married Hannah Keeney. 2. Elizabeth, married a Mr. McClare. 3. Hannah, married a Mr. Van Sant. 4. Mabel, married a Mr. Webster. 5. Thankful, of whom further. 6. Martha, married a Mr. Elmore. 7. Timothy, died about 1777; left his estate to his brothers and sisters.

(E. H. Risley: "The Risley Family History" (The Grafton Press), pp. 43, 44-45, 62. "Hartford Probate Records," Book XVII, p. 198. J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," p. 37.)

IV. Thankful Risley, daughter of John and Mary (Arnold) Risley, died before 1777. She married Timothy Deming. (Deming IV.)

(J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," p. 37.)

(The Adams Line)

Adams, as a surname, is derived from the baptismal name Adam and signifies Adam's son or the son of Adam. It was a prime favorite as a font name in the thirteenth century. In the Hundred Rolls of 1273 we find John *fil.* Adam, in County Oxford, and later, in 1379, in Yorkshire, Johannes Adam.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Jeremy Adams died August 11, 1683. He was a member of Rev. Thomas Hooker's company, which came from England, and he settled first, for a while, at Braintree, Massachusetts, later removing to Cambridge, Massachusetts, then known as Newtown. He was there as early as 1632. On May 6, 1635, he was made freeman at Cambridge, and in October of the same year he owned a home lot. In

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the next year Jeremy Adams followed Mr. Hooker's company to Hartford, Connecticut, where he became an original proprietor, a juror, and, in 1638, a deputy to the General Court. According to the "Public Records of Connecticut," he was sent by the General Court, April 5, 1638, with Captain Mason and four others to treat with the Indians and to trade with them for corn. He later received thirty acres of land on the highway, now Elm Street, in the land division of 1639 and was constable the same year.

At his death his estate was valued at £243 5d. 6s. He bequeathed his property to his grandson, Zachariah Sanford, to the children of his son John, and to those of his son-in-law Willet. The home of his executor, Nathaniel Willet, was burned and in it were all the books and papers of Jeremy Adams. Although his widow was not named in his will, she survived him.

His will, recorded September 6, 1683, and proved December 18, 1683, reads as follows:

Jeremy Adams, of Hartford. Died 11 August, 1683. Inventory, £243, 5, 6. Taken by Caleb Stanley, Phineas Wilson. Will dated 4 August, 1683.

I, Jeremy Adams, of Hartford, do make this my last Will and Testament: Whereas, I have formerly given to my grandson, Zachary Sanford, my Oxpasture LOTT in the way to Wethersfield, & put him in possession thereof before Witnesses, I do hereby confirm the same to him & his heirs forever; & the Lott that I have at the WolfePound by Mrs. Websters' I do Will and Bequeath it to my grandson Zachary, he paying the value of it, as it shall be prized in the Inventory, towards the payment of my Just Debts or to my grandchildren as I shall hereafter expresse; & the remaynder of my Estate, when my Debts are paid, shall be equally divided to my grandchildren, the $\frac{1}{2}$ to my sonn John Adams, his children, and the other half to my sonn Willetts' children. And I doe appoint Nath. Willett to be the executor of this my Will, & Major John Tallcott & Capt. John Allyn to be my Overseers.

Witnesses: JOHN TALCOTT

JEREMY X ADAMS.

JOHN ALLYN

Further light on the administration of Jeremy Adams' estate is thrown by the following two documents, the latter of which is recorded under date of April 21, 1691:

WHEREAS, Jeremy Adams his estate stands Indebted to Mr. Richard Lord, in the Full Sum of £117, 5, 8, for which there is mortgaged

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all that Parcell of Land in Hoccanum Meadow which the sayd Jeremy bought of Widdow Lattimore of Wethersfield, the sd. mortgage dated 6 December 1674. I, Nathaniel Willett of Hartford Executor to the Will of Jeremy Adams, not being capacitated to redeem sd. Mortgage, now acknowledge Judgment & the Mortgage is forfeited and doe Quitt Claim the sayd Land to the Use of Richard Lord.

Nathaniel Willett, being aged and having lost Jeremy Adams his books and accounts when his House was burnt, This court desire and appoint Capt. Jonathan Bill to be Administrator with sayd Nathaniel Willett to the sayd Estate of Jeremy Addams, who are appointed to Issue so far as they are capable as soon as may be and to make Return to this Court.

Jeremy Adams married (first), about 1639, Rebecca, widow of Samuel Greenhill; she died in 1678, and he married (second) Rebecca, daughter of John Fletcher and widow of Andrew Warner, Jr. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Ann, died in 1682; married Robert Sanford. 3. Hannah, married, as his second wife, Nathaniel Willett, who died January 14, 1698, leaving a good estate. 4. Samuel, baptized November 23, 1645, probably died young. 5. Hester. 6. Sarah.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIX, pp. 315-16. R. R. Hinman: "A Catalogue of the Names of the Early Puritan Settlers of the Colony of Connecticut," p. 20. C. W. Manwaring: "A Digest of the Early Probate Records of the Hartford District, 1635-1700," Vol. I, pp. 267-68. "Probate Court Records," 1683, pp. 72, 79; 1691; p. 29.)

II. *John Adams*, son of Jeremy and Rebecca Adams, died September 6, 1670.

He married, April 26, 1657, Abigail Smith, daughter of Richard Smith. She married (second) John Betts, of Wethersfield, who is mentioned in the following record:

John Betts, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, purchased of Jacob Walker, of Stratford, Connecticut, January 26, 1680, a farm at Huntington, Long Island, according to *Huntington Town Records*, Vol. I, p. 256. About this time John Betts and his wife Abigail, widow of John Adams, removed with the Adams children to Huntington since they were there by 1684, at which time John Betts and wife Abigail conveyed to Edward Higbee "for and in consideration of a marriage"

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between Higbee and Abigail Adams, his step-daughter, part of the farm purchased from Jacob Walker.

Children of John and Abigail (Smith) Adams: 1. Rebecca, of whom further. 2. Abigail, born in February, 1660; married, about 1684, Edward Higbee. 3. Sarah, born in March, 1662; married John Brush, of Long Island. 4. Jeremiah, born in August, 1664. 5. John, born in September, 1666; may have removed to New Jersey. 6. Jonathan, born November 6, 1668, died in 1727; married "Barber" (perhaps Barbara). 7. A child.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Rebecca Adams*, daughter of John and Abigail (Smith) Adams, was born in August, 1658. She married Richard Risley, Jr. (Risley II.)

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXVII, p. 89; Vol. LIX, p. 316. E. H. Risley: "The Risley Family History" (The Grafton Press), p. 9.)

(The Edwards Line)

Edwards, derived from the personal name Edward, which has given rise to many other family names, is of very frequent occurrence, so much so that, in the Register General's List, it occupies the twentieth place for frequency in surnames. Many families of Edwards and Edwardes are of Welsh patrician origin. The surname of Edwardes was first assumed by John ap Madre of Kilhendre, during the reign of Henry VII, and he was a great-grandfather of Sir Thomas Edwardes, the first baronet. In the early records of England appear Adam Edward, Ricardus Edward and Willelmus Edward, *taylour*, in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Per bend sinister, ermine and ermines, over all a lion rampant or.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant or, holding between the paws a castle argent.

Motto—*Sola nobilitas virtus.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

I. *William Edwards*, son of Rev. Richard and Ann Edwards, of Wales, was born in 1620 and died before 1672. As a young man, he came to America with his widowed mother and stepfather, James Cole,

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from Gloucester, England, and settled in Hartford, Connecticut, where he was made a freeman in 1658 and chimney-viewer in 1668. He was a man of ample means and was prominent in his community.

William Edwards married, in 1645, Agnes Spencer, widow of William Spencer, of Hartford, Connecticut, an immigrant of 1631. Child: 1. Richard, of whom further.

(M. D. Edwards: "Richard Edwards and His Wife, Catherine Pond May," pp. 13-14. J. H. Trumbull: "The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, 1633-1884," Vol. I, p. 237.)

II. Richard Edwards, son of William and Agnes (Spencer) Edwards, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, May 1, 1647, and died there, May 20, 1713, or April 20, 1718. He was buried at Hartford, Connecticut, where he had spent all his life. He had inherited ample means from his father and had received a good education, which helped to make him a man of prominence, both in town and church affairs. He is often spoken of as a merchant, but was also attorney-at-law and is recorded later in life as the first Queen's Counsel.

Richard Edwards' son, Timothy, left the following fine tribute to his father: "He was of noble stature, of a straight, well proportioned body, and of a comely countenance. His smile was pleasant beyond I have seen in many, yea, most others. He was quick and nimble in his movements, even in his old age, and was of a strong and healthy constitution. He had a strong clear mind and a very good utterance. He had a quick fancy, a pleasant, ready wit, with a very good judgment. He could argue in a matter and reason in a case very well. He was a man of considerable reading, in law, history and in divinity, was well furnished for society and very pleasant in consultation . . . thus it pleased the Most High to endow and adorn my dear departed father with many virtues which rendered him very lovely and desirable in his life and much lamented in his death."

Richard Edwards married (first), November 19, 1667, Elizabeth Tuttle. (Tuttle II.) One authority states that he divorced his first wife in 1691. He married (second), in 1692, Mary Talcott, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel John Talcott, of Hartford, Connecticut, and Helen (Wakeman) Talcott, the latter a daughter of John Wakeman, of New Haven, Connecticut. Children of first marriage: 1. Mary,

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born in 1668. 2. Timothy, born May 14, 1669; was a minister; married, November 6, 1694, Esther Stoddard; their son, Jonathan Edwards, was the famous theologian. 3. Abigail, born in 1671; married (first), in 1689, Benjamin Lathrop; (second) Captain Thomas Stoughton. 4. Elizabeth, of whom further. 5. Ann, born in 1678; married (first), in 1696, Jonathan Richardson; (second) William Davenport. 6. Mabel, born December 13, 1685; married, December 14, 1699, Jonathan Bigelow. 7. Martha. Children of second marriage: 8. Jonathan, born in 1692, died March 11, 1693. 9. John, born February 22, 1694, died May 16, 1769; married, December 14, 1719, Christian Williamson, who died June 18, 1769. 10. Hannah, born January 3, 1696, died October 17, 1747; married, March 1, 1722, Joseph Backus, Jr. 11. Richard, born January 5, 1698, died May 10, 1713. 12. Daniel, born April 11, 1701, died September 6, 1765; married, in 1728, Sarah Hooker, who died July 31, 1775. 13. Samuel, born November 1, 1702, died November 4, 1732; married Jerusha Pitkin, who died July 31, 1799.

(M. D. Edwards: "Richard Edwards and His Wife, Catherine Pond May," pp. 14-15. J. H. Trumbull: "The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, 1633-1884," Vol. I, p. 237. J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," p. 18. G. F. Tuttle: "The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Tuttle," pp. 347-48.)

III. Elizabeth Edwards, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Tuttle) Edwards, was born about 1675 and was living in 1718, at which time she was probably a widow. Her father, who died in that year, bequeathed ten pounds to each of his daughters with the provision that Elizabeth was to receive her portion at once, as she might need it for her maintenance.

Elizabeth Edwards married Jacob Deming. (Deming III.) Several authorities claim that she married (second) a Mr. Hinckley, of Kingston, Rhode Island.

(J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 17-18.)

(The Tuttle Line)

The origin of the English surname, Tuttle, is found among those patronymics derived from localities in which their bearers lived

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There are still many places in England so called. Tuttle, including its many variants, Tothill, Tootle, Tothill, Tootal, Tottle, Tootall, Tootill, Tuthill, and Toutil, literally means an elevated plane or high hill, which forms a good outlook against an enemy's approach. Many spots in all parts of England are called "Totehill" because of their vantage point in topping the surrounding territory. County records show registration of Custance Totel, county of Cambridge, in 1273, and Johannes de Totehill, county of York, in 1379.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." G. F. Tuttle: "The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Tuttle," pp. ix. xviii-xxv.)

Arms—Azure, on a bend argent, doubly cotised or, a lion passant sable.

Crest—On a mount vert, a bird proper, in the beak a branch of olive, vert, fructed or.

Motto—*Vincere aut mori.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

I. *William Tuttle*, the first American settler of this line, was born in England about 1609 and died at New Haven, Connecticut, in the early days of June, 1673. At the age of twenty-six William Tuttle came to America in the ship "Planter," in April, 1635, arriving in Boston, Massachusetts, with his family about the first of July. The records of William Tuttle and his wife are scant and nothing is positively known of him previous to his embarking in the "Planter." On the passenger list he is called a husbandman, meaning that he was a proprietor and tilled his own acres.

About a year later it is recorded that "Mrs. Elizabeth Tuttell united with the Church in Boston, July 24, 1636." From transactions noted, we learn that William Tuttle was a merchant and his social position is indicated by the fact that, although a young man, he is styled "Mr." He evidently had interests in both Charlestown and Ipswich, Massachusetts.

On July 26, 1637, Messrs. Davenport and Eaton, with other people, arrived in Boston and after a search along the Long Island Sound selected Quinnipiac as the site for their colony. In June, 1639, William Tuttle was one of the people who signed the Church Covenant. In 1641 he owned the house lot of Edward Hopkins, who had removed to Hartford. In 1656 William Tuttle bought of Joshua Atwater his original allotment, mansion, house, and barn, with certain other lands. This estate became the Tuttle homestead, where William

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Tuttle lived until his death. His wife also spent the remainder of her days there.

It is interesting to note that in the first seating in the New Haven Meeting House, in 1646-47, "Mr. Tuttle, Mr. Pell and brother Fowler" were voted into the first cross seat at the end, near the pulpit, and among the highest in dignity. Mrs. Tuttle was assigned to the fifth seat, with other ladies. In 1659 William Tuttle was proprietor of land in North Haven that had belonged to the estate of Governor Eaton. He also acquired lands in Bethany and elsewhere.

William Tuttle held a number of public offices. He was commissioner of land allotments in 1640, was fence viewer in 1644, was prominent in the settlement of boundary difficulties, and often appeared as a juror in the local courts. In March, 1666-67, he took the constable's oath. He was a man of enterprise, intelligence, and piety, a just and esteemed citizen.

In the inventory of William Tuttle's estate, in 1673, the family homestead was valued at £110. In 1685, in the inventory of his widow, it is named as the "homestead" and valued at £120. About a year after the death of widow Elizabeth Tuttle, the estate was sold to Mrs. Hester Coster, widow, for £111. Mrs. Coster died April 6, 1691, and willed this property to the First Church of Christ in New Haven, to maintain a lecture in the spring and fall of the year. The church leased it for a few years, but in 1717 sold it to the trustees of the collegiate school, who immediately began the erection of the first college building. In 1718 it received the name of Yale College, in gratitude to Governor Elihu Yale, who had contributed largely to the school between the years 1714 and 1718. The Tuttle homestead was the only land owned by the college for nearly thirty years. The record of the inventory of William Tuttle follows immediately after that of Benjamin Long, which was taken June 6, 1673.

Sometime before he sailed for America, William Tuttle married Elizabeth, who was born about 1612 and died December 30, 1684, aged seventy-two years. She had been living with her son, Nathaniel, and inventory on her estate was taken February 3, 1685. Children: 1. John, born in England in 1631, died November 12, 1683; married, November 8, 1653, Katharine Lane. 2. Hannah, born in England in

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December, 1632-33, died at Hartford, Connecticut, August 9, 1683; married (first), in 1649, John Pantry; (second), June 23, 1654, Thomas Wells, Jr. 3. Thomas, born in England, in December, 1634-1635, died October 19, 1710; married, May 21 or 24, 1661, Hannah Powell. 4. Jonathan, baptized at Charlestown, Massachusetts (according to the church record: "Mrs. Elizabeth Tuttell brought to be baptized a son, Jonathan, July 2, 1637"), died in 1705; married Rebecca Bell. 5. David, baptized at Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 7, 1639, died in 1693, unmarried. 6. Joseph, baptized at New Haven, Connecticut, November 22, 1640, died in September, 1690; married, May 2, 1667, Hannah Munson; his sister, Mercy, was married on the same day. 7. Sarah, baptized at New Haven, in April, 1642; married, at New Haven, in November, 1663, John Slauson. 8. Elizabeth, of whom further. 9. Simon, baptized at New Haven, March 28, 1647, died April 16, 1719; married Abigail, who died August 11, 1722. 10. Benjamin, baptized at New Haven, October 29, 1648, died June 13, 1677, unmarried; willed his property to his brother-in-law, Richard Edwards. 11. Mercy, born April 27, 1650, baptized May 19, 1650; married, May 2, 1667, Samuel Brown. 12. Nathaniel, born February 24, 1652, baptized at New Haven, February 29, 1652, died at Woodbury, Connecticut, August 20, 1721; married, August 10, 1682, Sarah Howe.

(G. F. Tuttle: "The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Tuttle," pp. l, li, lii, liii, liv, lviii, lix, 1, 82, 136, 192, 278-79, 337, 347, 452-53, 563. D. L. Jacobus: "Families of Ancient New Haven," Vol. VII, pp. 1881-83. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 352.)

II. Elizabeth Tuttle, daughter of William and Elizabeth Tuttle, of New Haven, was baptized at New Haven, Connecticut, November 9, 1645. She married, as his first wife, Richard Edwards. (Edwards II.)

(G. F. Tuttle: "The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Tuttle," p. x. M. D. Edwards: "Richard Edwards and His Wife, Catherine Pond May," pp. 14-15.)

(The Mygatt Line)

The surname Mygatt is of Kentish origin, and the forms Mygate, Maygott, and Meggott, are found in English records. Mygatt is

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doubtless a variation of one of these. George Meggott was a member of the second parliament of George I for the borough of Southwark in the shire of Kent, and Kent adjoins Essex, the probable birthplace of Joseph Mygatt, of Hartford, Connecticut.

(F. T. Mygatt: "A Historical Notice of Joseph Mygatt," p. 36.)

Arms—Erminois three leopards' heads sable collared argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Deacon Joseph Mygatt (also spelled Mygate, Maygott, Meggott) was born in England about 1596 and died in Hartford, Connecticut, December 7, 1680. Nothing is known of his early history except that he was living during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and took part in the religious agitations of the day, taking sides with the Puritans. He left England in the ship "Griffin" and arrived in Boston, September 4, 1633, accompanied by his wife, the Rev. John Cotton, his pastor, and the Rev. Thomas Hooker. Although he settled first in Newtown, Massachusetts (now Cambridge), where he received, August 4, 1634, a grant of land, he later joined the migration to Hartford, Connecticut. He was made a freeman May 6, 1635, and in 1658 represented the town of Hartford in the General Court. He held numerous other positions of public trust. Joseph Mygatt built a house for his son Jacob and gave his wife an annuity during her life. In the general apportionment of lands in Hartford, he received over thirty-five acres, the homestead including six acres. Governor Harris and twelve townspeople were chosen, in 1640, to distribute the land on the east side of the Connecticut River, and Joseph Mygatt was one of those appointed. He was a merchant, industrious and frugal, and possessed of good judgment.

Joseph Mygatt married, in England, Ann, whose last name is unknown. She was born in 1602 and died in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1686, surviving her husband some years. Children: 1. Jacob, born in 1633, died after 1680; married Sarah Whiting. 2. Mary, of whom further.

(F. T. Mygatt: "A Historical Notice of Joseph Mygatt," pp. 13-18, 31-32, 43-44. J. K. Deming: "Genealogy of the Descendants of John Deming," pp. 8-9. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 259. R. R. Hinman: "A

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Catalogue of the Names of the First Puritan Settlers in Connecticut," p. 223.)

II. Mary Mygatt, daughter of Joseph and Ann Mygatt, was born about 1637. She married Sergeant John (2) Deming. (Deming II.)

(J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 259. H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 272.)

(The Treat Line)

The Trott (Tratt) family was apparently a large one in Somerset, but is also found in Cornwall, Devon, Wilts, Bucks, Middlesex, Essex, Lincoln, Derby, Kent, and probably elsewhere. The origin of the name seems to be unknown.

Because the forms Trot, Trott, and Trotte are frequently found in early Wethersfield and Connecticut records, where it is evident that they have been substituted for Treat, the conclusion has been reached by those who have given the matter careful attention, that Trott and not Treat was the original form.

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 2, 20.)

Arms—Paly of six or and gules on a canton argent a bear salient sable.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

(The Family in England)

I. John Trott, of Staplegrove, near Taunton, England, was probably the grandfather of Richard Trott. His name appears in the calendar of the Taunton Manor Rolls, in 1458, 1463, 1473, 1479. He is thought to have been the father of William, of whom further.

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 13-14.)

II. William Trott, whose name occurs in the calendars as of the same parish and hundred of Staplegrove, in 1503, 1504, and 1510, had probably the following children: 1. William, whose name occurs in the calendars of Hull, now Bishop's Hull, between 1554 and 1578, and in Poundsford, 1567 to 1576. 2. Richard, of whom further. 3. Joanna, of Staplegrove in 1542. 4. Lucy, of Staplegrove in 1542. 5. Alice, married, in Pitminster, June 26, 1552, Edmond Morcum. 6. John, probably died in 1584, in Bishop's Compton; married Joanna.

(*Ibid.*, p. 14.)

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III. Richard Trott, probably son of William Trott, died about 1571. In the Taunton Manor calendar is found Richard Trott's name in Staplegrove, in 1510; Poundsford, in 1534; and Otterford, in 1527 and 1540. From this Richard the American line following can be definitely traced.

Richard Trott married Joanna, perhaps the Joanna Trott buried at Otterford, August 14, 1577. Children: 1. John, buried in Pitminster, October 16, 1544. 2. John, died about 1595; married (first) Christiana; married (second) Agnes. 3. Robert, of whom further. 4. William, buried March 19, 1596; married Johane. 5. Tamsen, married, in Bradford, May 27, 1583, Thomas Person.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Robert Trott, son of Richard and Joanna Trott, was baptized probably in the hamlet of Trendle, now Trull, parish of Pitminster, and was buried at Pitminster, February 16, 1599. He probably resided in the southern part of Trendle. His will, dated 1598-99, was probated in Taunton, file vii, No. 105, old calendar, but unfortunately has utterly perished.

Robert Trott married Honora or Honour, who was buried in Pitminster, September 17, 1627. Children, baptized in Pitminster: 1. Alice, baptized February 4, 1564. 2. John, baptized September 10, 1570, buried May 7, 1633; married, April 24, 1598, Edith Priest. 3. Mary, baptized February 6, 1575; married, October 8, 1597, Robert Babb, widower. 4. Agnes, baptized February 18, 1577; married, August 24, 1598, John Oplin, son of Richard Oplin. 5. Tamsen, baptized May 26, 1581. 6. Richard, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.)

(The Family in America)

I. Richard Treat or Trott, son of Robert and Honora or Honour Trott, was born at Pitminster in 1584, probably in the hamlet of South Trendle, now the parish of Trull, Somerset, England. He was baptized in the Pitminster Church, August 28, 1584, and died at Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1669-70. He was baptized under the name of Trott and married under the name of Treet. His children were baptized by the name of Trott and Tratt, and he was called Treat when he died.

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Richard Treat was evidently a man of social standing and influence in the Connecticut Colony. In the list of freemen of Wethersfield for 1659 only three besides Richard Treat, Sr., are styled "Mr.," and he bore that title as early as 1642 and possibly earlier. He was chosen juror, June 15, 1643, and grand juror, September 15, 1643 ("Connecticut Court Record," I, pp. 88, 93). In April, 1644, he was chosen deputy and was annually elected for fourteen years up to 1657-58. Richard Treat and Mr. Wells were the committee from Wethersfield, October 25, 1644, to receive money for maintaining scholars at Cambridge. In 1654 he was on a committee to lay out lands granted by the town. He also served as magistrate eight times from March 11, 1657-58, to 1665. He was a townsman in 1660, an office corresponding to the present selectman. On March 14, 1660-61, the General Court of Connecticut applied to King Charles II for a charter for their Colony, which was granted April 23, 1662. Richard Treat and two of his sons-in-law, John Deming and Matthew Camfield, were among the patentees. Richard Treat was a member of Governor Winthrop's Council, December 17, 1663, and July 1, 1664. For the times, he was a man of wealth and owned a large amount of land in Wethersfield. At various times he purchased several homesteads and he gave away much of his property while alive. His will was dated February 13, 1668, and the inventory of his estate, presented to the court, March 3, 1669-70, was valued at £69-10-08 (cattle and personal).

In the hamlet of South Trendle, parish of Trull, Pitminster, County Somerset, England, is an ancient church in which may be found a memorial brass, bearing the following inscription:

In memory of RICHARD TREAT, *alias* Trott, Baptized in this church, August 28, 1584, who emigrated to New England with his family, in 1637, and was created one of the Patentees of the charter of the colony of Connecticut, by King Charles II, in 1662. His son, ROBERT TREAT, was baptized February 25th, 1624, and was Deputy Governor and Governor of the Colony for 30 years.

This brass was erected, in 1902, by their descendant, John Harvey Treat of America.

Richard Treat married, at Pitminster, England, April 27, 1615, Alice Gaylord (Gaylard), who was baptized there May 10, 1594, at which time her name was spelled Gaylaud. She was the daughter of

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Hugh Gaylord, who was buried in Pitminster, October 21, 1614, and whose will was recorded in the Taunton Probate Court in 1614, but has perished. Alice (Gaylord) Treat survived her husband, but her death date is not known. Children, born and baptized at Pitminster, England: 1. Honor, of whom further. 2. Joanna, born in 1618, baptized May 24, 1618, died in October, 1694; married John Hollister. 3. Sarah, born in 1620, baptized December 3, 1620; married, about 1644, Matthew Campfield. 4. Richard, born in 1622-23, baptized January 9, 1622-23, died about 1693; married, about 1661, Sarah Coleman. 5. Robert, born in 1624-25, baptized February 25, 1624-1625, died at Milford, Connecticut, July 12, 1710; held many public offices, among them those of Deputy Governor and Governor of Connecticut; married (first) Jane Tapp, who died in October, 1703, daughter of Edmund Tapp; (second), October 24, 1705, as her third husband, Mrs. Elizabeth (Powell-Hollingsworth) Bryan, born June 16, 1641, died January 10, 1706, daughter of Elder Michael and Abigail Powell. 6. Elizabeth, born in 1627, baptized July 25, 1627; married, about 1649, George Wolcott. 7. Susanna, born in 1629, baptized October 8, 1629, died in 1705; married, about 1652, Robert Webster. 8. Alice, born in 1631-32, baptized February 16, 1631-32, buried at Pitminster, August 2, 1633. 9. James, born in 1634, baptized July 20, 1634, died February 12, 1709; married, January 26, 1665, Rebecca Lattimer. 10. Katherine, born in 1637, baptized June 29, 1637; married, November 29, 1655, the Rev. William Thompson (or Tomson), of New Haven.

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 15, 18, 26, 28, 29-30, 31. "Connecticut Court Records," Vol. I, pp. 88, 93. H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 710, 711. "American Ancestry," Vol. III, p. 53.)

II. Honor Treat, daughter of Richard and Alice (Gaylord) Treat, was born at Pitminster, Somerset, England, in 1616, was baptized there, March 19, 1616, and died in October, 1694. She married John Deming. (Deming I.)

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," p. 32. H. R. Stiles: "History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 272, 711.)

A Bibliography for the Early American China Trade, 1784-1815

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COMPLETE, critical bibliography for the early period of American maritime history is not yet possible. In recent years, however, much material previously unavailable has reappeared. This is especially so in manuscript sea journals, logs, and other ship's papers. Some of these documents invalidate sources and authorities formerly relied upon. Older bibliographies on the subject are thus in need of revision. It is, therefore, with the thought that a current bibliography is essential to work in this field that the present study is offered. It is presented in two main divisions. The first attempts a critical investigation of the general nature and location of source material, and is meant to be suggestive rather than definitive. It is divided into subject heads. Bibliographies and manuscripts are discussed in general, then further subdivided into topics: Customs Records, Statistics, Articles of Trade, Marine Insurance, First Voyages, Newspapers, and Ship Portraits. Under each of these topic heads both manuscript and printed sources are discussed.

The second part of the study consists of a tabulated list, also divided into subjects, each subject listing in so far as practicable all sources which are available and pertinent. A work that may be authoritative for more than one subject is listed under each. Subject headings, however, are only approximately descriptive of works listed under them.

Bibliographies—The most extensive critical bibliography which includes the period 1784-1815 was made by K. S. Latourette in "History of Early Relations Between the United States and China, 1784-1844." That study was completed in 1917 and there have been many changes since, both in the availability of manuscript material and in the nature of sources relied upon. The bibliography in Tyler Den-

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nett's *Americans in Eastern Asia* (1922) is excellent for governmental documents; archives of the Department of State, United States government publications and British Parliamentary Papers. "A list of manuscript collections in the Library of Congress to July, 1931," combined by Curtis W. Garrison in the American Historical Association Annual Report (4 Vols., 1930) has appeared since Mr. Dennett's study, as has also an enlargement of the check list published by the Library of Congress in 1918. The title of the latter is *Manuscripts in Public and Private Collections in the United States* (1924). Another important publication of the Library of Congress, Division of Bibliography, is *The Select Lists of References* which is constantly being added to.

A critical bibliography for Massachusetts is included in S. E. Morison's *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (1921). A general description of the collections of the Essex Institute is given in Howard Corning "Essex Institute, Salem," in the Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 5 (1933).

For the present subject there should be added *A Catalog of Books on China in the Essex Institute*, compiled by Louise Marion Taylor (1926). Those books which appear to have any bearing on the years of this study are included in the tabulated bibliography which follows. Manuscript material in the Baker Library at Harvard is presented in their *List of Business Manuscripts in Baker Library* (1932). A bibliography for Cape Cod may be found in Henry C. Kittredge's *Shipmasters of Cape Cod* (1935).

For New York, R. G. Albion's *Rise of New York Port* (1939) contains one of the best organized and selected bibliographies available for the area, but the emphasis is on the period following 1815. E. B. Greene and R. B. Morris, *A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History, 1600 to 1800, in the City of New York* (1929), covers its field exhaustively. For state documents it might be supplemented by A. R. Hasse, *Index of Economic Material in the Documents of the States . . .*, New York (Vol. IV) (1907-22). For general conditions in New York, touching on maritime affairs, there is a bibliography in E. W. Spaulding, *New York During the Critical Period* (1932). Newspapers useful for this period are listed by him.

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The vast and scattered periodical literature of the United States and Canada is brought somewhat under control by the work of A. P. C. Griffin, *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*. The second edition, which is the American Historical Association *Annual Report*, Part 2 for 1905, is a revision of the first (1895) edition. This work is continued annually from 1906 by Grace Gardner Griffin under the title *Writings on American History*.¹ By use of the index in each volume it is possible to locate practically every article in American and Canadian periodicals relating to American history. Most of the material in the volumes from 1906 to the current one, 1934, bearing on the maritime history of the years 1784-1815, has been listed in the tabulated bibliography below. The *Bibliographie Géographique*, Paris (1893), lists articles and books on many fields of varying interest, including some voyages of this period.

Manuscripts—In addition to the collections mentioned above, and included in some of the bibliographies also cited, the most important manuscript collections available for public use are in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Washington, District of Columbia, and Pennsylvania. In Massachusetts the Essex Institute and the Peabody Museum have the greatest collection of mercantile papers, logs and sea journals in America. Others are scattered, mostly in the Massachusetts Historical Society, The Baker Library at Harvard, (*List of Business Manuscripts in Baker Library*, 1932), The Beverly Historical Society and the New Bedford Public Library, and in many other such places.

In Rhode Island the John Carter Brown Library has a large and valuable collection which is being catalogued slowly.² There are a number of logs in the Newport Historical Society. New York City has an increasingly important manuscript depository in the New York Public Library. The New York Historical Society has important collections, including the papers of the sloop *Experiment* and account books of Oliver Wolcot & Co. In Philadelphia there is a vast accumulation of manuscript material which has been practically unused. The

1. The title of this work indicates a continuation of a similar bibliography from 1902 by E. C. Richardson, but not continued after 1903. The early period is better covered by the A. P. C. Griffin Bibliography cited above, which also is cumulative.

2. L. C. Wroth: *The John Carter Brown Library* (1936).

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Pennsylvania Historical Society and The Philadelphia Library Company, particularly the Ridgeway Branch, are the most important centers. The latter, for example, has the Waln Manuscripts; letter books, accounts, instructions to masters, etc., from 1784 to 1804, apparently never used.

In Maine there has recently been established The Penobscot Marine Museum, and in Newport News, Virginia, the Mariners' Museum, where several manuscripts are deposited. The Marine Historical Association of Mystic, Connecticut, maintains a general marine museum. The library contains charts, log books, ships' lines and sail plans, and an index list of some 5,000 vessels. In New York City, the Marine Museum of the City of New York is a nucleus for a marine collection in that preëminent port.

Some of the important manuscripts and collections from the depositories above are listed under the subject headings which follow.

Custom House Records—Customs records provide a useful statistical source where they exist. In many cases they also afford some picture of the nature of commerce passing through a port. Unfortunately for the early period of American national history they were irregularly and often indifferently kept. Many custom house records have been lost, burned and, in general, carelessly preserved. Some of the Atlantic seaboard custom house records were sent to Washington in 1885 in connection with the French Spoliation Claims.³ Some of the New York City customs records were sent to Albany where they were subsequently destroyed by fire.⁴ The Boston customs records for the early period were also burned.⁵

3. The Treasury Department collection contains 371 volumes of Custom House records in the form of abstracts of Registers, Books of Registers, Books of Enrollment, Clearances, Books of Accounts, Drawback Books, License Books, and Books of Entry for the period beginning 1789 and extending to 1802 in most cases. Twenty-six Custom Houses on the Atlantic seaboard were required to send these documents to the Treasury Department in 1885 in connection with the French Spoliation Claims. In June, 1937, they were transferred to the National Archives.

4. The New York Custom House sent the following to the United States Treasury Department at Washington in 1885:

Two volumes of Indexes of Registers: Vol. I, October 10, 1789, to February 26, 1808; Vol. II, January 1, 1796, to December 31, 1804; and sixty-four books of Registers, Nos. 7 to 70, both inclusive, covering the period from September 17, 1791, to August 5, 1801.

5. Concerning the customs records of Massachusetts, see S. E. Morison, "The Custom House Records in Massachusetts as a Source of History." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, LIV (1922).

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On the other hand a few of the early records are available. The New York Custom House still has records called Old Foreign Clearances dating from 1798 and Old Foreign Arrivals, scattered 1795, 1796 and 1798 to 1809, 1818 on. In Baltimore the Customs Service has records of entrances and clearances of vessels from 1780. Marblehead's Custom House records have been well presented by F. B. C. Bradlee in "Marblehead's Foreign Commerce," which appears in Volumes LXIV, LXV, LXVI of the Essex Institute *Historical Collections* (1928 ff.). In Volumes XXXIX-XLII of that collection is a list of Salem ship registers. The old impost books are still kept in the Salem Custom House with a *Digest of the Duties of the Salem Custom Houses*, of which Book I begins in 1789. Records of the Machias Custom House from 1790 are intact and are now housed in the Portland office.

The Providence Custom House impost books are in the Rhode Island Historical Society with some copies in the Custom House. They begin with the year 1790. The Philadelphia Custom House maintains records of entrances of vessels from 1789 and of clearances from 1800. Some early Philadelphia customs records are owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Those useful for this period are included in the tabulated list below.

The importance of customs records to maritime history, particularly of this early period, indicates a need for the study of the records of each district, with a view to their eventual collection and publication. The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, a WPA project, appeared as a possible beginning in this direction.

Statistics—The difficulty with customs records is shared by statistics in general. For this early period they are nowhere complete nor accurate. A collection and carefully edited correlation of figures from various sources would be suggestive, though probably not definitive. Most of the tables and collections of statistics come from a few main sources. The chief primary sources are probably the *American State Papers; Commerce and Navigation*, the customs records cited above, David MacPherson's *Annals of Commerce* (1805), and for the later years various Parliamentary Papers.

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Different tabulations of figures appear in the following works: Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the United States* (1818), and T. Pitkin, *Statistical View* (1816 and 1835), cover many subjects, as does also G. Waterson and N. B. Van Zandt, *Tabular Statistical Views* (1828). For exports of tea to the United States, tabulations appear in the Waln manuscripts in Philadelphia, in F. R. Dulles, *Old China Trade*, and William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* (2 vols., London, 1813 and 1825.) An older statistical work to which even Seybert refers is Samuel Blodget, *A Statistical Manual for the U. S. of A.* (1806). Some figures and a brief summary of the American trade with China from 1790 on is given in *Statistical View of the United States . . . A Compendium of the Seventh Census by J. D. Debow* (1854), and J. Smith Homans, *An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the U. S.* (1857).

In S. E. Morison: *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, page 378, there is a chart showing the tonnage of shipping owned in each customs district of Massachusetts and in the district of New York City from 1798 to 1860. In a pamphlet entitled *Some Oriental Influences on Western Culture*, Part III, by Ping Chia Kuo, there is a chart showing the imports from China into the United States, 1790-1815, compiled from *American State Papers; Commerce & Navigation*.

Related to statistics and in addition to customs records as sources of information and reference are the various lists of vessels and their masters. A very complete chronological list for the northwest coast is contained in F. W. Howay's "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1794," in *The Royal Society of Canada Proceedings*, 3d. ser., XXIV, sec. 2 (1930). A list of vessels on the northwest coast in 1792 is given in a typewritten copy of a sea journal in the Essex Institute, entitled *Extracts from the Log of the Ship "Margaret" on a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, James Magee, Capt.* Charles S. Tapley, "Danvers Ships and Shipmasters from the Registers of the District of Salem," *Danvers Historical Society Collections*, VIII, IX, is a list of vessels with which Danvers men were in some way connected. For Marblehead there is Benjamin J. Lindsey's *Old Marblehead Sea Captains and the Ships in Which They Sailed* (1915). This is of little use except to list captains'

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names and their vessels with the year, but with no indication as to the voyage.

Another list having some bearing on the eastern trade is "Essex County Vessels Captured by Foreign Powers, 1793-1813, Compiled from American State Papers," in *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, Vols. LVIII ff. (1922). A central ships' index is being compiled by Walter Muir Whitehill, of the Peabody Museum. When completed it will be a most important source of reference for information on American vessels. An index of some 5,000 important vessels is maintained by The Marine Historical Association of Mystic, Connecticut.

ARTICLES OF COMMERCE

Ginseng—Gathering and export of ginseng had been encouraged by the East India Company through much of the eighteenth century. The plant is described in some early works such as the *Itinerarium* of Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1740), edited by A. B. Hart and printed privately in St. Louis, 1907. An article signed H.E.L. in the *Analectic Magazine*, November, 1819, titled "On the Trade of the United States With China," tells of its culture in the United States and its use by the Chinese and their high regard for it. It is mentioned by most works dealing with China or trade with China. There are references to ginseng in the *Chinese Repository*. A brief history of its use in the East is given in W. E. Griffis: *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (1882). Its place in eastern commerce is mentioned by C. O. Paulin: *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 1778-1883*; and by David MacPherson: *Annals of Commerce*, III (London, 1805).

As a product in American East India trade, ginseng is discussed at some length by Samuel Shaw in his *Journals*, edited by Josiah Quincy (1847), and by his partner, Thomas Randall, in a communication to Alexander Hamilton, published in *The Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Hamilton* (Arthur H. Cole, Ed.). The manner of gathering it in for shipment to China may be learned from the correspondence of William Edgar with his agents outside of New York. This correspondence is in the William Edgar Papers in the New York Public Library.

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Statistical sources are about the same for products of commerce as for other matters through this period. They are limited, incomplete and inaccurate. Some idea of the amount carried by individual ships may be obtained from the few manifests of cargo in existence, like that of the sloop *Experiment*, in the New York Historical Society, or from other papers concerning voyages such as Randall's correspondence to Hamilton. Pitkin's *Statistical View of the United States* (1816, 35), presents many figures, gathered largely from American State Papers. Prices are quoted in *Ming's New York Price-Current*.

The general works on the China trade all mention ginseng. Tyler Dennett: *Americans in Eastern Asia* (1922); K. S. Latourette: *The History of Early Relations Between the U. S. and China* (1917); Sidney & Marjorie Greenbie: *Gold of Ophir* (1925).

Tea—Tea is a product the western world is interested in, and much more has been written about it, therefore, than about ginseng. The outstanding works on tea of this period were written by Englishmen who had spent some time in the East, either as government officers, merchants, or travelers. Probably the best are: Samuel Ball, *Account of the Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea in China* (1848); H. G. Hollingworth, "List of the Principal Tea Districts in China and Notes on the Names Applied to the Various Kinds of Black and Green Tea," in the *Journal of the North China Branch*, Royal Asiatic Society, N. S. 10; and Hugh Murray and others, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of China*, III (1836). There are also some usable statistics in this work as well as much other valuable information, particularly on navigation from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Other statistical sources are the same as for ginseng; MacPherson, Pitkin, American State Papers, William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* (1813 and 1825); and Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the U. S.* (1815), which is mostly a recompilation of the former sources. In the Robert Waln, Jr., MSS., in the Philadelphia Library Company's Ridgeway Branch, there is a table of teas exported to Europe and America from 1784-1804.

The place tea occupied in American commerce is indicated in the general works like those of Dennett and Latourette as referred to above.

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Chinaware—Scarcely a vessel returned from China without an assortment of Chinaware or "China," but little has been written about it. The most interesting study on the ware itself is by J. A. Lloyd Hyde: *Oriental Lowestoft, With Special Reference to the Trade With China and the Porcelain Decorated for the American Market* (New York, 1936). A series of articles appeared in *Antiques* (XVI), in 1929, by H. Eaton Keyes, titled "The Chinese Lowestoft of Early American Commerce."

Silk, Nankeens, Furs—A fairly clear picture of the nature and relative amount of articles imported may be obtained from contemporary newspaper advertisements. This is one of the few reliable uses that may be made of eighteenth century newspapers. Marine lists in *Price-Currents* are also helpful in this respect. They are mentioned in these notes below under "Insurance." There have been many books concerning the northwest and the northwest coast which treat of the fur trade. Some of these are listed in the tabulated bibliography. Of those giving most attention to the maritime fur trade perhaps the works of H. H. Bancroft are most complete, though they are now somewhat out of date. The primary sources on the conduct of this trade are the sea journals, diaries and voyages.

An excellent bibliography of New England diaries and sea journals is that by Harriette M. Forbes: *New England Diaries, 1602-1800*; a descriptive catalog of diaries, orderly books and sea journals (1923). There are many of these, but they are still in need of careful study and correlation. The voyages frequently quoted and apparently reliable are those of R. J. Cleveland, *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (London, 1855); George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, etc., 1790-95*, 3 vols. (London, 1798); "John Boit's Log of the Columbia, 1790-93," annotated by F. W. Howay and published in the Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. XXII. The part dealing with the northwest coast is also published in *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI. The original journal is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by whom it was published in full in Vol. LIII of their *Proceedings*. Captain Joseph Ingraham: *Journal of the Brig-*

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antine "*Hope*" to the N. W. Coast of America, Sept. 16, 1790-Nov. 5, 1792, 4 vols. The MS. is in the Library of Congress. A copy is in the archives of British Columbia. Extracts from it have been published in the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Collections*, II. A typewritten copy of a sea journal in the Essex Institute, entitled *Extracts from the Log of the Ship "Margaret" on a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, James Magee, Capt.*, gives a list of vessels on the northwest coast in 1792. In the Essex Institute there are about two thousand other manuscript sea journals and logs. Those having to do with the period 1783-1812 are listed in the tabulated bibliography. A contemporary authority, William Sturgis, leaves an account in Hunt's *Merchants Magazine*, XIV, entitled "The North West Fur Trade."

Information on Captain Metcalf is scattered through many of these voyages. The best source of information on this interesting character and his son is Judge F. W. Howay in his many writings, particularly "Captain Simon Metcalf and the Brig 'Eleanora,'" *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 1925. Other articles by Judge Howay are: "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1794," in the Royal Society of Canada *Proceedings*, 3d ser., XXIV, sec. 2, and "Early Days of the Maritime Fur Trade on the Northwest Coast" in *Canadian Historical Review*, IV.

For statistics the usual sources are available and the usual difficulties prevail. Pitkin: *Statistical View of the U. S.*, p. 250, lists the value of sea-otter and seal skins imported into Canton from America from June, 1800, to January, 1803; *The Chinese Repository*, III, 588, lists the number of furs of all kinds imported from 1805 to 1815.

Sandalwood and South Sea Products—For information on South Sea island products the "Voyages," listed above and in the tabulated bibliography, are about the only source. Most secondary works refer to them. In addition to those previously mentioned the most informative "voyages" to the South Pacific are: Edmund Fanning, *Voyages 'Round the World; With Selected Sketches of Voyages to the South Seas*, etc. (New York, Collins and Hannay, 1833). A second edition was entitled *Voyages to the South Seas, Indian and Pacific Oceans, . . . North-West Coast, Feejee Islands . . . 1880-1837* (New

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York, 1838). The most useful edition is that by the Marine Research Society, Salem, 1924, titled *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, 1792-1832*. G. F. Mathison: *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chili, Peru and the Sandwich Islands . . . 1821 and 1822*. Amasa Delano: *Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (1817) and the *Journals* of Samuel Hill, MSS. in New York Public Library, of which *The Voyage of the Ophelia* (edited by J. W. Snyder, Jr.) is published in *The New England Quarterly*, X, 1937, and of the *Packet* in *Americana*, XXXIII, 1939, both in shortened form.

One of the best studies on the Hawaiian sandalwood trade, based largely on the voyages, is that by Thomas G. Thrum in the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* for 1904, "The Sandalwood Trade of Early Hawaii." Another well documented article is "John Jacob Astor and the Sandalwood Trade of the Hawaiian Islands, 1816-1828," by K. W. Porter, in the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, Vol. II. The wood and its uses are described in *The Chinese Repository*, II. Some of the early voyages in this trade are described in K. S. Latourette's "Early Relations Between the United States and China," previously referred to. W. D. Alexander: *Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (1891) mentions sandalwood briefly. J. M. Callahan: *American Relations in the Pacific and Far East* (1901), while of little value for this early period, does mention Americans in the Fiji Islands.

There appears to be no special work on such articles as Beche de mer, though the sources mentioned immediately above usually refer to it and there are some descriptions of the article and trade in it by Latourette, Dennett and Murray, *China*, III. This is true also of the many other miscellaneous South Sea products.

The pepper trade with America centered largely on Sumatra and developed separately from the China trade. From 1795 on its history was largely a maritime history of Salem. The bibliography, therefore, is primarily a list of voyages from Salem to Sumatra, and the custom house records. One of the best lists, summarizing the voyages in some cases, is by George G. Putnam, "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages," in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*. There is much undigested data in this listing and it is difficult to use, but scattered throughout there are many interesting facts concerning vessels

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trading to Sumatra and the pepper regions. The culture of the pepper plant in the eighteenth century is described by Captain Nathaniel Bowditch in one of his journals, part of which is reproduced by Putnam in the article mentioned. Information concerning pepper may also be found in the voyages, particularly J. Wathen: *Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812 to Madrass and China* (1814) and in the *Chinese Repository*, II.

An interesting reminiscence on the pepper trade by an eighteenth century East India trader was written by George Nichols, *Salem Shipmaster and Merchant*, an autobiography edited with introduction and notes by his granddaughter, Martha Nichols (Salem, 1914), and published in 1921 by The Four Seas Press. A recently published contemporary account of the Sumatra pepper trade may be discovered beneath the title: *The Sea Made Men*. Presented by Roger W. Babson. Edited by Elizabeth H. Alling (New York, 1937). The Salem trade is covered in a general way by C. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder: *Historical Sketch of Salem* (1879). Pictures of many Salem vessels may be found in *Old Time Ships of Salem*, published by the Essex Institute in 1917.

Marine Insurance—Marine insurance, probably the oldest form of indemnity, has received very inadequate attention. In the general histories of insurance the marine branch is mentioned mostly as a background for the later forms on fire and life. Histories of marine insurance are interested in modern phases. In the works of maritime history, insurance is mentioned casually, if at all, with no indication of its development and little suggestion regarding its relationship to commerce. In the usual works on the early China trade, no reference is made to insurance as a major factor, though Solomon Huebner says that as an instrumentality of commerce it is almost as necessary as the ship itself.

The primary sources are few and scattered. This is notably true of policies before 1800. The Insurance Society of New York has a few, written mostly for the European, coastal and West India trade. The New York Public Library also has a few policies scattered among its shipping papers. There, too, is listed one of the rare East India policies prior to 1800 (Mercantile Papers). It is catalogued as hav-

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ing been issued by the New York Insurance Company⁶ on the ship *Northern Liberties* from New York to Calcutta and back in 1799. They also have a few policies in the early nineteenth century insuring vessels to India and China, the earliest dated 1816 on the ship *Lion*, New York to Canton, in the William Law Papers.

The Baker Library at Harvard has one volume of papers, including policies for marine insurance, of the Commercial Insurance Company of Boston (1812-13). They list among their manuscripts three volumes of papers of an unknown Boston firm, dated 1795-1806, having to do with marine insurance. The original books of the Marblehead Marine Insurance Co. cover some five thousand policies running from 1800 to 1840.

The New York Historical Society has the correspondence and accounts of the United Insurance Co. (about 1796-98) and probably other material among their shipping and mercantile records. The Massachusetts Historical Society has the Boston Marine Insurance Co. records. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has many early eighteenth century policies. As collections of family papers and business records are sorted other policies will undoubtedly appear.

Another and more productive source of information, in addition to policies, is the accounts and records of merchants engaged in overseas commerce. Many early American merchants subscribed to risks on each other's ventures. A list of such individuals and companies has been made by Harold E. Gillingham: *Marine Insurance in Philadelphia, 1721-1800*. Among them are Stephen Girard and Levi Hollingsworth, whose papers are in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Information concerning rates may also be obtained from such mercantile records. An outstanding example may be found in the Fisher Ames Papers now in the Dedham Historical Society, and also edited by S. E. Morison as "*The India Ventures of Fisher Ames*," in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, n. s. 37. It is from such records apparently that most maritime histories quote insurance rates.

Probably the best continuous sources for rates are the marine lists carried by early Price-Currents. However, Price-Currents dated prior

6. The N. Y. P. L. has a copy of the *Articles of Association of the New York Insurance Co.* (1796).

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to 1815 are now rare. The New York Public Library has two volumes of *Ming's New York Price-Current*, one dating from August 10, 1805, to December 29, 1810, and the other from January 4, 1812, to April 23, 1814. It was established in 1796, though the earliest⁷ issues located are those from January 2, 1797, to December 27, 1806, owned by the New York Historical Society. The Library of Congress Check List indicates a previous New York Price-Current which was established May 5, 1786, as the *American Price-Current*. The Library of Congress file contains one issue, that of June 26, 1786. According to this report it was continued as the *New York Price-Current* on August 14, 1786. This would be a useful publication if any more issues were available, if indeed it continued to be issued. The U. S. Check List (1936) cites the *Boston Price-Current and Marine Intelligencer*, established September 7, 1795. Like the others it underwent title and periodicity changes. In the New York Historical Society there are a few issues between October 26, 1795, and May 24, 1798.

In Philadelphia, *Hope's Philadelphia Price-Current* was established October 15, 1804. The earliest issue located so far is No. 8, December 31, 1804, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Library Company, in their Ridgeway Branch, have June 10, 1805, to December 31, 1810; October 21, 1811, to May 24, 1813; and June 14 to December 28, 1813. The Waln manuscripts are kept in this branch. They contain first-hand information on insurance and commodity prices.⁸

Of the secondary works on marine insurance there are but few that indicate any original investigation, and those are light on the period of this study. Solomon Huebner: *Marine Insurance in the U. S.* (1905), is the earliest and best general history, though it gives little attention to the period before 1815. A more recent and somewhat more detailed book is by William D. Winter: *Marine Insurance* (1919 and 1929), though for the early American period it is no

7. That was in 1917, according to C. S. Brigham: *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, Michigan-New York, p. 481, where a history of this and other similar publications is given.

8. The United States Library of Congress check list of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers lists *The Philadelphia Price Current* fortnightly, "regulated by John MacPherson, broker, with the assistance of twenty eminent merchants, factors and others." J. A. Fowler (below) says it was published in June, 1783. The Library of Congress file contains the issue of February 23, 1784.

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more complete than Huebner. Local histories help fill in the need somewhat. For Philadelphia, Harold E. Gillingham: *Marine Insurance in Philadelphia 1721-1800* (1923), mentioned earlier, is a compilation of much material on the subject of marine insurance, and covers other cities in the period of the early companies. *A History of the Insurance Company of North America of Philadelphia* (Thomas H. Montgomery, 1885) is a detailed history of the first chartered insurance corporation in America. A standard reference work in the field is J. A. Fowler: *History of Insurance in Philadelphia, 1683-1882* (1888).

The subject of marine insurance is mentioned by many special histories of which two of the most useful are: S. E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (1921), and J. S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (1917). In the tabulated bibliography (below) there are several histories of Lloyd's. From this varied list perhaps two might be mentioned; from the older ones, Frederick Martin, *History of Lloyd's and Marine Insurance in Great Britain* (London, 1876); and the most recent, Ralph Straus, *Lloyd's: The Gentlemen at the Coffee-House* (New York, 1938).

The First Voyages—The primary sources for the first voyages are the manuscript logs and journals. In many cases these are missing, either in private hands, or already destroyed. The greatest collection of logs and journals in America is that of the Essex Institute and the Peabody Museum. There are also scattered logs in many of the historical societies, libraries and museums along the eastern seaboard, and in the Library of Congress and the National Archives. Customs records and mercantile and shipping papers are also essential, particularly where the logs are missing. Unfortunately, customs records are nowhere complete for the early period and for some of the first voyages there is little contemporary record except what is in the newspapers.

Many sea journals and logs are listed by K. S. Latourette, "The History of Early Relations Between the United States and China, 1784-1840" (1917). For New England the best listing is made by Harriette Merrifield Forbes: *New England Diaries, 1602-1800*; a descriptive catalogue of diaries, orderly books and sea journals

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(1923). It appears to be exhaustive for New England within its period. Such a work covering the Middle Atlantic and Southern States would be most useful. So far as it has been possible by correspondence and visit I have located and listed a number of such manuscripts reported in historical societies, libraries and marine museums. Many logs and ship papers are buried in mercantile collections and remain uncatalogued. Under Marine Miscellany in the Library of Congress there is listed "Logbooks and Journals of Voyages and Miscellaneous Papers Such as Clearances, etc., 1790-1819, 4 volumes and 2 portfolios." Other such collections are not so suggestively labeled. The New York Public Library has many: *The Hudson-Rogers Collection*, *Mercantile Papers*, *The William Law Papers*, *Customs Records*, and even a box under title of *U. S. Presidents*, containing ships' papers and commissions to privateers, 1796-1840.

Most of the first voyages have received some attention from local and special histories. Unfortunately, in too many cases they have referred to a previous or common secondary source which has been inaccurate. In practically every history touching the early voyages it is necessary to check the facts with contemporary material, and with manuscript sources where possible. Some of the contemporary sources are themselves inaccurate. Newspapers are notoriously careless on exact dates and rarely suggest where their hearsay information comes from, though in many ways they are useful, if not indispensable. It was a newspaper, for example, that suggested who the builder of the *Empress of China* might be. From the marine lists carried by some newspapers, particularly the Price-Currents, a fairly good general view of foreign trade may be had. But here again complete files are lacking so that they must constitute at best a supplementary source.

The letters and papers of politicians, such as those of Madison and Hamilton, contain letters written to them by persons interested in the first voyages. The Madison Papers are divided between the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress, which has published a calendar of them. Hamilton material for this subject has been collected and published by Arthur H. Cole: *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of A. Hamilton, Anticipating His report on Manufactures* (1928).

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There is no general maritime history covering the early period thoroughly. The few voyages thought to be important because of their records in date or route have been mentioned by most general works. Many of these, as previously mentioned, are incorrectly reported, some missed altogether. The Clipper period has been exhaustively treated by such authorities as H. I. Chapelle in *The Baltimore Clipper*, Carl C. Cutler in his *Greyhounds of the Sea* and other books, and Captain Arthur H. Clark in the *Clipper Ship Era* (1911), but there is no definitive work treating earlier American shipping. There are, however, some excellent local maritime histories. Samuel Eliot Morison's *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (1921) has set a standard which will be followed for other sections. Professor Robert G. Albion, of Princeton, has recently written *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-60*. The port of Salem has received full treatment both serious and sentimental. G. G. Putnam: "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages" in the Essex Institute *Historical Collections* is a vast collection of information, but without much order or arrangement. Another listing of vessels from Salem to various foreign ports is in C. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder: *Historical Sketch of Salem* (1879) *op. cit.*

There is no adequate history for the port of Philadelphia, nor for any of the southern ports. Some information on the voyages may be obtained from local histories, though they rarely pay much attention to them. For Philadelphia there is J. T. Scharf and T. Wescott: *History of Philadelphia*; for Baltimore, J. T. Scharf: *Chronicles of Baltimore*. An older but carefully made study for Providence is that by Gertrude S. Kimball: *The East India Trade of Providence, 1787-1807* (1896). For other ports it is necessary, where the primary sources are lacking, to depend upon more general histories or the publications of local history societies and sectional periodicals.

Of the general histories, Latourette's study, previously mentioned, and Tyler Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia* are among the most helpful. About the only way to use the history society and sectional publications is to go through the indexes year by year. The articles are listed also in guides, such as those by A. P. C. Griffin, and from 1906 on under the title *Writings on American History*, by Grace Griffin. F. W. Howay has done a great deal of valuable work on

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voyages touching the northwest coast. Most of his writings appear in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, *The Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, *The Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada* and the *Canadian Historical Review*. There is considerable information on the Far East voyages in *The Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 1778-1883* (1912) by Charles Oscar Paullin.

Newspapers—Newspapers before 1815 vary widely in their accuracy and are of limited use, except for advertisements and suggestion. Eighteenth century newspaper files are now rare and so scattered that their use is difficult. Some excellent guides to early newspapers are available. Probably the most complete one is Clarence S. Brigham: "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, 1913-28. For the Library of Congress there is *A Checklist of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers* (1936). An older work which evaluates newspapers by periods is S. N. D. North: *History and Present Conditions of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the U. S.* (1881).

In the bibliographies mentioned above newspapers for the subjects covered are usually listed. Those helpful for the early period, particularly of New York, are listed by E. W. Spaulding, *New York During the Critical Period*, and by R. G. Albion, *Rise of New York Port*.

The American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, has twenty thousand volumes of newspapers, the most complete collection in America up to 1820. The William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan has a large collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century newspapers. Most large libraries and many of the older small ones have scattered issues.

Newspaper titles and periodicity vary so greatly in this early period and the files are so incomplete that it seems of little value to list their titles. About the only way to use newspapers is in conjunction with the guides mentioned above or with the lists that most libraries have of their own files.

Ship Portraits—Ship pictures before 1800 are rare, and most of those that exist give little indication of how the vessel actually appeared. Originals are scattered and are mostly in private hands.

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The Peabody Museum in Salem, The Mariners Museum in Newport News, marine museums in seaboard cities and local historical societies all have some ship portraits. Some good colored reproductions appear in *Old Time Ships of Salem*, Essex Institute (1917). The Marine Research Society of Salem has some interesting publications, many of them showing reproductions of ship pictures. John Robinson and George Francis Dow: *The Sailing Ships of New England* (3 series, 1922, ff.) shows a number of typical sailing vessels. One of the likely sources for ship portraits prior to 1800 is marine Lowestoft ware and Liverpool ware. An interesting series of articles on this subject was written by H. Eaton Keyes, "The Chinese Lowestoft of Early American Commerce," in *Antiques*, XVI, (1929). Probably the best book on this subject is that by J. A. Lloyd Hyde: *Oriental Lowestoft, With Special Reference to the Trade With China and the Porcelain Decorated for the American Market* (New York, 1936). Chinese fans occasionally were decorated with paintings of American vessels. The only picture known of the *Empress of China* is on a fan brought back from her first voyage to China. It is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The New York Public Library maintains a ships' index, compiled and kept up to date by Herbert Young. This index contains reference to about twenty thousand vessels, mostly sail, pictures of which are in the library.

II. TABULATED LIST

SUBJECT HEADINGS

1. Bibliographies, Guides, Lists.
2. Manuscripts (1) (Except Logs, Sea Journals and Customs Records).
3. Manuscripts (2) Logs and Sea Journals.
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7. Statistics.
8. Marine Insurance (Manuscript and Printed Works).
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10. British Colonial and Pre-National American Trade.
11. Pre-Constitutional Period.
12. Local Histories.
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15. Miscellaneous Works Bearing on Early American Foreign Trade; International Relations; Privateering; Piracy; Shipbuilding.

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16. Representative Pilots, Guides, Charts and Sailing Directions (Mostly Contemporary).
17. Nautical Dictionaries.
18. Ship Portraits.

TABULATED LIST

Abbreviations: A. H. A.=American Historical Association; B. L.=Baker Library, Harvard University; H. C. L.=Harvard College Library; H. S. P.=Historical Society of Pennsylvania; J. C. B. L.=John Carter Brown Library; N. Y. H. S.=New York Historical Society; N. Y. P. L.=New York Public Library; MS.=Manuscript.

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2. MANUSCRIPTS—(1) EXCEPT LOGS, SEA JOURNALS AND CUSTOMS RECORDS

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- Philip Cuyler Letter Book, Albany. Ledger, 1763-94. N. Y. P. L.
- Deane, Silas: Letter to General S. B. Webb on Commercial, Agricultural, and Industrial Conditions in England and America, etc., London, July 16, 1785. Correspondence, 1777-84, L. C. Printed in N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 456-61; A. H. A. *Report*, 1930, I, p. 145.
- Dutilh, E., and Company, and Dutilh, E., and Wacksmuth (Merchants of Philadelphia) Receipt Book, 1786-89. Taxes, Bills of Exchange, General Trade. Account Books. N. Y. P. L.
- William Edgar Papers. 11 vols. Photostat, 1750-1870. N. Y. P. L. They include some material on China Trade, letters from captains and supercargos on ship *America* to Canton and others. Edgar had an interest in the *Empress of China*; may have owned her later under name of *Edgar*.
- Emerton, Ephraim and James, Salem Merchants, Account Books, 1816-35. B. L. "Relate chiefly to trade with the pirate colony of Madagascar." *Business Hist. Review*, VI, 4, p. 10.
- Fleming, Sampson. Letter book. Letters dated Montreal, Philadelphia, New York, etc., to Wm. Edgar, New York, and to others. Relate to general business; the *Empress of China*, later known as *Edgar*; China Trade; ship *Jay*.
- Papers of Augustine Heard, of Ipswich, Mass., B. L. "Run back to 1807 from supercargo days from Boston and Salem, then as partner in firm of Russel & Co., finally as the independent merchant, 1840." *Bus. Hist. Rev.*, VI, 4, p. 8.
- Great Britain India Office. *Home Miscellaneous Series*. Vol. 605. Notes on Americans. Madrass, Jan. 30, 1785. Contains reference to American vessels, 1784-98.
- Hooe, Stone & Co., of Alexandria, Virginia. Various Account Books, including Letter Books, Ledgers, Journals, Invoice Books, Ship Books, etc., 1770-1877. Account Books. N. Y. P. L.
- Hudson-Rogers Papers. Extensive collection relating chiefly to Foreign Trade, 1718-1821, described in N. Y. P. L. Bulletin (1915), p. 844. This collection includes the Hackett Papers concerning building of the ship *Massachusetts*. N. Y. P. L.
- Correspondence concerning Capt. Kendrick and the settlement of his estate. In Bureau of Rolls and Lib., Dept. of State., Washington. Concerns N. W. Coast Trade.
- Lamb, Horatio A.: *Notes on Trade With the Northwest Coast, 1790-1810*. A digest of the records of J. & T. Lamb. H. C. L.
- William Law of Minturn and Champlin. Letters and Accounts, 1807-17. A collection of about 250 manuscripts, including bills, letters, day books, balance sheets, receipts, etc., of Wm. Law, of the firm of Minturn and Champlin, of New York City,

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- relating to their trade with Canton, China, carried on by the ship *Lion* from 1807-1816. N. Y. P. L.
- James Madison Papers. L. C. and N. Y. P. L.
- Marine Miscellany. L. C. "Logbooks and Journals of Voyages and Misc. Papers such as Clearances, etc., 1890-1819. 4 vols. and 2 portfolios." A. H. A., *Report*, 1930, I, p. 168.
- Massachusetts* (Ship) Papers relating to the building of the ship *Massachusetts* at "Germantown," a section of Braintree, Mass., 1787-91. Hudson-Rogers Collection (Box 6, N. Y. P. L.
- Mercantile Papers. Shipping. Bill of Lading, 1793, Accounts and Invoices, showing prices. Insurance Policies. N. Y. P. L.
- Mercantile Papers. New York Custom House Papers, 1792-1875. N. Y. P. L. "A Collection of Letters and Documents relating to the Custom House of the Port of New York from 1792 to 1875. About 200 pieces." Includes several certificates of registration of the crews of vessels, especially prior to the War of 1812, drawback certificates, etc.
- Morris, Robt.: "Private Letter Books, 1794-98," 2 vols. L. C. A. H. A., *Report*, 1930, I, p. 115.
- Papers Relating to the Wingrove Plan for the Establishment of an American Trading Corporation with the East Indies, 1786. East Indies, N. Y. H. S.
- Perkins & Co., Canton. Business Papers. Described in *Business Hist. Review*. Bull. VI.
- Ross, Edward, Supercargo in China Trade Ships: Secretary to Secretary of War Armstrong, 1812-14. Letters to David Parish, 1807-14. Typewritten copies. 82 pp. (1926). L. C., A. H. A., *Report*, 1930, I, p. 171.
- Schuyler, Gen. Philip: A Memorandum Book, 1783-87, 1 vol. Also 12 letters to various persons, 1787-1802. L. C., A. H. A., *Report*, 1930, I, p. 154.
- Steward and Jones, Merchants. Correspondence. Letter Book, 1786-95. N. Y. H. S.
- Thorndike, Israel, Beverly, Mass., 22 vols. mounted MSS. Business papers described in *List of Business Manuscripts in Baker Library*, p. 62. B. L.
- Trotter MSS. Complete collections, 1798-1916. 923 vols. 152 boxes. Some China and Calcutta Trade, 1806-12. B. L.
- Truxton, Thomas: Letter books. H. S. P.
- U. S. of America. *Ships Register*, 1809-11. This lists ships, mostly coastwise, from and to Philadelphia. Imports and exports are summarized for those years. H. S. P.
- U. S. Consular Letters, Canton. MSS. in Bureau of MSS. and Archives, State Dept. (1917). Vol. I, March, 1792, to August, 1834. "This collection of letters, chiefly reports of the Consul at Canton to the State Dept., is one of the most valuable MS. sources for the entire subject of the early relations between the U. S. and China." Summary of these dispatches in U. S. *Exec. Doc.*, No. 71, 26 Cong., 2 Sess. The Consular letters are published in part in *H. Doc.* 119:26-1 and *H. Doc.* 71:26-2.
- U. S. Dept. of State. *Dispatches to Consuls*. Various Consular Letters. Batavia, Canton, Honolulu. Capt. John Kendrick: Corresp. concerning settlement of his estate. Lib. Dept. of State Miscellaneous Letters.
- U. S. Papers of the Continental Congress. MSS. in MS. Dept. Lib. of Congress. Reports of Committees, Vol. V, pp. 9, 43. List of Letters (No. 185) from Nov. 5, 1781, p. 127. On the beginning of Amer. Trade with Canton.
- U. S. Presidents. Ship's Papers. Commissions to Privateers. 1796-1840. N. Y. P. L. Clearances—do not mention destination—sometimes endorsed by Consul (U. S.) in port of destination. Signed by President and Secretary of State.

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Waln MSS. J. and R. Waln and Robert Waln, Jr. Letter books, accounts, instructions to masters, correspondence, insurance and commodity prices. One volume has table of teas exported to Europe and America. 1784-1802. Phila. Library Co. (Ridge-way Branch).

Oliver Wolcott and Co. Store book, acct. books. Owners of ship *Trident*, Capt. Blake-man. N. Y. H. S.

3. MANUSCRIPTS (2) LOGS AND SEA JOURNALS

Listed by vessel's name where given, otherwise under writer of journal. Abbreviations: B. & I.=Brown and Ives Papers; F.=H. M. Forbes, New England Diaries, *op. cit.* E. I.=Essex Institute; P. M.=Peabody Museum; H. S. P.=Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Active (Ship)—Journal of a voyage from Salem to Sumatra and Manila, in the ship *Active*, George Nichols, Master, kept by George Nichols for the use of the East India Marine Society. 1801-1803. MS. in *Journals*, II, E. I.

Aeolus (Ship)—Canton to New York, 1805-06. E. I.

America (Ship)—See Hathorne, N., below.

America (Ship)—Journal of a voyage to China, 1810-11. Mariners' Museum, Va.

Ann (Ship)—Unknown 1798 Sea Journal. (1) 1793 Log of the ship *Ann*, Thaddeus Coffin, Master. From Dunkirk toward the South Seas. (2) Jan., 1793. Voyage to the South Seas or elsewhere in the ship *Ann*, Jonathan Barney, Master. (3) 1793, 1794. From New Bedford to the South Seas in ship *Canton*. (4) 1797, 1798. A voyage to the South Seas in the ship *Bedford*, Jonathan Barney, Captain. All in same handwriting. Nantucket Historical Society.

Ann and Hope (Ship)—Log of *Ann and Hope* of Providence, Benjamin Page, Master, 1798-1800, on a voyage to Canton and Australia. B. & I., J. C. B. I.

Ann and Hope (Ship)—Arnold, Daniel, Providence. Sea Journal, 1799-1800, of a trip to Canton on board the *Ann and Hope*. Christopher Bently, Master, a journal and log book. Rhode Island Hist. Soc.

Ann and Hope (Ship)—Log Book of the *Ann and Hope*, Wilber Kelley, Master, 1817-1818-19. B. & I.

Ann and Hope (Ship)—Disbursements while on three voyages to London and Canton, Christopher Bently, Master (1801). B. & I. Itemizes various expenses connected with a voyage to China.

Argyle (Ship)—See Shaw, Maj. Samuel.

Arthur (Ship)—Sales Book. B. & I. Shows disposition of the goods imported in the ship *Arthur* from Canton, Apr. 19, 1804.

Asia (Ship)—Crosby, Sibanus, Jr., Nantucket. Sea Journal, 1791-94. "Sibanus Crosby His Remark Book." Nantucket to the East Indies in *Asia*, Elijah Coffin, Master. Nantucket Hist. Soc.

Asia (Ship)—Capt. John Barry. Philadelphia to Canton. Journal, Jan. 24, 1788, to June 28, 1788. Kept by Patrick Hayes.

Asia (Ship)—Log Book of the ship *Asia*, John Armsbee, Master, July 25, 1816-18. B. & I.

Astrea (Brig)—James Magee, Master; Thos. H. Perkins, Supercargo. Salem to China. E. I., 1790.

Astrea (Ship)—Abbreviations of a Journal of the ship *Astrea* from China to Java Head on the Island of Java. One of the terminal dates is Jan. 24, 1790(?). MS. in the log book of the brig *Three Sisters*, Benjamin Webb, Master, 1788-89. E. I.

Astrea (Ship)—See Silsbee, N., Jr.; also see under *Henry* (ship).

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- Astrea* (Ship)—Kept by N. Bowditch, to Manila, 1796-97. Boston Pub. Lib.
- Bedford* (Ship)—See *Ann*, ship.
- Belisarius* (Ship)—Pickman, Dudley L. Sea Journal: 1799-1800. Journal of a voyage to Teneriffe and East Indies in ship *Belisarius*, Sam Skerry, Jr., Master. MS. contemporaneous copy owned by E. I.
- Boit, John—Sea Journal: 1790-1806. With some intermissions of various trips, two circumnavigating voyages to Northwest Coast, Sandwich Islands and China. Illustrated with water colors and pen and ink. MS., Massachusetts Hist. Soc., published in *Proceedings*, pp. 53-218 (Vol. LIII).
- Bombay* (Ship)—Sumner, James N., Beverly and Boston. Sea Journal: 1792. Log of ship *Bombay* on a trip to Madras, Calcutta and Bengal. In the same volume are logs of the ships *Somerset* and *Ceres*. MS. owned by Lexington Hist. Soc.
- Canton* (Ship) of Philadelphia—Richard Dale, Master. Towards China, 1799. Incomplete; contains only account of outward voyage through Indian Ocean, Borneo and China seas. P. M.
- Canton* (Ship)—See *Ann*, ship.
- Caravan* (Brig)—Journal of a voyage from the Cape Verde Islands to Canton in the brig *Caravan*, James Gilchrist, Master, kept by James Gilchrist, 1807-08. MS. in East India Marine Society's *Journals*, 6:397-446 in P. M.
- Ceres* (Ship)—See *Bombay* (ship).
- China Packet* (Ship)—Log of voyage Philadelphia to Madras, to Calcutta, to Philadelphia. April 27, 1807, to May 17, 1808. Kept by Thomas D. Lewis. H. S. P.
- Cleveland, Richard J., Capt.—Sea Journal: Journals of each day's experience on voyage from America to Calcutta, France, Denmark, Sandwich Islands and other places. MS. owned in 1866 by H. W. S. Cleveland, Danvers. Published in *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises*, Cambridge, 1842. Also in *A Merchant Navigator*, N. Y., 1886.
- Columbia* (Ship)—Log Book of the ship *Columbia*, Capt. Robt. Gray, in her voyage from Boston to the Northwest Coast of America, from Sept. 28, 1790, to Feb. 20, 1792. MS. in Dept. of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library. See Lt. Robt. Haswell, below.
- Hoskins, John Box, Boston—Sea Journal: (1) Log and Journal of *Columbia* when Columbia River and Oregon were discovered, 1788, 1792. Narrative of voyage to N. W. Coast of America and China in *Columbia and Rediviva*, written by him from the original log books. MSS. (1) Mrs. Edith R. Emerson, Lexington, Mass. (2) Mass. Hist. Soc.
- Columbia* (Ship)—See Boit, J.
- Columbia Rediviva* (Ship)—See Haswell, Lt. Robt. (Complete name of ship *Columbia*.)
- Commerce* (Ship)—See Saunders, Daniel.
- Concord* (Ship)—A Journal of a voyage from Salem to Massafuero in the South Pacific and from thence to Canton and back to Salem on board the ship *Concord*, Obed Wyer, Master, undertaken in the year 1799, and ending July, 1802. Kept by Nathaniel Appleton. MS. in E. I. Extracts published in *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, R. D. Paine.
- Derby* (Ship)—From Boston to Leghorn, Canton and return, 1804-06. Kept by Samuel Hood. P. M.
- Journal of a voyage from Leghorn to Canton and back to Boston in the ship *Derby*. Thomas West, Master. Kept by Dudley L. Pickman, 1804-06. In East India Marine Society's *Journals*, V, 133-96. P. M.

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- Diana* (Ship)—James McCall, Master. New York to South Seas and China and return, 1799-1802. E. I.
- Dodge, Unite, Boston—Sea Journal (1) 1792-94 with many undated pages before July 12, 1792. A passage from Boston to the East Indies. Long descriptions of the many places he visited and a few pen and ink drawings. Sea Journal (2) Sept. 15-29, 1794, of return trip on ship *Hercules*. MSS. Boston Athenæum.
- Dromo* (Ship)—David Woodward, Master. Boston to Canton, 1807-10. Names of seamen and supplies advanced to them. Death of seven en route. B. L.
- Eagle* (Schooner)—See Thorndike, N., Capt.
- Eagle* (Ship)—David Nye, Master. Boston to Canton, one volume. Ship's book containing ship's acct., with members of crew and acct. of supplies. B. L.
- Eliza* (Ship)—Journal of a voyage of the ship *Eliza* from Salem to New Zealand, Canton and return. Wm. Richardson, Master, 1805-06. E. I.
- Empress of China* (Ship)—See Shaw, Major Samuel.
- Empress of China* (Ship)—Weather log. transcript. National Archives.
- Essex* (Bark)—Sea Journal, 1796. Journal of voyage to Java in bark *Essex*, John Ropes, Master, from Salem. E. I.
- Experiment* (Sloop) Papers of, Stewart Deane, Master. N. Y. H. S.
- Fame* (Ship)—Jeremiah Briggs, Master. To Cochin-China and Manila, 1803-04. East India Marine Society Journals, No. 27 (Vol. III.)
- Fanny* (Snow)—See Kilham, A.
- Franklin* (Ship)—Devereux, James, Capt., Salem, 1766-1846. Sea Journal, 1798-1800. Journal of a voyage to Batavia and Japan on ship *Franklin* from Boston, he being master. MS. contemporaneous copy owned by E. I.
- Friendship* (Ship)—Williams, Israel, Salem. Sea Journal, 1797-98. Several voyages to Batavia and return in ship *Friendship*, of which he was master. E. I.
- Ganges* (Brig)—Account of sales of sundries per brig *Ganges*, 1810. Bill of lading for brig *Ganges*, signed by Nathaniel Ingersoll, Salem, Sept. 2, 1809. E. I.
- General Washington* (Ship)—Providence, Capt. Jonathan Donnison. 360 tons. Log. B. & I., J. C. B. L. First ship from Providence to Canton.
- Smith, Henry, Providence. Sea Journal: 1788-89. "Of a passage from the Island of Madera towards the Cape of Good Hope on the good ship *General Washington*, Jonathan Donnison, Master." B. & I., J. C. B. L. Extracts published in "East India Trade of Providence," G. S. Kimball.
- General Washington* (Ship)—Log book, 1787-90. Along with this is a fragmentary journal of the same voyage, 1788-89. B. & I.
- George Washington* (Ship)—A Journal of a voyage from Providence for Madeira, Bombay and Canton in the ship *George Washington*, owned by Messrs. Brown and Francis of Providence and commanded by Jonathan Donnison; kept by Seabury; the last name is torn away. MS. owned by Geo. L. Shepley, of Providence.
- George Washington* (Ship)—See Shaw, Samuel.
- Grand Sachem* (Ship)—See Saunders, Daniel, Jr.
- Grand Sultan* (Brig)—Sea Journal, 1789. Voyage from Isle of France to Island of Ceylon and Coromandel in the brig *Grand Sultan*, G. G. Smith, Master. Copy E. I.
- Grand Turk* (Ship)—Log. E. I.
- Grand Turk* (Ship)—Bowditch, Nathaniel. Sea Journal, 1787-88. Abridgement of Capt. Gibaut's journals of voyages in the *Grand Turk*, E. H. Derby, Master, Salem to East Indies and Isle of France; and from Isle of France to Bombay in ship *Peggy*, John Williamson, Master, and return to the Isle of France. Copy E. I.

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Grand Turk (Ship)—See Hodges, Benj.

Hamilton (Ship)—Journal of a voyage of the ship *Hamilton* from Boston to the Northwest Coast of America and Canton, 1809-11, 1815. Capt. Lemuel Porter. The author was possibly William Martin. E. I.

Lemuel Porter, Master. To Northwest Coast, Canton and return, 1809-12.

William Martain(?), Master. To Northwest Coast, China and return, 1815-19. E. I.

Harmony (Ship)—Sea Journal: (1) Voyage from Calcutta in ship *Harmony*, John Willet, commander. Possibly kept by Benj. Wilson, whose name appears on the book. 1786-90. E. I.

Haswell, Lieut. Robt. Sea Journal: (1) 1787-89. Journal of voyage in *Columbia Rediviva* and sloop *Washington* 'round world. (2) 1790-92. Log book of the ship *Columbia*, Capt. Robt. Gray, Boston to N. W. Coast. (3) Aug. 14, 1791-May, 1793. Probably same as (2) when Col. River discovered. MSS. 1, 2, 3 owned in 1870 by John J. Clarke, of Boston. Copy in Archives of Br. Columbia. (2) By Lib. of Congress, presented by Chas. Bulfinch, 1841. (1) Abstract in Bancroft's "Hist. of the N. W. Coast."

Hathorne, Nathaniel, Salem, 1775-1808. Sea Journal: (1) 1795-96. Calcutta to America in ship *America*, N. Hawthorne, Master. (2) 1796-98 to Batavia, Manila and Canton in ship *Perseverance*, Richard Wheatland, Master. E. I.

Henry (Brig and Ship)—Sea Journal, 1790. Voyage from Isle of France to Salem in brig *Henry*, Benj. Crowninshield, Master. Copy E. I.

Sea Journal, 1791, 1793, 1794. Capt. Gibaut's journals in the *Astrea* and *Henry* from Salem to the Isle of France and Cape of Good Hope and return to Salem. Copy E. I.

Sea Journal, 1796. Voyage from Salem to the East Indies in ship *Henry*, Henry Prince, Master, including a harbor journal kept at St. Denis. Copy E. I.

Sea Journal, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800. Voyages from Salem to Europe and India in the *Astrea* and *Henry*, with some harbor journals at Lisbon, Madeira and Manila. MSS. copy made by Bowditch. Owned by E. I.

Herald (Ship)—Journal of a voyage in the ship *Herald* from Salem to Rotterdam, Canton and return, by Zachariah T. Silsbee, Master and Supercargo, in 1804-05. E. I.

Hercules (Ship)—Carpenter, Benj. Salem, 1751-1823. Sea Journal, 1792-94. Journal of a voyage to the East Indies in ship *Hercules*, himself master. Many fine sketches pen and ink. "Most beautiful specimen of sea journal," Paine. MS. E. I. Extracts published in *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, Paine, R. D.

Hercules (Ship)—See Dodge, U.

Hill, Samuel, Autobiography. Account of life at sea and China Trade. Dated on board ship *Packet* at sea, June 14, 1819. N. Y. P. L.

Hill, Samuel. Journal and log of two voyages, 1815-22. *Ophelia*—Boston, Chili, China. *Packet*—Boston, South America, China. N. Y. P. L.

Hodges, Benj., Salem. Sea Journal: (1) 1788-90. Voyage to Canton in brig *William Henry*, Benj. Hodges, Master. (2) 1792-93. Voyage to India in ship *Grand Turk*, Hodges, Master. MSS. E. I. (2) Published in *Merchant Ventures of Old Salem*, R. E. Peabody.

Hope (Brigantine)—Ingraham, Capt. Joseph. Boston, 1714-99. Sea Journal, Sept., 1790-1792. Journal of the brigantine *Hope* to the N. W. Coast of America from Boston four volumes, illustrated. MS. Lib. Congress. Copy in Br. Col. Archives, Van-

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- couver. Extracts in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, 20. He was formerly mate of the *Columbia*; the MS. is unfinished.
- Hope* (Ship)—See Shaw, Samuel.
- Hope* (Ship)—N. Y. to Canton and return, 1806-08. B. L. Log of voyage New York to Canton, China, and return, kept by the ship's captain (Reuben Brumley). The log indicates that the ship touched at Port Jackson, Australia, the Friendly Islands, and Fiji Islands, en route to Canton. There are also descriptions of encounters with armed natives and Spanish pirates. B. L.
- Hunter* (Ship)—Pennel, Master. Journal of a voyage from Salem to Sumatra and Canton and return, 1809-10, in the ship *Hunter*. E. I.
- Hunter* (Ship)—To China and return, 1809-10. Journal kept by Philip P. Pinel. E. I.
- India* (Ship)—Log and Journal from Philadelphia towards Batavia. In ship *India*, Capt. J. Ashmead. September, 1797. H. S. P.
- Iris* (Ship)—Extracts of log and voyage from Canton to Providence, R. I. National Archives.
- Indus* (Ship)—Remarks on a voyage from Boston to Canton by Charles Frederick Waldo in the ship *Indus*, 1802-03. Private journal by ord. seaman. E. I.
- Indus* (Ship)—Bill of lading and other papers of goods on board ship *Indus*, Richard Wheatland, Master, Boston, March 5, 1802. In Dr. Henry Wheatland MSS. in E. I. Vol. V, 24.
- A Journal of voyage from Boston to Canton, incomplete, 1802. Kept by Capt. Richard Wheatland. E. I.
- Indus* (Ship)—Nathaniel Page, Master. From Salem 'Round Cape Horn to Pacific and Canton and return, 1815-17. Journal kept by Charles Forbes. E. I.
- John Jay* (Ship)—Bowers, John, Somerset, Mass., 1765-1820. Sea Journal, 1797-99. Kept when he was Supercargo of the *John Jay* belonging to Brown and Ives, of Providence, commanded by Capt. Olney. MS. cited by Kimball (probably in John Carter Brown Library).
- John Jay* (Ship)—Account book of the ship *John Jay* in 1798. Gives wages of the crew. B. & I.
- Kilham, Abraham, Beverly, 1765-1834. Sea Journal, 1794-95. On ship *Lucy*, S. Blanchard, Master, on a voyage from Phila. to the East Indies and return to Salem. 1796, Log of snow *Fanny*, Abraham Kilham, Master, from Boston to the Cape of Good Hope, ends on the coast of Natal. Sea Journal, 1787-1801, a diary—dates of arrival, names of ships. Beverly Hist. Soc.
- Lucy* (Ship)—See Kilham, A.
- Margaret* (Ship)—James Magee, Master. Log and Journal of a voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1791, 1792. Contains list of vessels on N. W. Coast, 1792. Account of her voyage is in 38th Report of Hawaiian Hist. Soc. E. I.
- Marine Miscellany: L. C. "Logbooks and journals of voyages . . ." (See under Manuscripts (1).)
- Mary* (Ship)—See Thorndike, N., Capt.
- Massachusetts* (Ship)—A narrative of events in the life of John Bartlett, of Boston, Mass., in the years 1790-93, during voyages to Canton, the Northwest Coast of North America and elsewhere (ship *Massachusetts* and others). MS., P. M. Pub. in *The Sea, the Ship and the Sailor*. Marine Research Society, 1925. Not exact transcription. For papers concerning her construction see Hacket Papers under manuscripts.
- Massachusetts* (Ship)—Journal of William Cleveland, clerk. Parts 3 and 4. March 19, 1799, to November 25, 1800. P. M.

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- Minerva* (Ship)—Commercial papers of Capt. Benjamin Shreve, Salem. Notebook, 60 pp. Chiefly records of business transactions of ship *Minerva*, Salem, Thomas W. Ward, Master, during stay at Canton in autumn of 1809. P. M.
- Missouri* (Ship)—Accounts on Voyage to Manila and Canton from Philadelphia in ship *Missouri*. Capt. Wm. Vicary. Dec. 5, 1800-February 7, 1803. H. S. P.
- Monroe* (Brig)—Journal of a voyage of the brig *Monroe* from Boston to Africa (Goree) to River Gambia, and to China, 1825. Samuel Vent, Commander. Kept by George W. Williams. E. I.
- Neptune* (Ship)—Townsend, Ebenezer, Jr., New Haven. Sea Journal, 1797-99. Of a trip to the Pacific Ocean and China, made in the ship *Neptune*. They killed seals, which were sold in China for \$280,000, and came home with a cargo of tea, silks, nankeens and chinaware. Kept in the form of letters. MS. owned by E. Townsend Mix. Pub. in New Haven Hist. Soc. *Papers*, Vol. IV.
- New Hazard* (Brig)—David Nye, Jr., Master. From Boston to Northwest Coast, Hawaii, Canton and return, 1810-13. Journal kept by Stephen Reynolds. P. M. Published 1938, Salem.
- Ophelia* (Ship)—See Hill, Capt. Samuel. Excerpts of Journal pub. in *New England Quarterly*, June, 1937. J. W. Snyder, Jr., Ed.
- Packet* (Ship)—See Hill, Capt. Samuel. Excerpts of Journal pub. in *Americana*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 310 ff. J. W. Snyder, Jr., Ed.
- Peggy* (Ship)—See *Grand Turk* (ship), Bowditch.
- Perseverance* (Ship)—Wheatland, Richard, Salem, 1762-1830. Sea Journal, 1796-97. To Batavia and Canton and return in ship *Perseverance*. 1799-1800, from London to Calcutta in ship *Perseverance*. E. I.
- Perseverance* (Ship)—Richard Wheatland, Master. To Canton, 1800-01. E. I. See Hathorne, N.
- Providence* (Ship)—C. B. Pierce, Master. Log kept by Alfred C. Adams, second officer on a voyage from Providence to Batavia, Manila, Hong-Kong, Canton and return, 1838-40. N. Y. P. L. This log is of little value except to illustrate disciplinary difficulties. Extracts pub. in *Fair Winds*, Vol. I, No. 3, J. W. Snyder, Jr., Ed.
- Russel* (Vessel) Clarke, A. Sea Journal, 1799. A log of the *Russel*, Wm. Woods, Commander, on a voyage to Batavia. Notes of the countries. MS. Newport Hist. Soc.
- Sally* (Ship)—See Thorndike, N., Capt.
- Saunders, Daniel, Jr., Salem, d. 1825. Sea Journal: May 4, 1791-Aug. 17, 1794. This was written after his return home, probably from a diary kept at the time, as he gives the events from day to day. He was second mate on the *Grand Sachem*, Jonathan Carnes, Master, and mariner on the *Commerce*, John Leach, Master. This vessel stranded on the coast of Arabia. A detailed account of his experiences and sufferings. MS. pub. by Thos. C. Cushing, Salem, 1794. Also in *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, Paine, R. D.
- Shaw, Samuel, Major, Dedham. Sea Journal (1) 1784, 1785. Voyage to Canton, in *Empress of China* (as supercargo) John Green, Master. 1786-88. Second voyage to China and stay in Canton in *Hope*, James Magee, Capt. Jan., 1788. A visit to Bengal in ship *Argyle*, Robt. Martin Fowle, Capt. (4) 1789. Of his return to Canton and his voyage back to America, in the ship *George Washington* of R. I., Donnison, Capt. MSS. owned in 1847 by Robt. Gould Shaw, of Boston. Published 1847, Josiah Quincy (Ed.).

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- Silsbee, Nathaniel, Jr., Salem, 1773-1850. Sea Journal, 1788-90. Of a voyage to Batavia and China in brigantine *Three Sisters*, Benj. Webb, Master, and return to Salem in ship *Astrea*, James Magee, Master. E. I.
- Somerset* (Ship)—See *Bombay* (ship).
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(From a Painting by Chappell)

MARGARET FULLER

AMERICANA

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AMERICANA

JULY, 1940



Margaret Fuller's Stay in Providence 1837-1838

BY MADELEINE B. STERN, M. A., NEW YORK

Y 1837 Margaret Fuller had accomplished none of the feats that were later to afford her a place in history. One day she would be known as the brilliant conversationalist of West Street who fascinated the ladies of Boston with her monologues on Greek mythology, life, and the arts. As editor of *The Dial* she was to be hailed by some critics, derided by others, and finally remembered as one who offered to her own generation an opportunity "to protest usage and to search for principles." Still later she would be entitled, through her book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, to a place in the history of the woman's rights movement. Her work on Greeley's *Tribune*, as well as her participation in the cause of Italian liberation, all lay before her.

By 1837 Margaret Fuller, aged twenty-seven, could present but few claims to recognition. She had spent the first part of her life in Cambridgeport and Groton, and had probably learned more from her father's books than from her instructors. A great many of her powers, however, were already discernible. She numbered among her friends Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and William Henry Channing. She had translated Goethe's *Tasso* and had delighted Emerson with her astute criticism of the German master as well as with her conversation. She had learned something of the newer pedagogy at Bronson Alcott's Temple School in Boston.

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Her stay at Providence from 1837 to 1838 was to develop those powers further. There she would be given an opportunity to improve her ability as a teacher; she would find time to study and plan a biography of Goethe; she would increase the circle of her acquaintances. Finally, she would observe the tendencies of the day—tendencies that later were to be recorded in her *Conversations* or in *The Dial*. Her year at Providence would bring her one step closer to the place in history that would in time to come be hers.

A suggestion by Hiram Fuller that Margaret Fuller teach at the Greene Street School four hours a day for \$1,000 a year¹ came at an opportune time. In April, 1837, Alcott's Temple School, Boston, where Miss Fuller had been teaching, moved into the basement of Masonic Temple and Alcott decided he could no longer afford an assistant for his Latin and French classes.² For one who wished to earn money and at the same time plan a biography of Goethe, the offer was attractive.

The Greene Street School in Providence³ was a white building, and with its six columns and simple cornice looked like a little Greek temple. Around it were trees, each protected by an iron railing.⁴ The school had a brief, though interesting history. The year before there had been thirteen pupils, all boys, who had met in a small room at the corner of Matthewson and Chapel streets. When girls began to attend, the school rooms had been fitted up in the upper story of a near-by barn, where Miss Frances Aborn had acted as instructor.⁵ The new school at the corner of Washington and Greene streets was admirably equipped. There were little rooms for the children's caps and coats and spaces for the street shoes which the boys removed

1. Unpaginated document in Fuller Papers, Boston Public Library, MS., F., 1, 2. Hiram Fuller and Margaret Fuller were not related.

2. Odell Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress; The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Boston: 1937), 204.

3. For descriptions of the Greene Street School see Margaret Fuller to Alcott, June 27, 1837, MS., Boston Public Library, MS. F. I, 1, 2, and Henry L. Greene, "The Greene-Street School and Its Teachers," a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, October 18, 1898, 199-219.

4. See the picture of the Greene Street School owned by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

5. Henry L. Greene to Sidney Rider, Sept. 24, 1893, *Book Notes, Historical, Literary and Critical* (Oct. 7, 1893), X: 231.

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before they entered the schoolroom.⁶ Every room was carpeted and every recitation room had single desks and chairs for the scholars. Hiram Fuller's desk was on a raised platform, and behind it was a bookcase surmounted by a bust of Sir Walter Scott. There was a piano between the doors and over it a portrait of Mr. Fuller.³

At Miss Aborn's rooms Margaret Fuller was to occupy a common parlor with Mrs. Georgiana Nias and her children. Mrs. Nias taught drawing and French at the school. English, French, and American blood had united in her to form a person of grace and beauty. She wore an ornament in her hair and looked, indeed, like a Peri. Her two little boys attended the school. A third child had died, and Mrs. Nias was separated from her husband.⁷

After Margaret had had her first glimpse of the school and its teachers, she looked forward to the dedication ceremonies. Alcott had declined Mr. Fuller's invitation to deliver the dedicatory address, but Ralph Waldo Emerson had graciously consented to take his place.⁸ On Saturday, June 10, Hiram Fuller met Mr. Emerson at the cars and escorted him to the City Hotel.⁹ At four o'clock the teachers and pupils assembled at Mr. Farley's meetinghouse for the dedication. Emerson arose to deliver his good words, words about Mammon and chaste imaginations, immediate emolument and patient learning, Eastern mysticism, Kant and Fichte. Though the reporter of the *Providence Journal*¹⁰ scorned the speaker's "Germano-Sartor-Resartus-ism" and "thrice-wreathed mysticism," Margaret enjoyed his address. Then Professor Hansen seated himself at Mr. Farley's organ,¹¹ and at last the Greene Street School had been dedicated.

Classes were to meet for the first time on Monday, June 12.¹² Margaret Fuller arose at five o'clock and carefully knotted a blue chenille cord in her red-brown hair.¹³ The flower or bright jewel in Mrs. Nias' dark tresses was worth imitating. It would be wise to

6. Margaret Fuller to Arthur Fuller, July 25, 1837, Annie R. Marble, "Margaret Fuller as a Teacher," *The Critic* (Oct., 1903), XLIII: 341.

7. *Ibid.*, 341.

8. Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress*, 204.

9. Hiram Fuller to Ralph Waldo Emerson (June 6, 1837), MS. in Boston Public Library, Folder 15.

10. W. V., "Opening of the Greene-St. School," *Providence Journal* (July 17, 1837).

11. MS. in Boston Public Library, Folder 15.

12. *Book Notes*, X: 19 (Sept. 23, 1893), 217.

13. *The Critic* (Oct., 1903), XLIII: 342.

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dress carefully, for children, especially here in Providence, set great store by material devices that attracted the eye. Even though it took an hour to dress the time was well spent.¹⁴ There was time to arrange her papers before breakfast. For her classes little preparation would be necessary, but there were those notes on the life of Goethe that she wanted to work at in the afternoon. Margaret placed her books carefully on her table along with her little album of "Notes on Goethe." She would return to them after classes.

School was held from 8:30 to 12:30. The new assistant understood after a brief conversation with Mr. Fuller, that though she was to give instruction in composition, elocution, history, Latin, natural philosophy and ethics, the classes would be so distributed that they would not fatigue her at all.¹⁵ She opened the gate of the little Greek temple and walked over the piazza and through the door. The children's hats, she noticed, were hanging on the pegs of the dressing rooms, the boys' caps at the left, above the row of street shoes, and at the right the girls' large bonnets. She walked through the main room, toward the two recitation rooms in the rear. There was a portrait of the poet Percival which she had not observed before. The walls were white, finished with pink; the ceiling was arched with a place in the center for a chandelier. There was a French clock also which had escaped her notice. How well the orange of the heavy carpet harmonized with the black and brown desks and chairs. On each side of the hall she passed two rows of boys and girls, neatly dressed, waiting for Hiram Fuller to walk up the two steps of his platform. A little girl was filling the two vases on his study-table with flowers. A boy was drinking from a glass goblet, having poured water from an urn in front of the platform. Margaret heard the voices of the younger children in the basement, where Miss Aborn would soon start the arithmetic lesson after the youngsters had left the wash room.³ She walked on to the rear recitation room and faced her class.

The boys in the composition group were eager to exhibit their journals, neatly bound in morocco and lettered on the back, "School Journal." Miss Fuller spoke to them of the dignity of writing and

14. *Ibid.*, 342.

15. *Ibid.*, 342.

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soon entered upon a discourse regarding the style and the man. When one little boy took out his sack of marbles, she immediately awed him into stillness with an imperious gesture, and he removed the offending sight from his desk. Then she continued, hoping that not only their thoughts, but their grammar would improve during the months that would follow. Perhaps, she felt, she had been a bit too eloquent, for when the bell rang for a change of classes, some murmured "yes'm" and some "no'm" and all took a long breath as they filed out to the next recitation room.¹⁶

On other mornings the Latin group met in place of the composition class. One tall lad, who had overgrown his tightly buttoned jacket, volunteered the information that the pupils were ready for Virgil. Margaret questioned the scholars and found only one who could translate a phrase into fluent English.

"You will be my leading man in Latin," she said smiling, nodding her head so that the blue chenille cord bobbed up and down. "But I fear the others must review their grammar and perhaps in about thirty weeks we shall be ready for 'Liber Primus.'"¹⁷ The class in Virgil turned into a group that plodded carefully through Latin grammar.

For Margaret the ethics class was more interesting. She soon selected Mary Allen, the eldest daughter of Reverend Allen, of Northborough,¹⁸ as the one possessed of the liveliest mind. On the days when even little Ann Brown or Harriet Taine, just of a size, affectionate and lively as birds,¹⁹ could not answer a question from Wayland's *Moral Science*, Mary would be sure to pop up with the correct response. One day Harriet Taine drew up enough courage to inquire why Miss Fuller's classes did nothing but listen to Miss Fuller talk. She said they all enjoyed it wondrously, but after all, was not reciting more important? The teacher swept the dozen girls of the class with a swift glance and replied, "You must think as well as study and you must talk as well as recite. Above all, you must learn to listen."²⁰ Listen they did, their bright curls catching the sunlight through the

16. *The Critic*, XLIII: 342.

17. Harriet Hall Johnson, "Margaret Fuller Known as by Her Scholars," *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 427.

18. For Rev. Joseph Allen see Francis Tiffany, "Transcendentalism: The New England Renaissance," *Unitarian Review*, XXXI: 2 (Feb., 1889), 117.

19. Margaret Fuller to Arthur Fuller (Feb. 17, 1838), Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, IX: 47.

20. *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 427.

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open window, their young eyes opening wider as Miss Fuller spoke on, so eloquently, of the laws of conduct and right living.

On Monday and Friday mornings the poetry class gathered before Margaret's desk. And there again, the little girls listened. On Mondays they would hear their teacher read a tale, *Ferdinand*, or *Romeo and Juliet* from the Shakespeare stories. After she had read, the children would paraphrase the story and go home to rewrite it. On Fridays the instructor would assign to each pupil a modern poet, saying:

"Find out all you can about him. Where was he born, where did he die, where did he live, what did he write, what was interesting about him?" Mary Allen had to be content with Chaucer, for by the time Miss Fuller came round to her all the modern poets had been taken.²¹

The next week, when Margaret again met the poetry class, she discovered that one of the girls had come unprepared either with a paraphrase or a biographical sketch. The occasion warranted stern and vigorous rebuke, but perhaps Miss Fuller had been too caustic for at the next meeting of the poetry class Mary Allen handed to her teacher a little triangular note signed as a round robin, in which Margaret read that she had been guilty of cutting the pupil into bits, a pupil of rare excellence and character, but so reserved and diffident that she would not explain for herself her failure to paraphrase *Romeo and Juliet*. Margaret took pains to reply at length to the round robin. She apologized for not giving more of her time to the girls, assuring them that she felt more regard for them than she usually expressed. Another teacher, she wrote, might have more time and better health, but she would always be willing to consult their wishes. She hoped she had not been too rough with the pupil in question. If she could but teach the girls confidence and self possession she would be satisfied. She signed her letter, "Affectionately yours."²² Mary went back to her aunt, Harriet Ware, with whom she was living in Providence, and said:

"Although Miss Fuller is very critical and sometimes cuts us up into little bits, I love her dearly."²³

21. *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 428.

22. For the incident of the round robin see *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 428.

23. *Ibid.*, 427.

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Margaret Fuller picked up the "Stories from Shakespeare" and Wayland's *Moral Science* and walked out slowly over the orange carpet. The French clock struck 12:30. Morning after morning it struck 12:30 as Margaret walked across the piazza and opened the gate of her little Greek temple. The mornings might be stimulating or discouraging, but the afternoons in Providence were sure to be filled with study and quiet thought.

Margaret's habit was to lie down on her sofa after dinner until three o'clock. Sometimes, after a particularly exciting morning, when her leading man in Latin had offered an interesting interpretation of a difficult line or Mary Allen had shown her a philosophic passage in her "School Journal," she suffered from pains that shot from her spine to her head. On such occasions she resorted to a drop of opium and sleep would come, bringing fantastic dreams.²⁴ But usually, her thoughts turned to Goethe and before her mind's eye passed images from his life and writings. Werther's blue frock and yellow breeches, Goethe as the Weimar factotum, Goethe under the sway of his demon, Egmont led to the scaffold, Goethe with Frau von Stein, Goethe a Roman in Rome—all moved before her in parade. Now at last she had time to plan her biography of the German master. Did not Emerson consider her an astute critic of Goethe?²⁵ Had not George Ripley asked her to write his life for his *Specimens of Foreign Literature*?

At three o'clock Margaret arose, eager to think out her plans and write down her notes. She sat before the table near her bookcase where Emerson's copies of Milton, Jonson, Plutarch, and Dege-rando²⁶ stood along with her own volumes of Goethe. She opened her album of notes. Definitely, she thought, Goethe's life seemed to parallel her own.²⁷ His father had forced him to study,²⁸ very much

24. Ralph Waldo Emerson to Margaret Fuller (June 16 and 20, 1837), Ralph L. Rusk, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: 1939), II: 81.

25. Ralph Waldo Emerson to Thomas Carlyle (July 31, 1846), *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872* (Boston: 1883), II: 115-17.

26. Margaret Fuller to Ralph Waldo Emerson (May 30, 1837), Rusk, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II: 78, n. 92.

27. This, and the following opinions of Margaret Fuller concerning Goethe may be gathered from "Notes upon the Work of Goethe, October, 1837," Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, *Works by Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, V: 85-87.

28. Albert Bielschowsky, *The Life of Goethe*, tr. by William A. Cooper (New York: 1909), I: 15.

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as Timothy Fuller had made her con Blair's *Rhetoric* when she was ten.²⁹ In place of the *Chronology of the English Kings* Goethe had read Bower's *History of the Popes*.³⁰ At Frankfort he had organized an acting troupe among his friends.³¹ Margaret recalled the performance of *The Rivals* at Miss Prescott's school in Groton.³² When he was a student at Leipzig he had been interested in fashionable dress. Margaret touched her blue chenille cord and remembered the pains she always took to dress well. Surely, at Strasbourg, when Goethe had concluded that the rational was less important than the secret forces that permeate the universe, that the visible was as nothing beside the divine power that was only dimly perceptible to spirits in touch with nature, surely then, in his discussions over the table with Herder and Winckelmann,³³ he had prefigured Margaret conversing about demonology and the cosmos in Waldo Emerson's study. His love for Friederike, the noble woman of *Götz*, *Clavigo*, and *Faust*—the *ewig weibliche*—did not this resemble somewhat her own feeling for Samuel Ward³⁴—for the *ewig männlicher*? Lying on his back among the trees, drinking philosophic draughts with his friends at Wetzlar, he had been a counterpart of Margaret Fuller, Margaret speaking with Sarah Clarke at the Athenæum, Margaret walking to the Old Manse with Emerson. The golden heart that Lili Schone-mann had sent him—did it not bear comparison with the geranium leaf Margaret had given to James Clarke?³⁵ After her meeting with Emerson how well she understood his friendship with those seven or eight years older than himself. Further, however, the analogies could not yet be drawn.

Goethe had accomplished so much. Margaret Fuller was still at the beginning of things. Perhaps her life would be patterned after his, as her past seemed to have paralleled his past. Goethe had writ-

29. Timothy Fuller to Margaret Crane Fuller (May 21, 1820), Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, III: 180.

30. Bielschowsky, *The Life of Goethe*, I: 15.

31. *Ibid.*, I: 39.

32. Timothy Fuller to Margaret Fuller (Nov. 4, 1824), Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, V: 36.

33. Bielschowsky, *The Life of Goethe*, I: 108.

34. Margaret Fuller to Samuel Ward (Oct. 15, 1839) refers to her earlier feelings for Mr. Ward. Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, IX: 63.

35. Margaret Fuller to James Freeman Clarke, undated, MS. in the private collection of James F. Clarke, Boston. Geranium leaf enclosed in letter.

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ten for a periodical, the *Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen*—the organ of a new generation. Perhaps Margaret would be able to establish such a journal in which her own generation would be given voice.³⁶ In Italy Goethe had studied Michelangelo. Had not she studied the Domenichinos in the Athenæum? Did she not long also to journey to Italy, dearest to her heart? He had eaten figs on Lago di Garda and grapes in the market place of Vicenza; he had lived with the painter Tischbein and taken part in the Carnival. Margaret turned the pages of Goethe's *First Journey to Italy* and read, "God be thanked that I may again love what was so dear to my earliest youth! That the name of Italy is no longer to be a hollow word."³⁷ One day, perhaps, she would write such words herself, eat the figs of Italy and drink the wine of the Italian grape.³⁸ The few Americans who knew anything about Goethe called him immoral. But surely he had lived with Christine Vulpius only because of his conception of marriage as a sacrament too holy to be profaned by an unworthy love. Never, she thought, was marriage more gloriously defended than in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*. Then there were Goethe's political views to be considered. He had been convinced that the French Revolution had grown out of the fault of those who governed. Yet he had worshipped Napoleon and considered the common people unable to govern themselves or make use of their liberties. From belief in revolution he had settled into contentment with reform. Perhaps he had been right. The great masses of people, Margaret thought, lacked the power of contemplation, and hence could not act with intelligence. Still, how intensely, purely human Goethe had been. Like Wilhelm Meister, Goethe, and Margaret Fuller, too, had been converted from a life of contemplation to a desire for activity welded with contemplation. "Restless striving is man's true sphere."

Im Weiterschreiten sin er Dual und Glück,
Er! unbefriedigt jeden Augenblick.³⁹

So Faust had found redemption. So Goethe. So also would Margaret.

36. Margaret Fuller undertook editorship of *The Dial* in 1840.

37. Extracts from Goethe's *Propylæa, First Journey to Italy, 1786*, in "Notes upon the Works of Goethe," Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, V: 139.

38. Margaret Fuller lived in Italy 1846 to 1850.

39. Bielschowsky, *The Life of Goethe*, III: 347.

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She opened her album and began the plan of her life of Goethe.⁴⁰ She would begin with the preface from *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, with the martinet father and the Frankfort house. Her pen rushed along, carrying Goethe into his love affair with Gretchen, the little milliner, carrying him—or herself—to Strasbourg, presenting him to Herder—so like Emerson—the steady rock that stemmed his impetuous outpour. The outline grew. After Herder came Friederika. When Goethe loved her he was not quite twenty-two. How much he knew even then! Margaret thought of Waldo as a wonder, but at that age he must have been an infant compared with this man. The pen dashed on. Was not Goethe the thinker who made her think? The man of action who made her long for action? She was ready to write about his childhood at last. His childhood? Or her own?

So the afternoons passed, till at six o'clock it was time to dress for the evening. Evenings at Providence were always entertaining. One night Richard Henry Dana, back from his wanderings over the sea, had given a talk on Shakespeare. It was strange to listen to one whom Margaret remembered as the boy who had been dragged by his ears across the dark schoolroom in Cambridgeport.⁴¹ When he lectured his gestures had been naive, but the expression on his face rapt. His introverted eye and the almost infantine simplicity of his pathos had made her reëxperience all the reactions she had felt on first reading Shakespeare. Dana had merely elevated those emotions into a purer atmosphere. He seemed to have held one aim only before him—to preserve his own individuality unprofaned.⁴²

There had been another interesting evening, when Mr. Farley had escorted Margaret to a lecture hall to hear Mr. Whipple.⁴³ Then there had been the time when Tristram Burges had spoken before the Whig caucus and Mr. Fuller had been horrified that Margaret had attended.⁴⁴ Providence society had its charms. William Chace was always ready to discuss universal reform at Holly Home and his friend, Christopher Greene, could always be relied upon for exciting

40. "Life of Goethe: Plan," Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, *Works by Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, V: 167-83. The following opinions are to be found in this plan.

41. Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana, A Biography* (Boston: 1890), I: 3.

42. Unpaginated document in Fuller Papers, Boston Public Library. Unmarked folder.

43. Unpaginated document in Fuller Papers, Boston Public Library, MS. F. 1, 2, I.

44. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston: 1885), 87.

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tales of his father's journey to Canada with Benedict Arnold.⁴⁵ Then there was Sarah Pratt, always eager to spend an evening conversing about the Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, of which she had just become secretary.⁴⁶ Then, of course, there was John Neal, and there was Sarah Whitman.

John Neal had come from Portland to give a talk to the girls of the Greene Street School, a talk about the destiny and vocation of women in America.⁴⁷ Margaret Fuller soon discovered that he could talk about anything. He could be fallaciously witty about Richard Third, erudite about Whiggism, brilliant in a discussion of man, the whole or perfect man, the original or phrenological man.⁴⁸ At the moment, phrenology was his great interest. He was eager to talk about Miss Brackett, the clairvoyant of Providence, who had "seen" the enlargement of a man's spleen before the post-mortem analysis proved her right.⁴⁹ John Neal had arrived opportunely in Providence, for at the moment grocers, doctors, and factory girls were learning all they could about faculties and animal magnetism.⁵⁰ Emerson would have scoffed, but Goethe would have listened. And Margaret Fuller was ready to listen.

One evening John Neal invited her to a soirée at the home of Albert G. Greene.⁵¹ Margaret had heard of his poem, "Old Grimes," for who in Providence could escape the principal creation of the town's scholarly judge? Judge Greene was charming, and well satisfied to be the only American poet who had never published a volume.⁵² Soon Hiram Fuller arrived and shortly afterward Mrs. Sarah Whitman came flitting into the room, looking, as John Neal had once remarked, as if she were in process of transformation either to or from the condition of a lapwing.⁵³ Despite her birdlike flutterings Mrs. Whitman's

45. George Willis Cooke, *Historical and Biographical Introduction to the Dial* (Cleveland: 1902), 168.

46. *The Liberator* (Oct. 13, 1837).

47. Julia Ward Howe, *Margaret Fuller (Marchesa Ossoli)* (Boston: 1883), 66.

48. John Neal, *Man, A Discourse Before the United Brothers' Society of Brown University* (Providence: 1838), 25.

49. John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life. An Autobiography* (Boston: 1869), 387-88.

50. Gilbert Seldes, *The Stammering Century* (New York: 1927), 306.

51. The account of this soirée is taken from S. H. W. [Sarah Helen Whitman], "John Neal, of Portland," *Providence Journal* (July 24, 1876). Sarah H. Whitman later became Poe's "Helen."

52. Samuel G. Arnold, *An Address Delivered Before the Rhode Island Historical Society* (June 1, 1869), 7.

53. Caroline Ticknor, *Poe's Helen* (New York: 1916), 6.

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slight figure and pale face cast a spell upon the others. It was not inapt that she signed her poems "Helen." Her deep-set eyes looked not at, but beyond the company. She was wearing a lace scarf and carried a fan which she held against her face as she tripped about the room in her dainty slippers. She spoke, winging her way from point to point, from the red house in which she lived—a color that most distressed her—to the floating veil she had just purchased, on to the poem she had written or a brief reminiscence of her husband John, who had died a few years before. In one way or another the talk turned to the mutual influence that existed between the planets and the earth, and soon John Neal was well off on a discussion of animal magnetism from which he wandered on to his favorite topic, the faculties of phrenology. He discoursed at length about Amativeness and Adhesiveness, Ideality and Vitativeness. Mrs. Whitman no doubt recalled her first meeting with John Neal, several years before, when he was selling India calicoes, practicing fencing and boxing, editing a newspaper, and writing novels like *Randolph* and *Brother Jonathan*. He had grown older; he had studied law; but he had not changed. It was only his topics that had changed. The fire with which he discussed them was as ardent as ever. Margaret interrupted Mr. Neal's sally into Pneumativeness to remark:

"With your lion-like heart you can conquer the goblin brood. But what of those who allow themselves to be mastered by magic?" Unconsciously, she smoothed her hair as she spoke. Mr. Neal did not answer. Instead, he rose abruptly from his chair and exclaimed:

"Let us have a topical illustration of phrenology this evening! Miss Fuller, will you be willing to be my subject?"

Margaret raised her head high and then slowly uncoiled the folds of her light hair. Mr. Neal approached her and felt her head with his long, thin fingers. Presently he spoke, and if he had any knowledge of his subject, it is quite possible that he said:

"Your character is complex and contradictory. It has heights and depths, nobilities and frailties. The faculties are at odds with each other. Parentiveness challenges Ideality, and Amativeness is struggling with Adhesiveness. You are a woman of contrasts, Miss Fuller; there is man in you as well as woman. There is scholar as well as teacher. There is child as well as mother. There is lover in you



THE GREENE STREET SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE
(Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society)

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too." Mr. Neal removed his fingers. Quietly, Margaret pinned up her hair. Mrs. Whitman felt she knew Margaret Fuller with greater understanding than any conversation could ever have given her.

Margaret later decided that she liked John Neal very much, that she knew only three or four men whom she liked better.⁵⁴ So the evenings passed in Providence.

During the August vacation of the Greene Street School, Margaret attended the Phi Beta Kappa exercises at Cambridge and, after listening to Emerson's address on the American Scholar, accompanied him to Concord for a meeting of the Hedge Club.⁵⁵ During the winter she found time for several short trips to Boston.

Perhaps it was these brief excursions that made Providence seem provincial when she returned. It was as much to stimulate herself as to satisfy the children that just before the turn of the year Margaret formed new classes in the Bible, German, and rhetoric.⁵⁶ When she opened Whateley's text and read a few passages at the first meeting of the rhetoric group, Harriet Taine asked:

"Shall we get the lesson by heart, Miss Fuller?"

"No," was the answer. "I never wish a lesson learned by heart, as that phrase is commonly understood. A lesson is as far as possible from being learned by *heart* when it is said to be, if it is only learned by *body*. I wish *you* to get your lessons by *mind*."⁵⁷

Still lively as birds, Ann Brown and Harriet Taine, Mary Allen and the others set about learning Whateley's *Rhetoric* by mind. They wrote definitions of logic, rhetoric and philosophy. When poetry arose as a topic of conversation, Margaret asked the class the meaning of the word.⁵⁸ No one answered.

"Write it down then," she said.

She looked at the children, a few biting their pens, one or two looking out of the window at the pale winter sun or down at the orange carpet, a few racing their thoughts along the page, all meditating

54. "I told him [John Neal] when we were going home that I liked him very much, knew only three or four men whom I liked better—I might have added that I knew none who was so truly a man." Fuller Papers, Boston Public Library, MS. F. 1, 2, 1: unpaginated document.

55. Ralph Waldo Emerson to Margaret Fuller (August 17, 1837), Rusk, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II: 94.

56. *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 427.

57. *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 427.

58. The following remarks may be found in *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 427.

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upon the nature of poetry. This, Margaret thought, is teaching at its highest. Yet, she felt she could never go beyond this point. It marked an end. It did not quite satisfy. Mary Allen brought her definition up to Miss Fuller's desk. "Poetry is a harmony of words." Margaret read it aloud and the children agreed that it was excellent. Then Margaret said:

"I regret to say that it is very incorrect."

Ann Brown asked Miss Fuller to give her own definition. Looking over the bright tops of the children's heads, Margaret defined poetry. It was a long definition and the girls had difficulty taking notes in their journals. It had to do less with words, somehow, than with life, less even with thought than with action. As she spoke the children experienced strange throbbings in their hearts, unfamiliar longings to escape the known and the commonplace. There was no doubt that this was teaching at its best. Mary Allen believed so, for she wrote to her parents: "It is worth a journey to Providence to hear Miss Fuller talk." Yet it was not enough. Teaching was an avenue that had been explored; it did not open upon wider fields.

In the afternoons Margaret turned from Goethe to Körner. She sat at her little table with its Plutarch, its Milton and Goethe, and wrote an account of the life of Karl Theodor Körner,⁵⁹ the poet who had prayed for the freedom of Germany, whose muse had ever sounded her silver trumpets. In days when worthless demagogues compassed their selfish ends by vaunting in every market place sentiments only fit for the lips of saints and martyrs, it was good to read Körner. For he had said that a great day asks great souls; he had felt within himself the strength of a rock in a tempestuous sea. She sent the article to *The Western Messenger* and in January and February of 1838 James Clarke published it.

But Körner was not Goethe. And Mr. Fowler,⁶⁰ who examined Margaret's head phrenologically, was not John Neal. Sarah Whitman's coterie seemed narrow. Their habits of minute scrutiny, unknown in the wider circles which Margaret had frequented in Boston and Concord, began to annoy her. They jostled too closely to

59. S. M. F., "Karl Theodor Körner," *The Western Messenger; devoted to Religion and Literature*, IV: 5 and 6 (Jan. and Feb., 1838).

60. Margaret Fuller to Margaret Crane Fuller (November 18, 1837), Fuller MSS., Harvard College Library, IX: 56.

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see one another, or herself, fairly.⁶¹ Nor were they particularly well informed. One day they babbled on about Schiller, calling him Skiller time after time. Margaret could not restrain her impatience and at last blurted out, "It is Schiller, Schiller. Don't say Skiller; it sounds so like a vulgar skillet."⁶² Mrs. Nias, too, for all her beauty, had no great understanding. Once after a particularly fruitless day when neither Goethe nor Körner could stimulate her to thought, Margaret entered the small assembly room to find Mrs. Nias discussing mythology as if it were a new phase of animal magnetism. Again the distaste mounted within her. She could not check her tongue. Out they tumbled, the words that could cut a human being into little pieces:

"Why, Mrs. Nias, you would have been worth educating!"⁶³

The inadequacy of life in Providence was even more noticeable after James Clarke visited Margaret from the West.⁶⁴ It was pleasant to discuss the Greene Street School with him. She showed him two packages of letters which she had received from her pupils, the first written after they had been in school only a short time, all confessing their ignorance. "Oh Miss Fuller, we did not know, till we came to you, how ignorant we were. We seem to know nothing at all, and not to be able to learn anything." The second package contained the later letters, all acknowledging their indebtedness to Miss Fuller for "showing us how we can become something better. You have given us courage and taught us how to go forward." The first package Margaret labeled, "Under Conviction"; the second, "Obtained a hope." James Clarke was interested and thought Margaret had accomplished a great deal at Greene Street. But Margaret, thinking of his *Western Messenger* and his activities in the West, felt as though her life in Providence had been futile. After her visitor left, Margaret sat down to write a song for the May Day excursion of the school.

May Day passed quickly too. The children went a-Maying to the "Grotto" on Moses Brown's farm. Margaret's song was sung to the

61. Margaret Fuller to Mrs. S. Whitman (January 27, 1840), Granville Hicks, "Margaret Fuller to Sarah Helen Whitman; an unpublished letter," *American Literature* (Jan., 1930), I: 421.

62. Greene, "The Greene-Street School and Its Teachers," 211.

63. *The Critic* (Oct., 1903), 342.

64. Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 85.

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accompaniment of a flute.⁶⁵ There were dances and refreshments. During the spring Hiram Fuller arranged other entertainments for the children. One day M. and Mme. Canderbeck came to amuse them with trained poodles.⁶⁶ To Margaret Fuller such exhibitions were not very entertaining.

There was little reason now for staying on at Providence. Margaret's brother Arthur was nearly ready for college. She had saved enough out of her thousand dollars to pay for his tuition. Hiram Fuller's practical efficiency was becoming distasteful. He had rebuked her for attending the Whig caucus. Their cordial relations began to lapse. She felt ill again. The headaches had returned and the tiny draughts of opium were the only means of release. Margaret realized that though she had learned much in Providence, she had thought little.⁶⁷

On November 15, 1838, the class in moral science met for the last time.⁶⁸ Miss Fuller began by reading the letters her children had written on how the Sabbath should be spent. Then she asked them to keep those letters and read them again one year from the coming Christmas. "Think of me when you read them; think whether you have been guided by the rules laid down there." Margaret extolled "sweet Mary Allen" for her devotion to truth, and bade the pupils good-bye. They trooped out quietly, subdued and moved by the simple farewell.

The rhetoric class gathered together for the last time in December.⁶⁹ Harriet Taine carried to Miss Fuller's desk a copy of Shakespeare and a ring, gifts from the students. Margaret was touched and after she had thanked her pupils she spoke of her initial difficulties at the school, of her own teaching and her own manner.

"It has sometimes been harsh, sometimes too ironical, but I have never really felt either toward you. If I have been harsh, it was to insure obedience, and if I have been ironical it was to awaken within you a sense of your deficiencies and to stimulate you to exertion. I fear I may have wounded many tender natures." Margaret remem-

65. Greene, "The Greene-Street School and Its Teachers," 211.

66. *Ibid.*, 208-09.

67. Gamaliel Bradford, *Portraits of American Women* (Boston, 1919), 150.

68. For this meeting see *The Christian Register* (April 21, 1910), 429.

69. Unpaginated document in Fuller MSS., Boston Public Library, MS. F. 1, 2, J. The account of Margaret Fuller's last day in Providence appears here.

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bered the round robin. "But for this I humbly ask your pardon and I can sincerely say that it was never intentional."

Again the winter sun cast its pale light on the orange carpet. It was the last time they would watch the carpet change its colors under the sunlight. Margaret went on speaking of what she had done for her own pupils, of how much more she had wished to do. She spoke, too, of her own trials, her own disappointments at Providence. There were tears in her eyes, and in the eyes of the children. At last, she said, "For the last time my girls, I say to you, you may go." No one moved. A few minutes passed. The orange carpet glowed in the mid-day sun. Margaret arose and walked to each girl, kissing her, bidding her good-bye. Then she left the room.

Miss Sarah S. Jacobs arrived to take Margaret's place in the Greene Street School. Margaret left for Groton,⁷⁰ where she hoped for time to think about the varied year that had passed. In Providence she had observed the tendencies of the time, mesmerism, materialism in conflict with mysticism; such isms were food for thought. Her year at Providence had enriched her, and would no doubt be a source of knowledge for the *Conversations* she would one day give in West Street and for the *Dial* which she would edit.

⁷⁰. Margaret Fuller's family lived at Groton till 1839, when they moved to Jamaica Plain.

White Indentured Servants In Colonial New York

BY CHARLES M. HAAR, NEW YORK

I



STUDY of the conditions of a people is never complete without an investigation of its labor system and, in early New York history, this means an investigation of free labor, slavery, apprenticeship and servitude. Although indentured white servants did not play so great a rôle in New York as in some of the other colonies—notably Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania¹—they nevertheless were an important part of both its social and economic development. This paper will deal with indentured servants, and will take up the conditions which gave rise to them, the nature and character of their service, their economic importance, their individual personalities, the laws regulating them and, finally, the eventual breakdown of the system and their disappearance from the economic and social scene of New York.

Indentured servitude—the system whereby a person was bound out, voluntarily or involuntarily, to serve a number of years in order to pay the cost of his passage to America—was not only the chief source of labor of the colonies in the seventeenth century,² but was also the device whereby a goodly portion of the immigrants came over to America.³ As with most institutions, indentured servitude did

1. There are many elaborate claims made by its students for indentured servitude in these colonies. For example, C. A. Herrick declares: "Pennsylvania's industrial development, and her social and political history, can be fully comprehended only from a study of white servitude. . . . As colony and commonwealth Pennsylvania's history was largely affected by indentured servitude," "White Servitude in Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, J. J. McVey, 1926, 285. For the other colonies see "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia" by J. C. Ballagh, Baltimore, 1895 (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science), and McCormack, E. I., "White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820," Baltimore (Johns Hopkins Studies), 1904.

2. Nettles, C. P., "Roots of American Civilization," New York, F. S. Crofts, 1938, 318. Similar statements can be found in nearly all books on the subject.

3. J. R. Commons, "Races and Immigrants in America," estimates that half of the immigrants coming over to America in the colonial period were indentured servants. This seems to be a reasonable estimate.

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not suddenly and capriciously, as did Minerva, spring from Jupiter's head; it arose rather through a long evolution as the direct response to the needs of the day.⁴ Indentured servitude was called into existence by two different though complementary forces: there was both a positive attraction from the New World and a negative repulsion from the Old.

In England, feudalism, though still breathing, was in its last throes. The old order was yielding to the new—and a keen ear could detect foreboding reverberations. For, rapidly displacing grain growing the woolen industry began to occupy more and more land, and while from our superior (and unaffected) perspective we might say the enclosures were necessary for the modernization of England, it came about in such a ruthless and arbitrary fashion as to drown out all "redeeming" qualities. The poor were truly scourged with scorpions; tenants were driven off to make room for sheep, and had neither land nor work.

The number of paupers grew rapidly, and England became "exceedingly pestered"⁵ with them. Parliament passed a series of harsh poor laws from 1563-1601 which "did not so much alleviate poverty as to give the landed and money-owning classes new tools for exploiting the bedeviled pauper."⁶ The Statute of Apprentices gave justices—who *were* the landowners—the power to fix wages for their laborers (there was no National Labor Relations Board in those days), and since they set it as low as possible, the home parish had to furnish the difference between the amount paid and the amount necessary to keep the laborer alive.⁷ Compulsory employment of "vagrants" was provided for, as was also the tying down of agricultural laborers to their native parish.⁸ Add to this the sharp decline

4. That indentured servitude is not to be regarded as a freak or mutant can be seen in the way it was revived under the "new" imperialism to meet essentially the same conditions; it has furnished the Kingdom of Hawaii with laborers, and the plantation of Fiji with coolies from India, while its chief use has been in the Chinese "coolie trade." Goodrich, Carter, "Contract Labor," "The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences," 342-44. See also Ireland, A., "Tropical Colonization," New York, Macmillan, 1899.

5. As a contemporary statement puts it. Cited by Cheyney, E. P., "A Short History of England," Ginn and Company, 1927, 368.

6. Scramuzza, V. M., "Greek and English Colonization," "American Historical Review," New York (January, 1939), XLIV, 306.

7. Rogers, "History of Agriculture and Prices in England," V, 97.

8. *Ibid.*, 829.

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of real wages,⁹ severe economic depressions,¹⁰ and crop failures, especially in Ireland, and the picture is indeed a black one. Sheffield in 1615 had seven hundred twenty-five of its population of 2,207 relying upon charity, and this was by no means exceptional.¹¹ Velasco, the Spanish minister in England, significantly wrote his sovereign in 1611: "Their principal reason for colonizing these parts is to give an outlet to so many idle, wretched people as they have in England, and thus prevent the dangers that might be feared of them."¹²

On the other hand, the colonies had a great need of labor for their future development. One could readily quote Adam Smith with great learning and profundity to that effect, but it takes mere common sense to realize that where land was plentiful and easily securable there would be little temptation for a person to remain a hired laborer for any length of time. Years before Alexander Hamilton's vaunted report on manufactures, Governor Moore, of New York, had already pointed out that "The Price of Labor is so great in this part of the world, that it will always prove the greatest obstacle to any Manufactures attempted to be set up here . . . in a Country where everyone can have land to work upon. . . ."¹³ The need in New York, as it was to be in the later imperialistic settlements, was for a cheap labor which could not readily advance from the position of hired workers.¹⁴

The interrelationship between the labor-starved colonies, and an (temporary) overcrowded Mother Country can easily be seen in the various writers who soon turned to the vast class of the disinherited in England. These propagandists, whose abilities would make many chambers of commerce—even California's—turn pale with envy, were subsidized to paint alluring pictures of the conditions in America, and

9. Rogers estimates that in 1600 the people had but a fourth of the purchasing power they had enjoyed in 1500.

10. Nettles, 95.

11. Bruce, P. A., "Economic History of Virginia," Macmillan, New York, 1896, I.

12. Quoted by Jernagan, M. W., "Labouring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783," Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1931, 47.

13. "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," VII, 888.

14. To illustrate the high price of labor there is a story of a master who had to sell a pair of oxen to pay his servant. The servant said he would serve another year for more cattle. But, so the story goes, the master asked what would he do when all his cattle was gone. To which the servant answered: "You shall then serve me, and so you may have your cattle again." Both Herrick and McCormack relate this story and give as their source Winthrop's "History of New England," II, 219.

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thereby induce the poor to emigrate. Of the many examples one could cite, here is Gabriel Thomas' conclusion to his saccharine "History of Pennsylvania," which, incidentally, throws much light on contemporary conditions in England:

Reader, what I have written is not a Fiction, Flaw, Whim, or any sinister design, either to impose upon the Ignorant or Credulous, or to curry favour with the Rich and Mighty,¹⁵ but in meer Pity and Pure Compassion to the Numbers of Poor Labouring Men and Women and Children in England, half starv'd, visible in their meager looks, that are continually wandering up and down, looking for Employment without finding any, who here need not lie idle a moment, nor want due Encouragement or Reward for work. Here are no beggars to be seen . . . nor indeed, have any here the least Occasion or Temptation to take up that Scandalous, Lazy Life.¹⁶

When indentured servitude developed it was merely a transplanting of the English apprentice system to America with modifications for the new environment. It is almost a truism to declare that life did not begin anew in the wilderness; America was but the extension of Europe, and labor, as a whole, in New York resembled closely the medieval workers, while indentured servitude, in particular, was a modification of the English practice of binding out the poor and unemployed. In short—to cease belaboring the point—New York adopted English labor institutions, and they were subjected to new environmental conditioning and evolution in the new country.

Thus we may say that indentured servitude was a device by which business enterprise brought over labor from Europe to the new and developing colonies; it was the best method then devised to overcome the major obstacles of inertia, ignorance and high cost of transportation which hindered the emigration process;¹⁷ that although "penurie and want"¹⁸ were the basic, underlying causes for emigration, religious freedom, luring propaganda, mercantilism¹⁹ and forced

15. The truth is that he was paid well. Herrick, 47.

16. Thomas, G., "Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and of West Jersey in America," 1694, 43. I owe this point to Herrick.

17. Goodrich, Carter, "Indenture," "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," VII.

18. Sir George Peckham stated in 1582: "There are at this day great numbers which live in such penurie and want as could be contented to hazard their lives, and to serve one yeare for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates." The original source of this oft-quoted statement is Hart, "American History Told by Contemporaries," I, 152.

19. The prevailing philosophy in England of having as large a population in the colonies as possible in order to provide a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods lead to the encouragement of such emigration.

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indenture²⁰ commingled; and, finally, the two sets of complementary conditions in Europe and the colonies (New York) gave rise to indentured servitude, the connecting bridge over which flowed much of the new labor force to the New World.

II

Indentured servants can be roughly defined as those immigrants, who, unable to meet the cost of their passage,²¹ were bound out by the ship-master for a period of four to seven years—usually four—to pay the expense of their voyage (and to provide some additional profit for the captain). The contract of indenture, which set forth the rights and obligations of both parties, was couched along the following terms:

This Indenture Wittneseth that Elizsbeth Morris Now att Present of ye Citty of New Yorke Spinster as well for And In Consideration of her Passage on board the Barquentine Called the Antegua (Captain William Kidd late Owner) in the late Voyage from the Kingdom of England to the porte of New Yorke as also for other good Causes and Considerations her thereunto Moveing Hath and by these Presents doth binde her selfe A Servant unto the Said Capt William Kidd and to live with him after the manner of a Servant and with his Executors Administrators or Assigns for and Dureing the full Terme and Space of four years. . . . And the Said Elizabeth oth hereby Promise and oblige her selfe Dureing the said Terme faithfully Carefully and honestly to serve the said William Kidd his Executors Administrators or Assigns as a good and honest Servant ought to doe. And dureing which Said time the Said William Kidd doth hereby binde and Oblige himselfe his Executors Administrators and assigns to finde and Provide for her the Said Elizabeth Necessary and Competent meat Drinke washing lodging and apparell and Employ her In honest and Convenient Labour Dureing the Sd Terme and att the Expiration thereof Shall give unto her Double apparell.²²

20. *I. e.*, convicts and kidnapped ones.

21. The contemporary Peter Kalm says that the fare to America was from six to eight pounds, "Travels in North America," edited by A. B. Benson, New York, Wilson-Erickson, 1931, I, 205. Bruce states that the fare to Virginia remained at six pounds throughout the seventeenth century. Similarly, T. J. Wertenbaker estimates that the fare varied from six to ten pounds, "The First Americans, 1607-1690," New York, Macmillan, 1927, 24. I cannot reconcile these to McCormac's estimate that the cost of passage in 1803 was \$80.64, "much less than in previous centuries," 59.

22. "The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of New Yorke, 1675-1866," Collections of the New York Historical Society, New York, 1885, 571.

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The duties of "a good and honest Servant" and what she was to receive at the end of her term of service are interestingly set forth in the indenture of Aulkey Hubertse of Albany to John Dilemeront:

. . . . during all which term the said servant her said Master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commands gladly everywhere obey, she shall do no Damage to her said Master nor see it to be done by others without letting or giving notice thereof to her said Master; she shall not wast her Masters goods or lend them unlawfully to any; she shall not commit fornication; at Cards, Dice or any other unlawful Game she shall not play, whereby her said Master may have Damage; with her own goods or the goods of others during the said Term, without Licence from her said Master, she shall neither buy nor sell; she shall not absent herself day or night from her Master's service without his leave, nor haunt Ale-houses, Taverns or Playhouses and at the expiration of her said servitude, her said Master John Dilemeront shall find, provide for and deliver unto his said servant double apparell, that is to say, apparell fit for to have and to wear as well on the Lord's Day as working days, both linning and woolen stockings and shoes and other Necessarys meet for such a Servant to have and to wear.²³

The servants in New York, as in the other colonies, may be classified into two large groups: There were those who came of their own accord, either the persons who signed an indenture contract beforehand and were thus better protected when they were sold to the highest bidder, or the redemptioners who had signed no contract and were sold at their arrival by the ship-master if they could not indenture themselves within a few days; the second group consisted of those who were brought against their own volition, the convicts²⁴ and the victims of kidnappers.

23. Munsell, Joel, "The Annals of Albany," Albany, J. Munsell, 1856, VII, 234-36.

24. In a lengthy footnote Professor McKee attempts to refute Professor Jernegan's statement that there were convicts among the indentured servants in New York, and comes to the conclusion "that there were few or no 'transports' brought to the colony." "Labor in Colonial New York, 1664-1776," New York, Columbia University Press, 1935, 91. While sentiment might lead one to concur with this statement, it seems of too dubious a nature to me to be readily accepted. As early as 1630 we find the statement that their Dutch "High Mightinesses shall exert themselves to provide the patroons with persons bound to serve who shall be obliged to serve out their bounden Time." Persons, the editor remarks, here means convicts. Butler, J. D., "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," "American Historical Review" (October, 1896), 24, cites "New York Colonial Documents," I, 99. In 1677 John Brown, a Quaker, was shipped from the island of Nevis to Long Island. Butler cites Besse, "Sufferings of Quakers," II, 364. The Committee of Trade in 1693 asked that convicts who were in Newgate for transportation should be sent to New York for military service. "Documents Relative to the

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The voyage which brought the indentured servants over to America was frightful; "there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and the like, all of which comes from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably," declared Mittelberger.²⁵ His description of the conditions of the passage are really too shocking to be quoted here. However, short and safe passages were not unknown.²⁶

When the vessels arrived in New York the ship-masters, or the merchants who acted as their agents, inserted advertisements into the newspapers to inform prospective purchasers of their "merchandise"; "On Board the Ship 'Charming Polly,' Capt. Edward Bayley, Master, now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of New York, there are several Palatine and Switzer servants to be Sold; some are Farmers and some are Trades-men. To be agreed for on board the Ship, and taken off

Colonial History of the State of New York," IV, 31. Professor McKee himself admits he is puzzled over Governor Cosby's speech to the Assembly on April 25, 1774, which complained that "whilst the neighboring Provinces are filled with honest, useful, and laborious white people," New York was suffering "a too great importation of negroes and convicts." There was apparently no prejudice against prisoners in New York, for as he himself has written in a previous book, whereas the agents of Massachusetts, Virginia and Maryland refused to accept some fifty women convicts the New York agent declared that "it will not be to the disadvantage of New York that they be sent thither, if they are young and fitted for labor" (The women were finally sent to the Leeward Islands). McKee, S., "A Century of Labor," in the "History of the State of New York," edited by A. C. Flick, New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, II. William Stuart says that it is "altogether probable" that convicts came to New York "for in the 4th of George II we find that 'convicts are frequently imported into this province' New Jersey." "White Servitude in New York and New Jersey," "Americana" (January, 1921), XV, 26. I also came across an ad in the "New York Gazette" of November 4-11, 1728, which says: "the Master and Mate of said Ship having made Oath before the Mayor of this City, That the said servants, nor any of them, are not convicted Criminals, but that they are Persons that freely and voluntarily engaged themselves." This leads to the conclusion that many convicts must have been passed off in New York as free-willers. Finally, the manner in which the colonies were nearly swamped with prisoners—Butler estimates that at least 10,000 were sent out from Old Bailey alone between 1717 and 1775—makes it highly probable that many convicts were sent to New York. While disagreeing with him in particulars, I have obviously drawn heavily upon Professor McKee's pioneer work in New York colonial labor.

25. "Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754," translated by C. T. Eben, Philadelphia, J. J. McVey, 1898, 20. See also "The Diary of John Harrower," reprinted in "American Historical Review" (October, 1900), VI, 65-108.

26. Jacob Loeb, master of the "Snow Lane and Unity," advertised that he was all set to take revenge on those certain Persons, whose insinuations charging him with great barbarities towards certain Palatine Passengers on board his vessel had brought him before the court on two indictments for murder. He had been declared not guilty there, however, since it was not his fault, but that "of contrary Winds and calm." "New York Gazette," June 5-12, 1732.

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from thence by the Buyer."²⁷ Another advertisement read: "To be SOLD on board the 'Snow Henry,' Capt. Stewart, now lying at the New-Dock, choice Irish butter and potatoes; also the indented time of several servant men."²⁸ Another merchant irately announced: "All Persons indebted for any Palatine Servants brought over from Holland in the Ship 'Indian King,' Capt. Tingley, are desired to pay the same forthwith to Christian Hartell, to prevent Trouble. There is yet remaining several Men, Women and Children, to be disposed of by said Hartell; as also a Quantity of choice Cocoa, fit for the London Market."²⁹

The price the buyer had to pay to the captain or to the agent for the time of a servant—as is the case with most of the material dealing with New York indentured servitude—is well nigh impossible to discover. Professor McKee states that he could find but two records of the cost of an indentured servant—and one of these is really an indenture of an apprentice.³⁰ The other one, the indenture of Mary Vander Ripe, of New York City, to Joost Soy would seem to indicate that the price of a woman servant was fifteen pounds for four years.³¹ The unexpired time of Mary Burton, a servant who turned state's evidence in the trial of the negro conspirators in 1741, was purchased from her owner for ten pounds by the City of New York, although the length of the expired term is not given. She was then released and given three pounds to "buy her Necessary Cloathing."³²

The figures for the other colonies indicate their cost in New York. In Pennsylvania the price was ten pounds for a term of five years in 1722; about 1750 the price was fourteen pounds for four years; twenty-two pounds for four years after 1760.³³ Maryland's average price was from fifteen to twenty pounds, while the term of indenture was from one to five years, usually four or five.³⁴ Correspondingly, Virginians paid eleven to fifteen pounds for a four-year term, and

27. "New York Gazette," April 17-23, 1739.

28. "New York Mercury," April 25, 1774, quoted by McKee, 105.

29. "New York Weekly Post-Boy," January 7, 1750-51.

30. I do not see at all why Professor McKee chose to regard the indenture of Walter Hopper as one of a servant; it is clearly but an indenture of apprentice, and is so plainly listed in the "Indenture Of Apprentices," Collections of New York Historical Society, 1885, 576-77.

31. "Indenture of Apprentices, 1718-27," New York Historical Society Collections, New York, 1909.

32. McKee, 97.

33. Herrick, 201.

34. McCormac, 38-39, 42.

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from thirteen to seventeen pounds for a six-year term.³⁵ Since the "laws" of supply and demand equalized the price throughout the colonies, it is therefore safe to say that the cost of an indentured servant in New York was from ten to twenty pounds for a four-year term.

The number of indentured servants in New York is another interesting problem. After reviewing the fragmentary evidence Professor McKee is inclined to believe—with certain reservations—that their number in New York must have been rather small. To his reservations, I would add still further qualifications.

There are many confusing and contradictory factors. In the first place, the population of the entire Colony of New York was sparse. Under Governor Stuyvesant New Amsterdam had a population of only 1647;³⁶ in 1698 the number of inhabitants was 18,067, of which 2,170 were negroes and 6,154 were children;³⁷ while in 1756 it could boast of but 83,223 whites, including children.³⁸ The total number of indentured servants could not have been, therefore, very large. Their proportionate number, however, might conceivably be important.

In Dutch times, under the patroon system, the servants were brought from Europe more on account of the land received for their transportation than from the profit resulting from their labor. Even in its later period New Netherlands, it is believed, had few indentured servants.³⁹ Here again the evidence as to the scarcity of servants is so sketchy, and the several indications to the contrary, notably the legislation passed by the Dutch regulating the servants and the provisions made for runaways, make me believe that no definite inference can be drawn as to their number.

There is also existing a list of the emigration from England to the American colonies from December 11, 1773, to March 31, 1776. During this period, while thousands of indentured servants were going to Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, only twenty-nine of them sailed for New York.⁴⁰ Professor McKee offers this as proof that

35. Bruce, II, 51.

36. "Documentary History of the State of New York," edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, Albany, Weed, Parsons, I, 467.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, 473.

39. "History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century," by Mrs. S. Van Rensselaer, New York, Macmillan, 1909, I, 466.

40. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Boston, published by the society, 62-65, 1908-11.

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there were but few servants. This, I think, is again no complete indication, since it covers such a short span of years and, moreover, years which cannot be regarded as typical.

The only other remaining evidence is the many contemporary statements mentioning the scarcity of indentured servants. Governor Andros' report of 1678 said that there are "but few Serv^{ts}, much wanted and but very few slaves."⁴¹ Governor Robert Hunter recommended to the Legislature, May 7, 1712, "That some good law be passed, for putting slaves under a better regulation, and to encourage the importation of white servitude."⁴² Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, in December, 1757, urged a poll tax upon slaves since it would naturally tend to introduce white servants, which will augment the strength of the country."⁴³ In another connection, Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, wrote in 1756 that there were more servants in Maryland and Pennsylvania than in all the other colonies combined.⁴⁴ Although we may take these as some slight proof that there were not *very* many indentured servants in New York, in view of the total lack of figures any estimation of their number must be taken with considerably more than the proverbial grain of salt.

The occupational distribution of the indentured servants was exceedingly diverse. Besides ordinary farmers and laborers nearly every existing trade was represented in their ranks. One advertisement read: "On Monday last the Scow called the 'Eagle,' arrived here from Dublin, with fifty Men and Women Servants, most of the Men are Handy-crafts as Weavers, Taylors, Coopers, Black-smiths, Cordwainers, Feltmakers, Braisers, Brewers, Butchers, and the rest are Farmers and Labourers. Those that incline to Purchase the Time of any of the said Servants, may apply to William Walon or to John and Jacob Reade, Merchants in New York, who will dispose of said Servants on Reasonable Terms."⁴⁵ Again and again, the advertisements set forth the trades of the servants: "Servants, Just arrived from Scotland, . . . among which are A number of Weavers, Taylors, Blacksmiths, Nailors, Shoemakers, Butchers, Sawyers, Wheel-

41. "Documentary History of the State of New York," 61.

42. "Messages from the Governors," I, 161.

43. *Ibid.*, 618.

44. McKee, 93.

45. "New York Gazette," April 21-28, 1729.

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Wrights, Hatters, and Spinsters. . . . "46 "Just imported, . . . a parcel of likely Welsh Servants of both Sexes; the Men mostly Tradesmen: Millers, Masons, Taylors, and Coopers, &c."47

A group of twenty-nine indentured servants sailed from England to New York in the week of January 3-10, 1775, and their occupations afford an interesting cross-section. Eleven were described as laborers, four as husbandmen, two as grooms, two as buckle-makers, two as sawyers, and the others were described as a carpenter, a footman, a clerk and bookkeeper, a mathematical instrument maker, a gentleman's servant, a stocking weaver, a gardener and, finally, a brass founder.⁴⁸

New York was primarily agricultural, and during the entire colonial period her exports consisted chiefly of farm products.⁴⁹ There was a scarcity of skilled labor here, as in the other colonies,⁵⁰ and the indentured servants must have provided many of the skilled handicraftsmen necessary for the colonial farming economy. The occupations ascribed to the indentured servants, besides the many who worked as laborers and farm servants, were those necessary to supplement an agrarian, backward economic system.

The large part the servants must have played in the skilled trades of New York⁵¹ is shown in a story told by Governor Moore. He exasperatedly writes that the indented servants "Imported from Europe of *different Trades*" would rather "lead miserable lives, and the most abject Poverty" in farming, after the expiration of their indenture, instead of "that comfortable subsistence which they could procure for themselves and their families by working at the Trades in which they were brought up.

"The Master of a Glass-house, which was set up here a few years ago, now a Bankrupy, assured me that his ruin was owing to no other cause than being deserted in this manner by his servants, which he

46. "New York Mercury," May 23, 1774. Quoted by I. N. P. Stokes, "Iconography of Manhattan Island," New York, 855.

47. "New York Post-Boy," cited by Stokes, 629.

48. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," 323.

49. "History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States," Johnson, E. R., Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1915, 78.

50. Clark, V. S., "History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1929, I, 153.

51. Manufacturing was not carried on to any great extent in Maryland until after the Revolution, but the few manufactures that existed were carried on by indentured servants. McCormac, 35.

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had Imported at a great expence; and that many others had suffered and been reduced as he was by the same kind of Misfortune."⁵²

III

One factor which greatly impeded the successful operation of the institution of indentured servitude was the constant running away of the servants. After reading through the newspapers, one is left with the feeling that everybody not tied down was running away; prisoners—one unfortunate sheriff was invariably advertising for some escaped convict or other—Indians, negroes, mulattos, apprentices and servants were everlastingly on the run.

The reasons for running away were varied. Many had probably intended to run away from the time of their departure from Europe. As in the other colonies, convicts and those kidnapped by the "spirits"⁵³ would naturally attempt to break away from the unsolicited and unwelcomed bondage thrust upon them. Furthermore, they discovered that they had made a poor bargain; while they had sold their services for a period of four years to meet the cost of their passage, which was about ten pounds, free laborers were receiving annual wages of twelve pounds and up.⁵⁴ Bad treatment may have forced many to make a hasty and summary departure. Eddis, talking of Maryland, said that "they groan underneath a worse than Egyptian bondage."⁵⁵ A New Yorker writing to a friend in Edinburgh, referred to a notice in the "New York Mercury" advertising indentured servants from Scotland, and said: "It is impossible to express the severe useage and hardship the poor people are exposed to, who migrate from your country, in hopes of mending their condition here. I think it may be of use to undeceive such misguided men, if you will publish the . . . ad in your paper, for the information of such who doubt the truth of so incredible a fact."⁵⁶ There are also several court records of extreme cruelty to servants. The relative simplicity

52. "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," VII, 888.

53. I am certain that there were some kidnapped indentured servants in New York. The other colonies had them, and there was no reason why New York should be an exception. Also, in August, 1774, William Cunningham arrived in New York with some indentured servants, which, according to his dying confession on August 10, 1791, he "had kidnapped in Ireland."

54. McKee, 25-26.

55. Eddis, William, "Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive," London, 1792, 70.

56. Stokes, 865.

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with which an escape could be made, for a runaway servant could probably go anywhere unmolested, was also a factor in prompting them to run away.

Runaways were a great menace to the owners for they meant a loss of the initial capital sunk in the servant, and that a constant supply of labor was not forthcoming. Very early in its history, as shall be pointed out in the next section, New Netherlands passed laws which attempted to curb this practice. The intercolonial nature of the runaways is seen in the agreement made between Maryland and New Netherlands in 1643 which provided for the return of each other's fugitive servants. In October, 1659, the Governor of New Netherlands sent a letter to Maryland, sharply complaining that, although he had kept his part of the agreement, many servants from his Colony had gone to Maryland, and had not been returned. He warned Maryland that unless she returned all fugitives from his Colony he would "publish free liberty access and recess to all Planters Servants, Negroes, fugitives and Runaways" from Maryland.⁵⁸

In a sense, it is fortunate that there were so many runaways, for it is in the runaway advertisements that one finds descriptions of the looks, dress, habits and peculiarities of the servants. It is admittedly hazardous to generalize on the basis of a sampling of these ads, but certain principles do emerge.

For one thing, the servants were rather young. They are usually described as "youngish," and when the ages are given they are usually in the twenties.⁵⁹ The advertisements also seem to indicate that the majority of the servants were Irish—although this may be due solely to natural belligerency.⁶⁰ These ads plus those advertising their sale indicate that English, Scotch, Welsh, Dutch, German⁶¹ and Swiss

58. McCormac, 52-53.

59. This is borne out in the case of the famous twenty-nine who sailed to New York the week of January 3-10, 1775. Of these, five were fifteen, one was sixteen, five were seventeen, seven were eighteen, three were nineteen, two were twenty-one, one was twenty-four, and the other five were under thirty-five. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," 323.

60. A letter published in the "Independent Reflector," March 15, 1753, decried the many Irish and English who were brought into the Colony as compared with the few persons from other countries. McKee, 104.

61. The Germans underwent an interesting—though for them rather painful—experiment. The Palatines were settled some ninety-two miles from New York City. The plan was in the nature of an indenture, "making the Palatines indentured servants until they had repaid the government" for their transportation and settlement. This government redemptional scheme broke down. Knittle, W., "Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration," Philadelphia, Dorrance & Co., 1937.

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inhabitants were also to be found among the indentured servants. Some native-born Americans were also included among the servants, probably from need of money. An ad read: "Four Year Time of a Servant Maid, this country born, to be disposed of; she is a very handy, sober Girl, can handle her Needle, wash and iron exceedingly well, and understands all manner of House Work."⁶² The servants were short according to our standards, being described most frequently as "of middle stature," and if more specific, as "five feet, four inches." They were almost invariably pock-marked, so that one wonders how this could possibly help identify a runaway. Finally, one striking factor emerges: in their rainbowlike costumes the servants must have been a sight most wondrous to behold. Ads reported servants wearing "a brown Coat and Breeches, coat cuffed and lined with blue, a blue Shoulder knot, a black wig, and a Pair of Red Stockings,"⁶³ or as wearing "a striped Cotton Waistcoat and Breeches, with Buttons of the same Colour, a striped Cotton Shirt, a Pair of Brown Thread Stockings with Holes in Them, a blue Watch-Coat, a Pair of Shoes something too large for him, and turns up a little at the Toes, an old Hat, and short brown Wig."⁶⁴

The ad for a runaway servant tried to be as specific as possible in its description. A typical ad, except for the complexion, read: "Run away from John Bell of the City of New York, a Servant Man named John Smith, about 24 or 25 Years of Age, is of low stature, fresh Complexion, Round Faced, has short curled Hair of a light Colour, and is marked or stained with Powder or Ink on his Right Wrist with is and three Spots:⁶⁵ He wears a light Coloured Duroys Coat and Waistcoat with small Buttons, and dark coloured Duroy Breeches with silk Puffs of a Purple Colour; he has a dew Hat; and has taken with two Ozenbrig Wastecoats and one pair of Breeches of the same a pair of blue striped Breeches and two pair of Trousers. Whoever can take up and secure said Servant, so that his Master can have him again, shall have 40 shillings Reward and all reasonable Charges, paid by J. Bell."^{65a} Another master advertised: "Run away on the 28th of last Month, from his Master, John Potts, of Colebrooke Dale, a

62. "New York Mercury," March 19, 1764.

63. "New York Gazette," August 10-17, 1730.

64. "New York Post-Boy," September 16, 1754. McKee, 109.

65. This branding of a servant seems to be very rare.

65a. "New York Gazette," November 2-9, 1730.

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Low-Dutch Servant Man, named John Henry Sickin, Speaks the Holland Language well, and English in a broken Manner. He is thick set, of a sandy complexion, wears his own Hair, and is pitted with the Small-Pox, and pretends to be a very great Scholar. Had on when he went away a bluish Coat wove in Diamonds, with red Lining, a red Jacket, Felt Hat, white Stockings, and Check Trousers, with Leather Breeches under them."⁶⁶

Absorbing personalities prance again, full of life, in these advertisements. Consider John Inez who had "long dark coloured Hair, curl'd when dress'd, commonly wears it under a Cap"; or the Scotchman who "wears his own Hair, which is something Curled"; another servant, who in his great hurry to escape did not bother to take much clothing with him, did not forget to take his two wigs, "one is black, the other is of a Light-Colour." One servant is said to be "much addicted to Liquor, very talkative when drunk and remarkably stupid"; another is called a "pretty lusty Fellow" who has a "long Visage and Pock fretten," while still another servant is flatteringly depicted as being "thick squat well fed, and an arch crafty Rogue."

IV

With indentured servants in their midst the colonists soon passed laws regulating them. This legislation covering nearly all phases of indentured servitude dealt with the rights of the masters over the servants, the rights of the servants before the law and the relation between these two and the government.

Runaway servants were, as we have already pointed out, perhaps the most pressing problem for the masters, and they soon forced through legislation to curb this (for them) odious practice. As early as November 25, 1638, we find that all persons in the service of the Dutch West India Company are "commanded not to quit the Island of Manhattan without the express permission of the Hon^{ble} Commander."⁶⁷ On August 9, 1640, an ordinance was passed commanding farm and house servants to serve out their time according to their contracts. Harboring those that ran away was to be penalized by a fine of fifty guilders, "to be divided equally between the informer, the

66. "New York Weekly Post-Boy," September 16, 1751. The dress of the servants certainly affords a wealth of material for a history of American costume and dress.

67. Stokes, 88.

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fund for the new church, and the fiscal."⁶⁸ Again, on April 3, 1642, because of the number of fugitive servants that came daily to New Netherlands from New England and Virginia, an ordinance was passed forbidding the harbouring of strangers for more than one night, "without first notifying the Director and having their names recorded," so that we can know "what sort of people are here and whence they came."⁶⁹

The first legislation concerning servants passed by the English government was the "Duke's Laws" (1665-75), published under the authority of the Duke of York.⁷⁰ A penalty of extension of service—double the time of absence—was provided for all servants who absented themselves from their master, and they were required to make full satisfaction "to their said Master or Mistresse for all Such Costs and Charges and Damages as they shall have Sustained by reason of Such unlawful Departure."⁷¹ Those who transported or in any way aided a servant to escape were to be fined five pounds, and obliged to make full satisfaction to the master for all costs, charges and damages.⁷² An interesting picture of the way the legislators' minds worked when it came to servants running away is seen in the provision that "Whosoever shall Councell, perswade, entice, inveagle or allure any white Servant whether Male or female either by promise of freedome, Matrimony or by any other ways or means whatsoever to (leave) must make full satisfaction." Whoever afforded any manner of relief or sustenance to runaway white servants (and if he were caught, of course) would have to pay ten shillings to the master for a day's concealment, and five pounds to the county.⁷³

In October, 1672, the General Court of Assizes, held in New York, tried to settle the problem of runaway servants. After citing the frequent complaints made of runaway servants, it ordered that thereafter "any stranger who shall arrive at or travel through any town or place without a passport or certificate from whence he came and whither he was bound" was to be seized by any officer of the town and

68. *Ibid.*, 92.

69. *Ibid.*, 95. Ordinance was renewed June 13, 1643.

70. For the lawyer's view of these laws see Hurd, J. C., "The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States," Boston, Little, Brown, 1858, I.

71. "The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution," Albany, James B. Lyon, 1894, I, 147.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*, 148.

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held until he could prove himself to be a free man.⁷⁴ The Governor and Council ordered on March 2, 1685, that "a Seale be made with his R^h Highness' Cypher in every county . . . to be kept by the Chief magistrates of every Town," and this seal would be needed to move from one county to another.⁷⁵ Justices and officers of the law were commanded to aid in the capture of runaway servants. Every justice of the peace was instructed "to grant Hue and Cry . . . and all Constables and Inferior officers are hereby strictly required and Commanded authorized and Impowered to presse Men horses Boates or Pinnaces at the Publique Charge, to pursue such persons, both by Sea and Land and to bring them back by force of Armes."⁷⁶ Servants who had run away and servants who were unruly and ungovernable might be sent to the House of Correction, and kept there at hard labor according to the directions of any one justice.⁷⁷

In addition, there were laws regulating the pleasures and the business activities of the servants, as well as other actions. On February 25, 1654, we find a precedent for this type of regulation in the complaint of two sturdy burgomasters to Stuyvesant because he had forbidden farmers' servants "to ride the goose on the feast of Bacchus at Shrove-tide."⁷⁸ The head of New Amsterdam fined two masters because their servants ran a race on the Sunday. The Dutch also had ordinances concerning farm servants and the brewing and malting of hard grain.⁷⁹ Under the English rule, the laws which prohibited drinking and gambling by apprentices applied also to servants and slaves.⁸⁰

Selling, buying or trading with a servant was also prohibited. Persons who bought of or received a commodity from a servant were

74. *Ibid.*, 94. There is no evidence, says McKee, that passports or identification certificates were introduced as a result of these orders. In the "New York Gazette" of June 16-23, 1729, though, I found this advertisement for a runaway: ". . . He is a young Man, of middle stature. . . . He has no Certificate, only a Discharge from Col. Belt (whose Servant he had been)" The "Certificate" here may refer to one of identification. In Maryland, incidentally, a pass was needed to travel outside of one's own county. McCormac, 54-55.

75. Stokes, 333.

76. "Colonial Laws of New York," I, 48.

77. Report of the committee of the common council on the "House of Correction," March 3, 1736. Stokes, 545.

78. "Ride the goose" consisted of smearing the head and neck of the goose with oil or soap and fastening it by a rope between two poles. The contestants rode on horseback at full gallop, and attempted to seize the prize. Stokes, 146.

79. February 18, 1653. *Ibid.*, 137.

80. "Colonial Laws of New York," I, 47.

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to restore the article to the master, and pay an additional fine of five pounds. "And if any person shall Creditt or Trust any servant or slave for Clothes Drinke or any other Commodity whatsoever, he shall lose his debt and cannot sue for recovery."⁸¹ As punishment for the theft the servant could be fined or subjected to corporal punishment by two justices of the peace. In 1742, James McHenry, a servant of Thomas Dobson, was convicted of stealing a shirt and stock of the value of ten pence from his owner, and was therefore sentenced to be "Whipped Twenty Lashes on the bare back at the Publick Whipping Post." The punishment was remitted, however, "In Consideration of his Ingenious Confession and his having been before severely punished for the said Crime by his Master."⁸²

Punishment of the servants was sanctioned by law. Upon the complaint by a master of the unruliness of a servant the justice of the peace was authorized to call the servant before him and inflict whatever corporal punishment was called for, "not exceeding ten Stripes, provided that such Children and Servants be of Sixteen years of age."⁸³

Not only were there laws regulating the conduct of the indentured servants, but there were laws protecting them. It was fairly obvious that the servant needed certain legal safeguards against harsh and abusive treatment. Detailed laws to this effect are found in nearly every Colony,⁸⁴ and the various State historians are unanimously agreed that servants were given thorough and adequate protection by law.⁸⁵

The "Duke's Laws" declared that "No Christian shall be kept in Bondslavery, villenage, or Captivity, Except Such who shall be judged thereunto by Authority, or such as willingly have sould, or shall sell themselves, In Which Case a Record of such Servitude shall be entered in the Court of Sessions." As a further protection it was ordered in April, 1686, that all servants brought into New York should be

81. *Ibid.*

82. McKee, 100.

83. "Colonial Laws of New York," I, 26.

84. For a general survey of them, see Wertenbaker, 66-67, 228.

85. McCormac, for example, declares that historians have merely noted the harsh laws, and have overlooked the vast body of laws for the protection of the servant. Philip Bruce says that the bound laborers of Virginia "were shielded by law that recognized the fallibility and selfishness of the local magistrates, and provided a remedy as swift and as complete as if a landowner and not a servant had been involved," II, 12.

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recorded at the secretary's office by the ship-master who imported them. The ship-master could then sell them for the term indicated in their indenture; in the absence of an indenture, they were not to be assigned for more than four years. The approval of the court of sessions was required for the transfer or reassignment of a servant's term,⁸⁶ and the transfer was to be placed on record.⁸⁷ Because of the small number of indentures on the record, Professor McKee believes that this ruling was generally ignored, and consequently did not afford much protection to the servants.⁸⁸

Unlike the slave the white servant could bring suit to justice. When a servant complained of tyrannical and cruel abuse, the constables and overseers were to admonish the master; upon the second complaint, the officers were to shelter him in their home until the Sessions Court met to consider the matter. "If any master or Dame shall Tyrannically & Cruelly abuse their servants or not allow them sufficient Provisions or apparell upon Complaint by such servant to any Justice of ye Peace, the said Justice may bind ye said master or Dame over to ye Next session to answer and if the Complaint there is found true, the Court may and shall have power by virtue of this Act to set the same servant or servants att Liberty and free him or them from any further service to his or their said Master or Dame."⁸⁹ And in case—following the Biblical parallel—the master should smite out an eye or a tooth, or otherwise maim and disfigure him, the servant should be set free and receive, in addition, as much recompense as the Court of sessions would allow.⁹⁰ The law took into consideration the possibility of causeless complaint: "If they cannot make proof of a just occasion for such Complaint such Servants shall by the Justices of the Court of Sessions be enjoined to serve three months time gratis Extraordinary for every such undue Complaint."⁹¹

Ann Sewill was brought before the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1695 "for keeping in Chains and Irons for several Weeks upon bread

86. Reassignments of unexpired time are known to exist. An ad in the "New York Gazette," May 6-13, 1728, reads: "A Servant Girl's Time, who has about three years to serve and can be well Recommended is to be Disposed of. Enquire at the Post-Office."

87. "Colonial Laws of New York," I, 48.

88. McKee, 103.

89. "Colonial Laws of New York," I, 157-58.

90. *Ibid.*, 48.

91. *Ibid.* The penalty was extended to six months' time in October, 1684. *Ibid.*, 158.

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and water only & also for Cruelly Beating" her servant, Ann Parson. The defendant, while admitting the charge, said that "she did not know itt was the breach of any law her said Servant having highly offended her. . . . " The court ordered that the servant be set free, and that Mrs. Sewill would have to pay the court fees.⁹²

It was further provided that the servants should not be sent away empty-handed.⁹³ Constables and overseers were also strictly required "to Admonish the Inhabitants of Instructing their Children and Servants in matters of Religion and the Laws of the Country."⁹⁴ This was done, as Merle Curti points out, in order to propagandize and inculcate the servants with the ideas of obedience and respect for authority, thereby making them less prone to give any trouble to their owners.⁹⁵

V

It is difficult to trace the fate of the white indentured servant after he had served out his time. The ads for runaways indicate that some of them contracted indentures for another period. Many probably returned to the Mother Country, or moved into some of the other colonies.⁹⁶ Some continued to exercise their trades undoubtedly, but the land hunger of the people was very strong, and many probably took to farming. We may here again quote Governor Moore in greater detail about the trend of labor towards agriculture: ". . . . the genius of the People in a Country where everyone can have Land to work upon leads them so naturally into Agriculture, that it prevails over every other occupation. There can be no stronger Instances of this, than in the servants Imported from Europe of different Trades; as soon as the time stipulated in their Indentures is expired, they immediately quit their masters, and get a small tract of Land, in settling which for the first three or four years they lead miserable lives, and in the most abject Poverty; but all this is patiently borne and submitted to with the greatest cheerfulness, the Satisfaction of being Land holders smooths every difficulty, and makes them prefer this

92. McKee, 99-100.

93. "Colonial Laws of New York," I, 48.

94. *Ibid.*, 26.

95. Curti, Merle, "Social Ideas of American Educators," New York, chap. 1.

96. Thus, John Winthrop was much annoyed because his former servant Richard, immediately after securing his freedom, in a little more than a year "had scraped together £25, and then returned . . . to England." Wertenbaker, 66.

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manner of living to that comfortable subsistence which they could procure for themselves and their families by working at the Trades in which they were brought up."⁹⁷ It seems that there was a rapid evolution of the servants when free, and that they did not continue as a class at all; "the freed servant may in general be regarded as growing up with the country, as becoming an independent and often valued citizen, and materially aiding in the development of the resources of the Colony."⁹⁸

In the 'seventies and 'eighties the machinery of servitude began to creak and groan; signs of its obsolescence and of growing opposition to it began to emerge. More and more often were advertisements for, and by, free wage servants to be found in the newspapers. On April 25, 1774, the entrepreneur invaded the field, when Solomon Griffiths established what was evidently the first employment agency for servants. Those desiring servants, by paying two shillings would have their names registered in a book, and servants desiring places, by also paying the sum of two shillings, would similarly be registered.⁹⁹

The Revolution itself did not free the indentured servants and, as a matter of fact, the New York Provincial Congress in July, 1775, instructed General Wooster that runaway New York apprentices and servants, who had enlisted with Connecticut troops, should be returned to their masters.¹⁰⁰ However, opposition to indentured servitude must have continued, and on January 24, 1784, we find this notice:

Whereas the traffick of White People, heretofore countenanced in this state, while under the arbitrary control of the British Government, is contrary to the feelings of a number of respectable Citizens, and to the idea of liberty this country has so happily established: And whereas it is necessary to encourage emigration to this country, upon the most liberal plan, and for that purpose a no. of Citizens of

97. "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," VII, 888, January 12, 1767. This applied to other settlers as well. The attractions of land drew skilled immigrants away from their former occupations, and this was long a barrier to the rise of manufacturing. Clark, 153-55.

98. Ballagh, speaking of Virginia, 88. The various writers agree that indentured servants rose rapidly. Wertenbaker says, "In New England, as elsewhere in America, a bright future opened to servants of ambition and industry," 66.

99. Stokes, 851.

100. "Journal of the Provincial Congress," I, 68. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, promised freedom to all, including "indentured servants, negroes and others appertaining to rebels," provided that they fought against the "rebels." Washington feared this plea as exceedingly dangerous to the cause of the colonies, but nothing came of it. Herrick, 251.

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this state, have proposed to liberate a cargo of Servants, just arrived, by paying their passage, and repaying themselves by a small rateable deduction out of the wages of such Servants.—Such of the Citizens of this state, as wish to encourage so laudable an undertaking, and (if necessary) petition the legislature for a completion of their humane intentions, are requested to meet at Mr. Day's, the sign of the Hyder Alley, the lower end of King-street, this evening, at six O'clock.¹⁰¹

The New York Legislature was forced to take cognizance of the opposition to white servitude, and its view was that servitude was a grand institution. "The Emigration of Protestants from Europe hath conduced greatly to the Settlement of this Colony," and while doubts have arisen "tending to the discouragement of further Importations of poor Persons," the Legislature's answer was to pass a new law regulating servants.¹⁰² A defiant, and empty, gesture.

There are several reasons for the decline of servitude in New York. During the Revolution the immigration of servants ceased, and the new feeling of democracy may have frowned upon this form of bondage, but the main reason for its disappearance was that the economic need it provided for could be more adequately satisfied by the new group of free laborers. Free labor on a wage system had been impossible because of high wages and a scarcity of labor. In this later period, however, a group of free laborers was gathering, and in the depression of 1784-87 there was already much unemployment.¹⁰³ Since their wages were not excessive, and there was no need either for an initial capital outlay, or for providing food, clothing or shelter in the periods when their labor was not required, free labor, irresistibly and inevitably, began to crowd out the slaves and the indentured servants. Watching the experience of the colonies Adam Smith concluded: "It appears, accordingly from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves. It is found to do so even at Boston, New York and Philadelphia, where the wages of common labor are so very high."¹⁰⁴

On the whole, the effects of indentured servitude were apparently beneficial. Europe was relieved of its undesired inhabitants; many,

101. "Independent Gazette," January 24, 1784.

102. "Colonial Laws of New York," IV, 924.

103. Spaulding, E. W., "New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789," New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, 20.

104. Quoted by McKee, 46.

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who would have had to eke out a miserable living in the Old World, were given an opportunity to better their conditions; and, finally, the certainty and constancy of labor which it afforded, made indentured servants play an important part in the economic development of New York. However, the more brutal sides of this undemocratic institution should also be kept in mind, for the servants were often severely exploited and harshly treated; they were, after all, virtual slaves, with the exception that their servitude was but for a short, stated period. The whole process of trafficking in servants lends to the melodramatic and vigorous aura of the colonial background, and the picaresqueness and romantic qualities of indentured servitude are a striking phase of New York social history and of Americana in general. Above all, it was a business enterprise. With the end of one economic era and the emergence of a new one based upon unbound and free labor, its usefulness came to an end, and it finally disappeared from the New York scene.

The American Cattle Industry

By J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



THE American cattle industry—a subject to fire the imagination! It recalls one of the most colorful and important periods of our history, which, for courage, adventure, and action has seldom been matched. What is not generally appreciated is the important part it assumed in the physical, economic and financial development of the Nation. It ushered in an era of untold productivity and was directly responsible for converting an idle wilderness into a rich and useful region. It aided in unifying the country through its encouraging advance which prompted the railroads to speed up the expansion of their facilities and thereby to establish a steel network linking the farthest reaches of the country. Coming to its full flower, as it did, after the Civil War, it had tremendous social significance offering a new and fertile field of endeavor to thousands of men who might otherwise have faced idleness, poverty, and discontent. It also set in motion a clearly defined Indian program which in the end was definitely to eliminate this matter as one of the vexing national problems. In short, it gave impetus to surging forces in the development of the United States and deserves to be recognized for the place it has held since in national economy.

Today cattle roam over the pasture lands of the Far West, always the home of the cowboy, the bawling Longhorn and the round-up in the mind of the layman. Actually this region was the last frontier of an industry that has developed into one of the most important in the country. It is admirably suited to the raising of live stock of all types, particularly that section of the Northwest which includes Montana, where wild stock is thought to have antedated the first white settler. Miners came into the country and their presence created a demand for beef. The first record of organized herds is in 1853, when one John Grant, a pioneer of the Bitter Root Valley, collected a group of animals and pastured them on the open range with the view of selling. Cattle raising became a profitable enterprise and initiated an

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era in our history unrivaled for its romance and color. It continued to advance, modestly to be sure, until shortly after the Civil War, when the value of its range as feeding grounds was discovered. The famous cattle drives from the Southwest followed, which were to remain an institution in the cattle business until the turn of the century. In commenting on these migrations one authority makes the following observations in connection with Montana: "The first Texas drive to Montana was made in 1866, and the last in the late '80s; and this Long Drive was over a well defined and established trail. It lay across the tablelands of western Texas into Kansas and crossed the Santa Fe trail at Dodge. Thence, it continued past the headwaters of the Salmon, by Fort Hays and over the Republican River, and onward to the South Platte, where there was an immense cow camp—Ogalalla, the great rendezvous of the cowboys and the Texas rangers. From that point, the Long Drive followed the Platte, over the Oregon trail, to Fort Laramie, and onward along the Bozeman road. At times it skirted the Black Hills and again veered westward to the base of the Big Horn range. The headwaters of the Powder and the Tongue, the hunting grounds of the Crows and the Sioux, the home of the trappers and the scene of many a conflict with the Indians 'were now marked by the trail of the cow' which followed close on the retreating hoofs of the buffalo. The Long Drive coursed along the tributaries of the Yellowstone to the Missouri, thence over the trail of Lewis and Clark to Maria's (Marias) river and the land of the Blackfeet, the ancient domain of the buffalo.

"Here were multitudinous streams; here were rolling prairie lands and pastures of succulent bunch grass. Here, also, were cool breezes and snow-encrusted peaks shimmering against skies of burnished blue.

"Five months were consumed in the journey from Texas to Montana. In 1871 more than half a million cattle came over the Long Drive. Hough in the 'Story of the Cowboy,' says: 'It was a strong, tremendous movement, this migration of the cowmen and their herds, undoubtedly the greatest pastoral movement in the history of the world. It came with a rush and a surge and in ten years it had subsided. That decade was an epoch in the west.'

This was the Montana of the old West, where strong men built upon strong foundations. In the cattle industry it was Con-

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rad Kohrs, preëminent cattle king of his generation who in 1883 negotiated the largest cattle transaction of the time when he bought twelve thousand head from A. J. Davis, of Davis, Hauser, Stewart & Company, for \$400,000. The same year the eastern and western sections of the Northern Pacific Railroad were linked in western Montana, and great herds were driven into the State to take advantage of the new transportation facilities, thus swelling the total beef stock to 850,000 and valued at thirty million dollars. The historian Tom Stout, in his work entitled "History of Montana," breaks down these figures in an interesting table showing the source of wealth by counties:

COUNTY	<i>Number</i>	<i>Value</i>
Beaverhead	39,307	\$1,375,745
Chouteau	119,860	4,195,100
Custer	189,769	6,642,860
Dawson	51,992	1,819,720
Deer Lodge	32,830	1,149,050
Gallatin	59,125	2,069,375
Jefferson	26,554	829,390
Lewis and Clark.....	47,855	1,674,925
Madison	24,050	841,750
Meagher	193,171	6,760,985
Missoula	19,152	670,420
Silver Bow	4,214	147,490
Yellowstone	53,084	1,857,940

Montana continues to be an active leader in the cattle industry, as is evidenced by statistical information compiled as late as 1938 by the United States Department of Agriculture. In this the cattle population of the State during that period was estimated at 943,000 head, with an average value per animal of \$35.30. As a Nation we still are the largest cattle country in the world, our stock outnumbering our closest competitor, Argentina, over two to one. The following paragraphs show just how this great industry began, how it progressed, how it affected the life of the Nation, and the factors that brought it to the West.

The history of stock raising in the United States dates back to the earliest settlers. When the English Colonists first established themselves on the Atlantic coast they brought with them a few milk cows

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and oxen. The stock multiplied, and as the herds grew larger the farmer sought to pasture them outside the limits of the community where there would be little chance of their interfering with agriculture. In itself this would seem to be an uneventful and practical move without special significance, but the fact is that these small herds were becoming forerunners of civilization on the American continent. As population increased the stock raiser was forced to move his animals westward, occupying an area which might be termed a "twilight zone" between organized society and the wilderness. It was this continued pressure and movement that served to make the cattle business a transient occupation in this country so far as the public was concerned. It was a method that was to continue in force for generations and eventually lead to those great plains of the West which have come to be known in history and folk lore as the "cow country."

The Southwest, particularly the State of Texas, is called the cradle of cattle industry, and rightfully so, though the course of expansion was rapidly to the north. Like his contemporary in the East, the early Spanish settler who settled in northern Mexico and parts of the Southwest brought his stock with him, from the plains of Andalusia and northern Africa. Thus the famous longhorn came to roam our plains. The difference between the two Spanish and English sections was largely in the land policies their home governments pursued. While the Englishman was generally confined to small acreage, the Spaniard was induced to colonize through the offer of large tracts, some leagues in dimension. The Southwestern territory was ideally suited to the raising of cattle, and stock multiplied with such rapidity that numerous animals escaped to form the nucleus of the great wild herds that were found when the first Anglo-Americans came here.

Despite the numbers and increasing importance of cattle the raising and marketing of animals could hardly be termed an industry until after the Civil War. Most of them were bred and pastured for local consumption and while drives had been made to reach outside markets before this time the trade was appreciably small in comparison with what it was to become in subsequent years. We refer to the drives from Texas to New Orleans beginning in 1842. This was a logical outlet. It could be reached without great difficulty and expense and found ready buyers. During this era attempts were also made to the

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North and West. In 1846 a drive was made into Ohio and in 1850 one was negotiated to California. By 1853 Texas steers were reaching Chicago and a healthy northern trade seemed assured, but disease was to curtail it. The dreaded Texas fever made its first appearance and hundreds of animals in the North were to become its victims. The farming communities of the states traversed protested bitterly and enforced their demands for keeping Texas cattle out by organizing armed bands to stop the migrating herds. Consequently this trade was abandoned until after the war. The activity, however, was a forerunner of what was to come. Men soon learned of the profit to be made and were eager to enter the business.

In the meantime, gold had been discovered and brought in its wake one of the greatest and most exciting migrations in the history of the world. The West held fabulous wealth and men were sacrificing all they valued to share in the fortune. Great wagon trains crossed the country and the principal motive power was to be furnished by oxen. Cattle became as valuable for freighting as for food. The importance of this event lies in the fact that it not only attracted men to this section, but also led to the establishment of military posts for the purpose of protecting the white man and his interests, in addition to opening up new avenues of transportation that were to become increasingly famous in later migrations.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the Texas beef trade was curtailed to the minimum and assumed its earlier status as a local activity. All the able-bodied men who could, joined the Confederate forces and left the cattle to fatten and multiply. According to varying estimates there were over four million head in Texas in 1860, and while statistics indicate that there was a twelve per cent. decrease in cattle during the conflict the statement has drawn the fire of numerous authorities who not only refute it but claim that there was a sizeable increase. During the early part of the war some attempts were made to supply the Southern forces, but the alertness of the Union Army, its victory at Vicksburg and the blockade effected along the coast completely stifled these efforts. This, however, was to be the most serious blow to Texas during the entire war. While her sister states were suffering invasion and all its consequences the rolling prairie was nurturing and increasing her greatest source of income. With peace, Texas

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fighters streamed home again having few if any prospects for the future. Ordinary stock could not command a price of a dollar a head and mature animals brought only from three to four dollars. The situation was lightened by a ray of hope from the North, which was begging for beef. Prices there had skyrocketed and cattle on the market was bringing five to ten dollars per hundredweight. The recipe for relief was here, but the season of '65 was too far advanced to attempt any drives. During the following winter preparations were made for spring migrations by hopeful and enthusiastic Texans and a number of Northerners who, sensing the great profits to be made, had come here to buy herds and trail outfits, the latter consisting of wagons, mules, horses and equipment.

The early spring of 1866 saw the drives get under way. What seemed to be a highly promising situation proved to be a bitter disappointment. Inexperience was to be the main factor in this failure. Few Texans and practically no Northerners were seasoned drovers. The route traversed offered a variety of problems that had not been foreseen. Wooded areas crossed made the handling of herds unwieldy, rains brought mud and swollen rivers, the Indian was more lawless than ever and irate farmers of Kansas and Missouri had not forgotten their previous experience with Texas fever. Horses, supplies and stock were stolen, herds stampeded, and in some instances men were killed for disregarding the ultimatums of hostile farmers and Indians. Many who started gave up in despair, abandoning herds or selling them for what they could get. Of the estimated 260,000 head that started on these drives few, if any, reached the ultimate markets and most of these were in poor condition.

The cattle men were not for repeating this mistake, and in 1867 turned to a more accustomed mode of transportation, driving stock southward and shipping it by steamer *via* the Mississippi River to Cairo, Illinois, and thence to the ultimate market by rail. But they had unwittingly blundered again, for it was found that animals so transported were more susceptible to Texas fever, and the disease was to flair up in Illinois and Kentucky to such an extent that it came to be decried as a "public calamity" and led to breaking up this trade. To cope with the situation Kansas eventually enacted a law which forbid Texas cattle to enter the State at any period during the year

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save that between December 1 and March 1. This was bitterly protested and later led to a campaign for the establishment of a national cattle trail from the Canadian border to Texas which reached the floor of Congress in the form of a bill, but was never passed, due, in the main, to the opposition of the Northwestern cattle men, who feared Southern encroachment and overstocking of their public domain range cattle preserves, and Kansas was still wary of Texas fever.

But much occurred before the aforementioned agitation took place and all factors seemed to dovetail in promoting the growth of the cattle industry. A new Indian policy was being enforced, the great buffalo herds on the range were being exterminated, railroad facilities were being expanded and the Westward movement was in full sway.

The Indians, who were a sizeable problem at any time, had gotten completely out of hand during the Civil War. When hostilities ceased there was an urgent demand that the policy of placing the red man on reservations be strictly enforced. First steps were taken in 1866, when the government made the five civilized tribes of Indian Territory who had fought with the Confederacy cede the western half of their land as a home for friendly tribes, as a measure of retribution. Four years later President Grant abolished the superintendency system and replaced it with a Board of Indian Commissioners, who served without pay and advised on policy and administration. History tells of the bloody struggles that ensued in trying to enforce this program, but in many instances it fails to mention the extermination of the buffalo as one of the most important factors in subduing the Indian.

This picturesque animal which roamed the plains from Mexico into Canada, offered food, clothing and shelter to the Indian. As long as it existed in substantial numbers it was next to impossible to enforce the reservation policy. Indians rode off their circumscribed territory to hunting grounds and remained at large until they were captured. Since about 1820, the buffalo had been the object of systematic hunting by early plainsmen, who killed them for their furs and hides, which they marketed in the East. After the war news of the great profits that could be made, and the abundance of the animal, spread rapidly. It is said that the great migration to this section at the time was second only to the California gold rush. Railroads had pushed their way

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into buffalo country and brought thousands of men and boys eager to hunt down the animals which, in 1870, is estimated to have numbered over four and a half million. What followed was out and out slaughter. For several years the hunters enjoyed handsome returns and the railroads profited by their good fortune. According to records unearthed the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad carried 459,453 buffalo hides between 1872 and 1874, and twice that number in the three years that followed. By 1884 buffalo hunting as a business had ended forever and about the same time the Indian had become reconciled to reservation life, realizing that all means of existence outside virtually had vanished.

The elimination of these factors spelled the dawn of a new day for the cattle industry. With the absence of the buffalo, grass on the Central and Northern plains grew more luxuriant and Texas cattle began streaming into this section. The move complemented another innovation that had been set in motion through the enterprise of Joseph G. McCoy, of Springfield, Illinois, one of the outstanding cattle leaders of his generation. In an effort to help the Texas cattle industry overcome the stigma of Texas fever, Mr. McCoy had come to Kansas City in 1867 with the view of establishing a cattle depot and shipping point either on the Mississippi or some isolated Western point on a railroad. He chose the village of Abilene served by the Kansas Pacific. The town consisted of a few rude huts surrounded by a sea of rich prairie land with watering facilities. Here he built a shipping pen to accommodate three thousand head of cattle and other necessary appointments, including a hotel. It was so situated that the drives would completely avoid the territory where they had suffered such hostility. Though it was late in the season when the project was completed, Mr. McCoy sent out a rider to inform the drovers on the trail of the advantages of the depot and before cold weather set in thirty-five thousand head had been shipped from this point. He followed this with extensive advertising in both Northern and Southern papers and Abilene soon became the meeting place for buyers, cattle men and Indian beef contractors, who were looking for herds to fulfill their obligation to the government, which was feeding Indians in Western and Northern reservations. This amounted to a sizeable trade. In 1871 there were nearly two hundred and sixty-six thousand

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Indians confined on reservations and by 1879 the total beef consumed totaled forty-three million pounds, which represented approximately sixty thousand head of cattle.

The idea of a cattle depot spread rapidly and other "cow towns" further Westward came to supersede Abilene in importance. Newton became the principal clearing house on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe for a time, but the most famous and lawless community of its type was Dodge City. The wildness of these early "cow towns" can be appreciated when their instability is taken into account. They figuratively sprang up and disappeared overnight, from the standpoint of importance. While they lasted they represented the center of a great industry and attracted a moneyed class almost entirely composed of men. The "sharper" and outlaw were there to fleece anyone and everyone and flourished until the homesteader had come in sufficient numbers to establish a permanent community.

The consequent popularity of these towns caused the Northern drives to increase greatly, but as the years went by the Texans began selling their cattle to stock the rich Northern ranges now unmolested by the buffalo or the Indian. An added inducement rested in the fact that animals could graze here throughout the winter season and actually put on extra weight by the succeeding spring. Men were quick to see the advantages of pasturing cattle here and brought young stock which they let loose on the open range which covered the states of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Dakota, Wyoming and Montana. The Texan was aware of the value offered as feeding ground for young steers and in some instances established ranches here to supplement those in their home State.

Some description of the drive, how it was organized and how it functioned, is pertinent at this point. It usually consisted of about twenty-five hundred animals which were rounded up, brought to a chute and each branded with a road brand. They were generally tended by a supervisor, several cowboys, who furnished their saddles and bedding, a cook and a "horse wrangler," who tended to the group of horses provided by the owner. The stable was known as the "saddle band," the "remuda" or the "caballado." Bedding, food and equipment were loaded in the chuck wagon, which was driven by the cook ahead of the herd. During the early days the cattle moved

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slowly to get accustomed to the trail or to become "road broken." This procedure was followed to prevent stampedes which tended to "spoil" the cattle in the language of the rancher. The start was made early in the morning and the animals grazed as they went along for the first hour or so. By that time they were "strung out" and moved along at a faster pace until noon, when the cowboys stopped for lunch at a designated spot, where the cook had arrived well in advance. The place selected was usually near a stream and the herd was thrown along its banks "at ease." The most select place in the drive was the "point" at the head of the herd and occupied by the supervisor. The least desirable was "the drag" or end, which was usually brought up by two younger cowboys charged with keeping the stragglers in line. When the drive reached its destination the men were paid off and the equipment was returned to the home base.

The pressure of organized civilization was beginning to tell, however, and as in the past the cattle man was steadily being pressed. Pasturage became scarcer and he was compelled to change his methods in order to cope with the situation. The same pressure was being exerted in the corn belt, where earlier the farmer had bred, grazed and fattened his cattle for market, a system he was forced to forego due to ever-increasing population, high land values, and discovery that the soil and climate of the region were ideally suited to the raising of corn, a factor which further diminished grazing lands. Gradually the territory changed from a cattle to an agricultural region, and the stockman was sending breeding animals West to improve the quality of cattle on the plains, while the rancher in return was sending his steers to the corn belt for fattening on surplus grain and hay. Putting it concisely, the West became breeding grounds while the corn belt became the feeding grounds. The system was further refined, with Texas devoting much of its energy to the raising of calves, which were driven northward to mature for feeding. Later, however, the Southwest shipped direct to the corn belt.

This dependence brought the two sections of the country together and cemented them in a bond which existed to this day. Of course, this relationship, ideal when times are good, can be disastrous when times are bad.

During the drought of 1887 in the corn belt, for example, the demand for feeder cattle decreased. To complicate matters, the

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ranchman had suffered severely the preceding winter and was anxious to recoup his losses. There was no market and many sold out while others reduced their herds to avoid overstocking.

We cite this season not only because it was one of the most devastating in the history of the cattle industry, but because it marked a turning point in the policy and management of the range. When one considers that losses at this time ranged from forty to sixty per cent. and that in the State of Montana alone nearly two hundred thousand animals had perished, there is good and sufficient reason for this shift. Most of the Eastern and British capitalists had sold out and several large ranchers had failed as well as banks. The larger cattlemen who survived the ordeal began a slow process of rebuilding and, to meet pressing obligations, shipped young animals, not yet fully fattened, to the corn belt for feeding. But the drought that occurred during the summer of '87 destroyed a large part of the corn crop and the rancher was compelled to send his crop to Nebraska for pasturage. To add to their woes, there was no demand for stockers or feeders, and the prices on the Chicago market steadily declined. Until the latter part of the '90s the rancher suffered, then prices began to turn upward, but the days of large scale operations and great profits in the industry were over. The rancher now turned to better breeding and the conservation of pasture land, being extremely cautious not to overstock, the sin that had brought on most of his troubles.

Overstocking brings up the question of over-capitalizing and public domain, each being intimately related in the problems that grew out of them. As has been indicated, the rancher was subject to the constant pressure of new settlers, who in the case of the West took up homesteads. As the movement grew, pasture land decreased, while the demand for beef increased and the profits derived attracted large investments from European sources, particularly England. Strangely enough, English interest grew out of a protest against our export trade directly after Timothy C. Eastman, of New York, had made successful experimentations in refrigeration in 1875. That year dressed beef was sent to the English markets and the trade grew to such proportions that the live stock growers of England and Scotland went to their government for protection, fearing that American beef would reduce prices to such an extent that it would interfere with their

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business. Representatives of the British press and government came to America to investigate the cattle industry. Their observations were highly favorable. When British interests learned that profits ranging between thirty and fifty per cent. could be realized, they unloosed a large flow of capital which was further augmented by bankers in this country. Numerous finance companies were formed, among them the Scottish American Investment Company, founded in Scotland by W. J. Menzies, and the Prairie Cattle Company, which is said to have owned nearly one hundred and fifty thousand head of cattle.

The enthusiasm that followed this lavishness knew no bounds and carried with it attendant evils, not the least of which was overstocking. There simply was not room enough for such activity and eventually the situation led to collapse. But before this happened the cattleman had become the target of jibes from the agricultural population and the government itself. The question at issue was the use of public lands. The rancher contended that he was putting them to productive use, the rest of the country accused him of getting something for nothing. Cattle interests tried to get the United States Congress to enact legislation for long term leasing of public domain to be used for grazing purposes, but failed in all their attempts. It is interesting to note at this juncture that during the early days of the industry there were men on the plains and in the Southwest who owned thousands of head of cattle and not one foot of land. They simply came here, bought stock and turned it loose on the open range. The situation led to extreme bitterness. Ranchers were referred to in highly uncomplimentary terms and in 1884 it was brought out on the floor of Congress that foreign interests, through their generous capitalization had acquired twenty million acres of land in this country, which was described as a menace to its existence. The rancher, who was also grazing his stock in some sections of Indian territory, came in for severe castigation. In 1885, President Cleveland ordered stock removed from the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation and commissioned General Sheridan to carry out the edict. This meant that more than two hundred thousand head of cattle were thrown on an already overstocked range. The winter that followed was one of the most severe on record and the resulting loss was frightful. During the same period

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President Cleveland also ordered that all enclosures on public domain should be destroyed.

In all of these controversies, whether they related to public lands, range rights, code of operations or any other phase of the business, the rights of the industry were upheld and defended by the cattlemen's associations, which had become a potent force in the political and legislative life of the cow country. These organizations were originally formed as sort of mutual protection societies and were of two types, those organized by men of a single region and those united to represent a state or territory. In the beginning they offered rewards for cattle thieves, appointed surveyors to mark boundaries of individual ranges, hired inspectors to watch trails, shipping points and markets for lost or stolen cattle, acted as courts of arbitration in settling disputes, made and enforced branding rules, and offered a variety of similar services. Because the business was so far removed from the rest of the country, because few men in other sections understood or appreciated the problems it confronted, and because it covered such an extensive and thinly populated region, one can begin to appreciate the police and legislative power it came to assume. One of the most famous organizations of this type was the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, which was formed in 1873 by ten men. Twelve years later it had spread into Colorado, Nebraska, Montana and Dakota, and its combined membership owned about two million head. Similar local organizations were formed in the aforementioned states. Montana, for example, formed her Stock Growers' Association in April, 1884, and found its principal champion, promoter and supporter in Conrad Kohrs, previously mentioned as the most famous cattleman of the Northwest.

Much of the grief that has been suffered by the cattle industry has been due to the fact that ranching has been regarded as temporary in nature. History is responsible for this attitude, as is indicated earlier in this review. The effects of the impression have been very harmful. Feeling, himself, that there was no stability in what he was doing, the rancher sometimes exploited the range beyond reason, a policy that proved a boomerang, for the animals did not fatten and the pasture was so closely grazed that there was little left for the winter. The result was that thousands of cattle died, leaving their owners to face

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bankruptcy. Sociologically, this conception of the industry has prevented the rancher from enjoying a real home life and, scientifically, has prevented much needed study and experimentation leading to the restoration of range land and the improvement and care of stock itself. The public land question has been a national issue for years and there is still a feeling that such property should not be leased or sold to large ranchers for grazing, this in view of the fact that what is left seems only suitable for such use.

We have indicated that the cattle industry was productive in enlarging and sometimes fostering entirely new businesses. This is true of finance and financial institutions dealing directly with the ranchers and feeders. During the early days it was the feeder who demanded capital, while the rancher found little or no use for it, the industry not yet having become highly centralized. When the former started operations he bred, fed and reared animals and also bought stock from his neighbors, giving notes in payment which usually matured in six months, or about the time the animals were ready for market. The seller could hold the note or discount it at a local bank. Eventually these banks became strong enough to make direct loans for purchase of feeder stock, basing transactions on the supply of corn and hay a man held which seemed more profitable to use for feeding than selling. Rates of interest ran as high as fifteen per cent., though in time they decreased. With the growth of feeder business, local banks began rediscounting in larger cities and thus established credit sources in the East. While the rancher had little use for these sources in the beginning, he was to seek their aid as the industry expanded over the north and central plains. Not only ambition prompted him to do this, but the feature of economy offered in large scale operations and the dictum of the cattle associations which ruled that all ranges should be kept fully stocked at all times. The latter caused the cattleman to borrow at ruinous rates of interest.

As business grew, new loan sources for the feeder and the ranchman appeared. Market and packing centers formed what became known as "stock yard" banks and commission houses, which were usually on intimate terms with the rancher, began lending and eventually made this feature part of their business. Most loans were made on a short term basis, usually from three to six months, yielded eight

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per cent. and had rediscount rates from one and one-half to three per cent., which were generally taken up by strong banks in large financial centers which were in the market for commercial paper.

During good times cattle paper was a popular investment, but during depressions the industry suffered correspondingly heavy losses. When money was easy, loan companies over-expanded, lending fifteen to twenty times their capital stock without sufficient caution, with the result that the rancher, who should have been retrenching, continued to expand, not taking into consideration cold winters, droughts, shrinkage of range and the inroads to be made by the homesteaders. When reverses came the rancher usually failed, the loan company went out of business and banks or investors holding cattle paper faced an embarrassing situation. With money close, the rancher had a hard time borrowing and sometimes was forced to sell his cattle at a sacrifice. Similar reactions occurred under similar circumstances where the feeder was concerned. In good times they borrowed heavily to outbid each other for cattle and thus ran up the price of stock exorbitantly. When they could not get loans there was no market for their grain and the ranchman in turn found a reduced market for cattle.

It was not until the outbreak of the World War that the cattle industry was to experience a great upward surge. The price of beef rose to new all-time records and had it not been for the government's food conservation policies might have gone higher. Steers sold as high as \$20.50 a hundred, with the average price running about \$14.65, and corn rose from seventy-six cents to \$2.09 a bushel. With the close of the war, however, the bottom fell out of the market. In 1919 the government attacked the high cost of living and the people, who had become accustomed to a wartime diet, continued to eat as they had. Beef dropped from \$15.30 in October, 1920, to \$8.80 the following February. The losses that followed were staggering. Hundreds of millions of dollars were involved and to add to the crisis a depression set in, causing deposit shrinkages in Western banks. Many range notes had to be renewed and cattle paper, which had once been a good investment, went begging. The solution of this debacle called for drastic measures and led to the organization of the Stock Growers' Finance Corporation by New York and Chicago bankers, who formed a pool of fifty million dollars for the purpose of extending credit to

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the cattle men. In addition the government assisted through the War Finance Corporation Act amendment in 1921, and the Farm Credit Act in 1923. The combined efforts of these agencies probably saved the industry from complete collapse and enabled it to weather a serious setback.

In the years immediately past additional governmental regulations have been felt in this field, all too recent and too generally in the political controversial category for measured comment here. What has been attempted has been to set forth the facts of a colorful industry in American history, a section of the background of the American scene that reached from the southern to the northern border of the country, and that had a vital bearing upon the course of national development and the national economy.

P. I. Wellman, in "The Trampling Herd," published in 1939, makes something of a prophecy, and quotes impressive figures:

. . . The nadir of the condition of the range . . . was reached at the height of the great drouth of 1936. Yet there are signs of better days for the live stock industry in the future. . . . In recent years, moreover, the government, through the WPA, has been active in building literally tens of thousands of stock ponds to catch run-off water—and that takes a certain part at least of the gamble out of stock raising.

How much of a gamble that was—and the chance element has by no means been entirely removed from it—is shown by the figures of the great die-up during the recent drouth cycle with which was combined government subsidized slaughter. Eleven range states—Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona—had in 1934 29,986,000 cattle, according to the figures of the United States Department of Agriculture. Four years later, in 1938, the same states had only 22,764,000 cattle—a loss of more than seven million head. Yet there was one good result even in this diminution. In selecting cattle to kill under the government program, inferior cattle usually were slaughtered. This has brought about an appreciable improvement in some herds and a general improvement throughout the West.

A Poe Correspondence Re-edited

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I



LITTLE is definitely known about Joseph Evans Snodgrass, a Baltimore physician and literary figure, with whom Poe corresponded while he was in Philadelphia, at least between September, 1839, and June, 1842. No sketch of him is to be found in the usual dictionaries of biography. Still, a few facts can be gleaned from the references of writers and editors of his own day and from biographers of other figures of a later period. He is known to have been co-editor with Nathan C. Brooks of the Baltimore *American Museum* in 1839, to have become proprietor of the *Saturday Visiter* about 1842, probably after being associated with it editorially from late in 1839, and to have contributed essays and poems to such magazines as *Burton's Gentleman's*, *Graham's*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*.

He was probably about Poe's age, for by the date of Poe's first letter he was a physician and an editor. The tone of the letters is that of respect for a man of some standing, and in September, 1839, Poe speaks of having "long thought highly" of him, an esteem certainly based upon Poe's life in Baltimore between 1831 and 1835. Whether Poe ever met Dr. Snodgrass is conjectural, but it seems possible, especially from the intimacy of the letters.

That Snodgrass admired Poe, was willing to be his errand-boy, intermediary, and defender, is evident. Though the first six of the twelve known letters in the series cover but four months, and the last six are spread over two and a half years, the last two being separated by nine months, Snodgrass seems to have maintained his friendly feeling. In the Baltimore *Saturday Visiter* for July 29, 1843, Snodgrass, as editor, presented a biographical sketch of Poe, the material being adapted from the Philadelphia *Saturday Museum*. He praised

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Poe highly and said that he had enjoyed "the acquaintance" of Poe for years. He attended Poe in his last illness in Baltimore and was present at his burial. Eighteen years later he wrote "The Facts of Poe's Death and Burial" for Beadle's *Monthly*.

Following the death of her husband in 1880, Mrs. Snodgrass released Poe's letters at different times. Thus some of them, if not all, have come to light, and their history, together with other matters pertaining to Snodgrass himself, is discernible in the series that follows.

II

The Poe-Snodgrass correspondence has not heretofore been presented in its known correctness and entirety. Harrison¹ prints portions of nine letters in volume seventeen and part of another letter in volume one. Woodberry² prints eight of these in full and two with deletions. Hervey Allen³ prints none of these ten letters in full and makes no direct reference to five; in fact, he quotes directly but seven sentences from the whole correspondence. W.K. Bixby⁴ prints facsimiles of three of the ten and one that is not used by Harrison, Woodberry, or Allen, but which is summarized by Mary E. Phillips.⁵ In the Anderson Galleries Catalogue announcing the sale of the Frank Maier library on November 22, 1909, is printed a letter to Snodgrass, dated June 4, 1842. Although twelve known letters from Poe have had publication in one form or another, they are now brought together for the first time and presented in what is believed to be a form not only complete but corresponding, as nearly as possible, to the originals.

The history of these letters is interesting. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Snodgrass lent to William H. Carpenter,⁶ editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, the following nine holographs: the letters for September 11, 1839; October 7, 1839; December 12, 1839; December 19, 1839; January 20, 1840; June 17, 1840; January 17, 1841; July 12, 1841; and September 19, 1841. Carpenter permitted Wil-

1. *E. A. Poe's Works* (Virginia edition), ed. James A. Harrison (17 vols., New York, 1902).

2. George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (2 vols., Boston, 1909).

3. Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (1 vol. ed., New York, 1934).

4. W. K. Bixby, *Some Edgar Allan Poe Letters* (limited edition, St. Louis, 1915).

5. Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1926).

6. Letter of William Hand Browne to John H. Ingram, Oct 16, 1880 (Ingram collection, University of Virginia Library).

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liam Hand Browne, a professor of English at Johns Hopkins University, to make transcripts for John H. Ingram,⁷ who was then living in London and writing a life of Poe. Ingram received them too late for inclusion in his work, published in 1880, but kept them with his MS revision, which is now in the University of Virginia Library. Because Carpenter had stipulated that Edward Spencer, a mutual friend, should be shown the copies for future use in a newspaper article, Browne made from the transcripts press-copies, which he lent to Spencer, who six months later edited and published them in the New York *Herald* for March 27, 1881.⁸ Concerning the original letters, Browne told Ingram "two are badly damaged by fire, and one by damp, and are really dropping to pieces."⁹ Thus Ingram got complete copies of nine of the original letters, which in a strict sense, owing to Spencer's editing, have never been accurately presented.

The Ingram MS contains the following note on the Poe-Snodgrass correspondence:¹⁰

The following letters were carefully copied by me for my friend John H. Ingram, of London, from the original autographs in the custody of Wm. H. Carpenter of Baltimore, to whom they were lent by the widow of Dr. Snodgrass.

WM. HAND BROWNE

Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Sept. 28, 1880

Browne wrote to Ingram, October 25, 1880, to say that the original letters had already been returned to Mrs. Snodgrass; and Ingram appends this note, dated 1908: "Since then the originals have disappeared and, apparently, have been destroyed by fire." Such, however, was not the case.

The next part of the history belongs to Spencer. By means of the press-copies obtained from Browne, he¹¹ wrote an unsigned article for the Sunday edition of the New York *Herald*, March 27, 1881, entitled "The Memory of Poe."¹² The author admits having seen the original holographs, comments on their poor physical condition,

7. *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1880.

8. *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1909.

9. *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1880.

10. Ingram MS of *The Life of Poe* (unpublished; now in the University of Virginia Library).

11. Letter of Browne to Ingram, Feb. 22, 1909 (Ingram coll.).

12. (From a clipping in the Ingram coll.).

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and states that he worked from authentic copies. However, Spencer made certain errors of commission and omission, which are duplicated by Harrison, who merely reprinted the Spencer article with certain word and mechanical variations.

On April 4, 1881, both the New York *Herald* and the Baltimore *American* carried a letter (the tenth in the series now under consideration) from Poe to Snodgrass, dated April 1, 1841. Under a caption of "Edgar Allan Poe: an unpublished letter in which the poet denies the charge of drunkenness," the lead states that the letter "was recently found by Mrs. Snodgrass among her husband's papers." Harrison quotes this letter with deletions in his biography of Poe.¹³

Woodberry¹⁴ seems to have drawn on Harrison, on the articles in the New York *Herald* and the Baltimore *American*, and on the press-copies made by Browne from his transcripts of the autograph letters. Browne told Ingram¹⁵ that the copies used by Spencer were returned not to him but to Carpenter, and added: "Somebody must have lent them to Woodberry."

Harrison and Woodberry were limited to the use of the ten letters considered so far. Portions of the originals not found in Woodberry are likewise absent in Harrison; some portions found in Woodberry are not present in Harrison; certain parts of the originals are not to be found in either Harrison or Woodberry; and the mechanics of both are frequently at variance.

William K. Bixby's 1915-edition of some of Poe's letters (limited to 150 copies for private distribution)¹⁶ gives facsimiles of those letters to Snodgrass for September 11, 1839; November 11, 1839 (the year not included); January 17, 1841; and September 19, 1841. The chief value of this collection is, first, in the inclusion of the November letter, which is not referred to in any way by Spencer, Harrison, or Woodberry; and, second, in the opportunity of collating the Browne transcripts with facsimiles of the original holographs. This new letter increased the known correspondence to eleven items.

Hervey Allen's *Israfel* adds nothing new to the Poe-Snodgrass correspondence. He quotes only seven¹⁷ sentences in full from the

13. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 158-161.

14. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, *passim*.

15. Letter of Feb. 4, 1885 (Ingram coll.).

16. From a copy in the University of Virginia Library.

17. See below; Sept. 11, 1839, sentences 19, 20; June 17, 1840, sentence 11; April 1, 1841, sentences 8-11.

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whole known series; but he does use words and phrases, and he paraphrases without direct reference from the five letters that seem to be his only sources. *Israfel*, like the earlier biographies, has word-omissions in what purports to be quotations, and variants from the original pointing; Allen even reassembles Poe's phrases to suit his own purpose.¹⁸ Allen paraphrases a portion of the October 7, 1839 letter, but gives as its dating a time late in October.¹⁹ Further, he cites a letter concerning cryptograms but gives no direct reference²⁰ (Such a letter does not seem to exist). The letters not treated by Allen are those for December 12, 1839; December 19, 1839; January 20, 1840; January 17, 1841; and September 19, 1841. The letter from the Maier collection, for June 4, 1842, and the November 11, 1839 letter in the Bixby facsimile are not used or referred to.

The only contribution to the correspondence by Miss Phillips is her summary of the November 11 letter in the Bixby facsimiles. Like Allen, she seems to have overlooked the letter for June 4, 1842. The omissions and errors in the material she does use are those of her sources.

A collation of the Spencer, Harrison, Woodberry, and Allen inclusions with the William Hand Browne transcripts will show what liberties were taken with the originals by the several editors. Excepting the mechanics, which were changed largely to conform to prevailing usage at the time of the biographer, the variations in wording and omissions of sentences are most noticeable. Clearly, both Spencer and Harrison were protecting Poe, and Woodberry, at least once, in the October 7 letter, seems to be shielding Poe.

There is, therefore, no complete and accurate collection of Poe's letters to Dr. Snodgrass. Such a collection is now attempted. The correctness of nine letters is based largely on the integrity of a careful scholar, Dr. William Hand Browne, who copied the originals "with the exactest care, scrupulously following even the punctuation."²¹ A collation of the Browne transcripts with the Bixby facsimiles shows that the variations, which are few, are chiefly in punctuation, and that all the original sentences are copied, only one word

18. See notes below to letters for June 17, 1840 and April 1, 1841.

19. See the letter, sentence 14; also Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

20. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 410n.

21. Letter of Browne to Ingram, Oct. 16, 1880 (Ingram coll.).

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being omitted.²² It is reasonable to infer that similar care, and perhaps similar errors, could be found in a complete collation of his transcripts with originals or facsimiles, were these available. The following letters have been revised, wherever possible, by means of the Bixby facsimiles.

Browne's copies are on yellowish paper, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, bearing as watermark, "American linen paper." The writing is restricted to one side of the sheet, is in a clear, fine hand and small lettering. Wide margins are preserved at the left and bottom of the page. Three punch holes appear at the left edge of each sheet, probably owing to a clasp. The several letters, with the exception of the October 7, 1839 letter, are to be found distributed throughout the Ingram MS of *The Life of Poe* (unpublished), with his introductory or closing comments, and a notice before the letter for September 19, 1841, saying that it is the last in the series. The letter just excepted is to be found in the Ingram Collection among the miscellaneous items. Ingram has made pencilled corrections of Poe's mechanics and added editorial comments in the margins of the transcripts.

The Browne transcripts are reproduced below just as he made them except where, as noted in the introductory comments, he differs from the Bixby facsimiles. The original reading is then supplied.

Poe biographers speak of the mutilated condition of certain passages in these letters. Dr. Browne probably found the correspondence in its best state; still, he was forced to supply conjectural emendations for the letters of December 19, 1839, and for June 17, 1840. The Bixby facsimiles show absolute mutilation of two large portions of the September 11, 1839 letter and two small parts of the one for January 17, 1841. Browne's earlier handling probably aided him in preserving the original readings. Subsequent restorations seem less satisfactory.

Finally, the twelfth and last letter chronologically, the one dated June 4, 1842, and printed in the Anderson Galleries Catalogue announcing the sale of the Maier library on November 22, 1909, has apparently escaped the attention of Spencer, Harrison, Woodberry, Miss Phillips, and Allen.

It is therefore clear that an edition of the known Poe-Snodgrass letters is of value to Poe scholarship. Such a work is here attempted.

22. See below, letter of Jan. 17, 1841, sentence 35.

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It provides, as accurately as possible, first, a reproduction of Poe's spelling, phraseology, and pointing; second, the chronological order of the twelve known letters; third, collation of the various letters in their entirety with the reprintings by Spencer, Harrison, Woodberry, Miss Phillips, and Allen; fourth, new editorial comment and identifications; fifth, a history of the William Hand Browne transcripts and correction of his errors by comparison with the Bixby facsimiles; and sixth, a presentation of the letters, as nearly as possible, in the fullness of Poe's actual expression.

III

A detailed collation is printed here only for the first letter, but it will illustrate the types of variants that occur throughout the series. Outstanding variants, however, will be noted in the introductory comments to each letter. The sentences of all letters, except the two not treated by the biographers, have been numbered to facilitate reference. Each letter here presented represents, as accurately as possible, the Poe original.

I. SEPTEMBER 11, 1839

Harrison follows Spencer in the omission of sentences, Woodberry quotes the whole letter with variations, and Allen reproduces only two sentences intact.

Though the year is not given in the original, Poe's two references to his forthcoming tales (*Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, published in December, 1839)²³ and the reference to his review of N.P. Willis's *Tortosa*, in the *Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review* for July, 1839,²⁴ identify the letter as of 1839.²⁵ The magazine expired with its next issue, a fact that probably accounts for Poe's receiving neither the "No. 4" nor the money for his July review.²⁶

Already Snodgrass seems an intimate of Poe. The *American Museum*, which had been published by N.C. Brooks and Snodgrass, died in June; for a time Snodgrass had considered continuing it after his partner's retirement, but changed his mind.²⁷ To this uncertainty Poe is doubtless referring.

23. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 222; Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

24. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

25. See letter to P. P. Cooke, Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 51.

26. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

27. See below, notes for letter of Jan. 20, 1840.

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Poe reveals a prevailing characteristic of getting friends to build up his prestige. Snodgrass is to write a eulogium, but, as was often the case, with some material furnished by Poe. That he performed the task we may be reasonably certain from the reference in the letter for November 11, 1839. Poe's attitude toward his cousin, Neilson Poe, a Baltimore journalist, is even more strongly expressed in the October 7, 1839, letter.

In his letter to F.W.Thomas, Nov. 23, 1840,²⁸ Poe says that the St. Louis *Bulletin* "has always been very kind to me, and I am at a loss to know who edits it." Certainly Poe would want such praise as he quotes to Snodgrass to be read in the East, especially in Baltimore where "feelings of ill will towards" him had been "prevalent (God only knows why)."

The "profitable engagement with Blackwoods' Mag:" seems controverted by Poe's telling Snodgrass on June 17, 1840, about seven months after the publication of the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, that he has but lately had an opportunity of sending a copy to Wilson, and must wait for a review, "if any there is to be." Moreover, *Blackwood's* would hardly promise a commendatory review in advance. Poe's warning Snodgrass to secrecy at this time may have been owing to his hope that such a review would ultimately be printed.

Harrison omits the interesting information of sentence 24; Woodberry, however, includes it. Poe is certainly referring to regular reviews or critiques, not brief notices; he calls them critiques in his letter to P.P.Cooke, Sept. 21, 1839.²⁹ Poe's use of "criticisms" for "critiques" here is an early one.

PHILADEL:

Sep. 11.³⁰

MY DEAR SIR,³¹

(NOTE: the author-names, which alone are used in the following items, refer to their respective biographies, before cited.)

1. I have³² to thank you for your friendly attention in forwarding the St Louis "Bulletin."³³ 2. I was the more gratified, as the reception of the paper convinced me that you,³⁴ of whom I have long³⁵

28. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 63.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

30. Harrison: introductory comment has: Philadelphia; 1839, added. Woodberry: Philadelphia, September 11, [1839]. Allen: (omits).

31. Browne: My dear Sir: Woodberry: My dear Sir,—

32. Spencer and Harrison omit sentences 1, 3, 6-8, 10-12, 16-18, 21-24. Woodberry quotes entire letter; Allen, only sentences 19, 20.

33. Woodberry: "St. Louis Bulletin." (Thus repeated *passim*).

34. Harrison and Woodberry: (no italics).

35. *Ibid.*, always

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

thought highly, had no share in the feelings of ill will towards³⁶ me, which are somewhat prevalent (God only knows why) in Balt.:³⁷

3. I should be very much pleased if you would write, and let me know the Balt. news—especially about yourself and Mr³⁸ Brooks, and the fate of the "Museum".³⁹

4. I have now a great favor to ask—⁴⁰ and think that⁴¹ I may depend upon your friendship.⁴² 5. It is to write a notice (such as you think rigidly⁴³ just—⁴⁴ no more) of the Sep: no of the Gent's Mag.:^{45,46} embodying in your article the passage concerning myself,⁴⁷ from the St Louis Bulletin—⁴⁸ in any manner which your good taste may suggest. 6. The critique when written might be handed to Neilson Poe. 7. If you ask him to insert it editorially, it is possible he may do it—but, in fact, I have no great faith in him. 8. If he refuses—⁴⁹ then upon your stating the fact to Mr⁵⁰ Harker of the "Republican"—⁵¹ you will secure its insertion there. 9. If you will do me this great favor,⁵² depend upon any similar good office⁵³ from me,⁵⁴ "*upon demand*."⁵⁵

10. I am about to publish my tales collectively⁵⁶—and shall be happy to send you an early copy. 11. I append the extract from the Bulletin.⁵⁷

12. "The general tone &⁵⁸ character of this work (The S. L. Messenger)⁵⁹ impart lustre to our periodical literature; and we really congratulate its publisher upon the sound and steadfast popularity which it has acquired. 13. Let it never be forgotten, however, that the first impetus to the favor of *literary men*⁶⁰ which it received

36. Harrison: toward

37. *Ibid.*, Baltimore.

38. Harrison and Woodberry: Mr.

39. Woodberry: "Museum."

40. Harrison: (comma for the dash)

41. *Ibid.*, (deletes the word *that*)

42. *Ibid.*, friendship, it

43. Spencer: rigidly. Harrison: rightly. Woodberry: rigidly.

44. Harrison: (comma for the dash)

45. Harrison: September number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*,

46. Woodberry: Sep: no. of the "Gent's Mag:."

47. Harrison: (deletes the comma)

48. *Ibid.*, St. Louis *Bulletin*

49. Ingram marks for deletion: but . . . refuses—

50. Woodberry: Mr.

51. *Ibid.*, (deletes the dash)

52. Harrison: (deletes the comma)

53. Woodberry: good offer [office?]

54. Harrison and Woodberry: (delete the comma)

55. Harrison: (no italics)

56. Woodberry: collectedly

57. *Ibid.*, "Bulletin"

58. *Ibid.*, and

59. *Ibid.*, ('S.L.Messenger')

60. Harrison: (no italics)

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was given by the glowing pen of Edgar A Poe⁶¹ now assistant editor of Burton's Gentleman's Magazine;⁶² and,⁶³ although, since he has left it,⁶⁴ has well maintained its claims to respectability, yet there are few writers in this country—take Neal, Irving, &⁶⁵ Willis away and we would say *none*⁶⁶—who can compete successfully,⁶⁷ in many respects,⁶⁸ with Poe. 14. With an acuteness of observation, a vigorous and effective style, and an independence that defies control, he unites⁶⁹ a fervid fancy and a most beautiful enthusiasm.⁷⁰ 15. His is a high destiny."

16. Will you be kind enough to drop me a line in reply?

Yours sincerely⁷¹

*Edgar A Poe*⁷²

*J. E. Snodgrass, Esq*⁷³

17. Did you see the "Weekly Messenger" (Alexander's)⁷⁴ or Noah's Evening Star?⁷⁵ 18. They spoke highly of my tale—⁷⁶ "The House of Usher,"—as also the *Pennsylvanian* & the *U.S. Gazette*⁷⁷ of this city.

P. S. 19. I have made a profitable engagement with Blackwoods' Mag:⁷⁸ and my forthcoming *Tales*⁷⁹ are promised a very commendatory Review⁸⁰ in that journal from the pen of Prof.⁸¹ Wilson. 20. Keep this a secret, if you please, for the present.

21. Can you not send us something for the *Gent's Mag*?⁸²

22. Do you know anything of the *Pittsburg Literary Examiner*?⁸³

61. Harrison and Woodberry: Edgar A. Poe,

62. Harrison: Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine*, Woodberry: 'Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,'

63. Harrison: and although since he has left it has

64. Woodberry: it, it has

65. Harrison: Irving and Woodberry: Irving, and

66. Harrison and Woodberry: (no italics)

67. Harrison: (no comma)

68. *Ibid.*, (no comma)

69. Woodberry: writes with

70. Browne: (supplies a colon)

71. Woodberry: sincerely,

72. *Ibid.*, Edgar A. Poe. (no italics). See notes to Jan. 17, 1841 letter.

73. *Ibid.*, Esq^r. (no italics)

74. *Ibid.*, (Alexander's), (not caret as in the original)

75. *Ibid.*, "Evening Star"?

76. *Ibid.*, (comma for dash)

77. *Ibid.*, "Pennsylvanian" and the "U.S. Gazette"

78. Harrison: *Blackwood's Magazine*, Woodberry: "Blackwood's Mag:" Allen: 'Blackwood's Mag':

79. Harrison: tales Allen: *Tales*

80. *Ibid.*, review

81. Harrison: Professor

82. Woodberry: "Gent's Mag."?

83. *Ibid.*, "Pittsburg Literary Examiner"?

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

23. I wrote for it a review of Tortosa in its 3d no⁸⁴—but have not yet recd. No 4.⁸⁵

24. All the criticisms in the Mag: are mine⁸⁶ *with the exception of the 3 first.*

2. OCTOBER 7, 1839

There seems to be no reason to question the dating of the letter.

Browne's transcript contains in the margin J.H.Ingram's pencilled note to omit sentences 3-8.⁸⁷ In his MS revision of *The Life of Poe* (1880), Ingram prefaces his use of the letter by saying that the deletion mentioned refers to "a misunderstanding of a relative's feelings."⁸⁸ Spencer and Harrison omit sentences 1-8, 12, 14-15; and Woodberry, sentences 3-8. In each instance the strong condemnation of Neilson Poe must have caused the exclusion. The pointing of these biographers is again contrary to many marks in the original. Allen paraphrases one sentence of the letter and quotes nothing else; moreover, he gives the dating as late in the month.⁸⁹

Sentences 3-8 have apparently never been published.

Poe's strong charge against Neilson Poe, condemned by Harrison⁹⁰ as the result of envy and jealousy, is here but a more outspoken attack than that in his letter of September 11, 1839,⁹¹ based largely, it would seem, on Neilson Poe's objecting, on certain grounds, to Poe's marriage to Virginia Clemm. As editor of a Baltimore daily,⁹² he was in a position, Poe felt, to help build up his prestige. The reaction of a sensitive Poe to all this is understandable, though the degree of his resentment may have been unwarranted.

We learn from this letter that Snodgrass was already earnest in Poe's behalf, that his efforts were appreciated, that certain articles in the October issue of *Burton's* are Poe's, that his *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*⁹³ would soon be out, and that Poe had not kept the issues of the *Southern Literary Messenger* during his editing.

84. *Ibid.*, no. —

85. The Bixby facsimile of this letter shows the text three-fourths obliterated for sentences 10-12 and 20-23. Restoration of the text for these sentences was made from collation with Browne's transcript.

86. Woodberry: mine,

87. Ingram collection.

88. Ingram MS.

89. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

90. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 70 (he is reprinting Spencer).

91. See sentences 6-8.

92. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 70.

93. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 372. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 222.

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At the end of his transcript, Browne made this pencilled note: "In original this P.S. is written lengthwise on right hand margin."⁹⁴

The "gymnastic article" was entitled "A Chapter on Field Sports and Manly Pastimes," and was the fourth number in a series that began in the July issue and ended with the December. It was anonymous.

PHIL: Oct: 7, 39

MY DEAR SIR

1. I rec^d your kind letter and now write a few hasty words in reply, merely to thank you for your exertions in my behalf, and to say that I send today, the Octo. No. 2. We have been delayed with it, for various reasons.

3. I *felt* that N. Poe, would not insert the article editorially. 4. In your private ear, I believe him to be the bitterest enemy I have in the world. 5. He is the more despicable in this, since he makes loud professions of friendship. 6. Was it "relationship &c." which prevented him saying *any thing at all* of the 2 or 3 last Nos. of the Gents' Mag? 7. I cannot account for his hostility except in being vain enough to imagine him jealous of the little literary reputation I have, of late years, obtained. 8. But enough of the little dog.

9. I sincerely thank you for the interest you have taken in my well-doing. 10. The friendship of a man of talent, who is at the same time a man of honorable feeling, is especially valuable in these days of double dealing. 11. I hope I shall always deserve your good opinion.

12. In the Octo. no: all the criticisms are mine—also the gymnastic article.

13. My book will be out in the beg^g of No.^r

In haste, yours most truly

DR. J.E.SNODGRASS.

EDGAR A POE

14. Have you any of the Nos: of the S. Lit. Mess.^r from No. 7, vol 1—to No 6. vol 2? both inclusive. 15. Or do you know anyone who has them?

3. NOVEMBER 11, 1839

This letter, it seems, was unknown to Spencer, Harrison, Woodberry, and Allen. It comes from the W.K.Bixby facsimiles.⁹⁵ It is dated from Philadelphia, November 11, and certainly belongs to 1839. Snodgrass wrote the critique of Poe, as requested,⁹⁶ but did not pre-

94. Ingram collection.

95. In *Some Edgar Allan Poe Letters* (St. Louis, 1915).

96. See letter for Sept. 11, 1839.

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serve "the proper order" of his initials. In whose office Poe saw it or in what it was printed is not stated. Perhaps it appeared in the Baltimore *Saturday Visitor*, if Snodgrass was then associated with that paper. Neilson Poe had declined to print it.⁹⁷

Justification for dating this letter 1839 is the reference to the two letters from Irving, the second of which was dated "Newburg, November 6, 1839,"⁹⁸ and contains an allusion to an earlier letter to Poe. That Irving's pronouncements on the tales ("House of Usher" and "William Wilson") are translated into higher praise than their writer intended, may be ascribed to matters to be found in the earlier letter or to Poe's desire to appear well to his friends and the public. Though Poe warns Snodgrass that he is not speaking from vanity, vanity is certainly present.

We learn that Burton does not pay for contributions and that Snodgrass must write gratis those articles Poe has "urged" him to contribute. This letter contains good evidence of Poe's characteristic use of flattery. While telling his friend that MSS cannot be paid for, he disarms Snodgrass's objections by appealing to the man's ego. Moreover, that Snodgrass usually conformed to Poe's suggestions, is evidenced by the whole correspondence.

Poe's "Small Talk" appeared in the *American Museum* for January and February, 1839,⁹⁹ then edited by Brooks and Snodgrass.¹⁰⁰

Though this letter is neither fully dated nor addressed to Snodgrass, the year seems clear, and the references and general tone indicate Snodgrass as the recipient. Moreover, Snodgrass might well have had the back copies of the *Museum* that Poe requested; for, sometime after N.C.Brooks bought out the *North American Quarterly*, of Baltimore, changing its title to *American Museum of Literature and the Arts*,¹⁰¹ Dr. Snodgrass was his assistant,¹⁰² and co-editor at least by January, 1839.

Mary E. Phillips prints a summary of this letter in her *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man*.¹⁰³ However, she not only fails to give her

97. See letter for Oct. 7, 1839.

98. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 216.

99. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 14, p. 90.

100. See title page, *American Museum*, vol. 2.

101. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

102. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 218.

103. Vol. 1, pp. 587-588.

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source, quotes some parts verbatim, without proper indication, but also omits a considerable part of the original.

NOV: 11th PHIL.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was much pleased this morning by the reception of *two* letters from you—one of which, I presume, has been lying *perdu* in the P. Office for some 10 days—but the Post did not come to hand at all, or, possibly, may have been mislaid among our daily cargo of mail-papers. I have, however, just succeeded in seeing your critique on file in a friend's office—and have to thank you very sincerely for your kindness. The only fault I find is that you say altogether *too much* in my favor. You have overwhelmed me with praise—much of which I truly feel is undeserved. I regret too that you did not preserve the proper order of your initials—I should have been proud of the authority of *your name*.

I am sure you will be pleased to hear that Washington Irving has addressed me 2 letters, abounding in high passages of compliment in regard to my *Tales*—passages which he desires me to make public—if I think benefit may be derived. It is needless to say that I shall do so—it is a duty I owe myself—and which it would be wilful folly to neglect, through a false sense of modesty. L & Blanchard also urge the publication upon me—so the passages referred to, with others of a similar nature from Paulding, Anthon, &c will be printed in an Appendix of Advertisement to the book—such as publishers are in the habit of appending. Irving's name will afford me a complete triumph over those little critics who would endeavor to put me down by raising the hue & cry of *exaggeration* in style, of *Germanism* & such twaddle. You know Irving heads the school of the *quietists*. I tell you these things in all confidence, & because I think you will be pleased to hear of my well-doing—not, I assure you, in any spirit of vain-glory—a feeling which I am above.

It grieves me much that I can say not a word touching compensation for articles in *Maga*. The intense pressure has obliged Mr B. with nearly every, if not with every, publisher in the country, to discontinue paying for contributions. Mr B. pays for nothing—and we are forced to *fill up* as we can. You know that I appreciate your talents and did we pay *at all* your writings would command in my judgment the highest price. Could we get them, for a while, gratis, how gladly would I use them!—but this is requesting too much.

I have never received the nos of the *Museum* since the one containing my "Small Talk"—if you have the remaining nos to spare, I would be glad to make my set complete.

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I regret that you have not received the *Gent's Mag*: with regularity—but the fault is my own—as I neglected to have your name put upon the free list; an oversight which I hasten to remedy:

With high respect & sincere esteem

Your friend,

Edgar A Poe

4. DECEMBER 12, 1839

The inside address and date of this letter read: "Phil: 12 1839." Although the month is lacking, Harrison,¹⁰⁴ Woodberry,¹⁰⁵ and Ingram¹⁰⁶ accept December as accurate for the letter from the postmark of December 13 on the envelope. Poe's reference to his tales (*Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*) further establishes its dating.

Both Spencer and Harrison omit sentences 1-3 and 7, and make slight variations in what they retain.¹⁰⁷ Woodberry quotes the whole letter, with his customary mechanical alterations. Allen makes no direct use of the letter.

The "Mr Carey of the American" probably refers to John L. Carey, whose book *Domestic Slavery* appeared in 1838.¹⁰⁸

MY DEAR SIR,

1. I have the pleasure of sending you, through Mess. Lea & Blanchard, a copy of my tales. 2. Not knowing what better plan to pursue, I have addressed the package to you "at the office of the Baltimore American." 3. Will you get it? 4. In the same package is a copy for Mr Carey of the American, which I must beg you to deliver to him with my respects. 5. I have not the pleasure of knowing him personally—but entertain a high opinion of his talents. 6. Please write his full name in his copy—"with the author's respects"—as I forget his *prænomén*.

7. I do not believe that Lea & B. have sent any of the books to Baltimore as yet—will you be kind enough to forward me any Bal. papers which may contain notices.

Very truly your friend

DR. J. EVANS SNODGRASS

EDGAR A POE

Phil: 12 1839

5. DECEMBER 19, 1839

The holograph of this letter gave Browne difficulty in copying, for it was worn, torn, or mutilated in several places, according to

104. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 71.

105. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 222.

106. Ingram MS.

107. Harrison, *loc. cit.*

108. See below, notes to letter for Jan. 20, 1840.

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Ingram's pencilled note on the transcript.¹⁰⁹ Browne is responsible for the bracketed emendations that appear in the letter. Sentence 6 caused Harrison, who follows Spencer, to let stand a very curious reading; and suggested to Woodberry one variation from Browne's emendations, which he otherwise adopted.

Harrison omits sentences 1-2, 5, 7-9, 12, 14, 16, 19-21; Woodberry quotes the whole letter, with mechanical variations; and Allen makes no direct use of it.

There seems to be no reason to doubt the dating of the letter.

Sentence 1 shows a slip of Poe's memory, for his last letter was dated not "2 days before" the sixteenth, but really four (December 12).¹¹⁰ Poe's objection to Burton's system of premiums and prizes for contributions, expressed here, is more plainly treated in sentences 7 and 8 of the letter for June 17, 1840, where he says that Burton never planned paying for the entries.

As in the letter for November 11, 1839, Poe is again encouraging Snodgrass to write for the magazine; but contrary to the previous implication of immediacy with which anything submitted would be gladly published, Poe is here apologizing for not including a poem recently sent in. His promise is later fulfilled. Poe's forwarding Frost's review may be with the hope that Snodgrass will reprint it in the *Saturday Visitor*, with which he may be associated as early as this, or will have it published elsewhere in Baltimore. (Frost was John Frost, a professor of *belles lettres* in the high school in Philadelphia, and an author of articles and books, Poe in "*Autography*" mentioning *The Young People's Book*.) Poe speaks of favorable notices given his "Tales," and particularly of a notice promised by Park Benjamin, editor of the *New World* (New York). His high regard of Benjamin is indicated in his "Autography" in *Graham's*, November, 1841.¹¹¹

Poe's postscript was based upon a misapprehension, for on August 16, 1841, Lea and Blanchard, his publishers, wrote him that the 1840 edition had not "been got through" nor returned the expense of publication.¹¹²

109. Ingram MS.

110. See notes to letter for Dec. 12, 1839.

111. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 15, p. 183.

112. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

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PHILADELPHIA. Dec: 19, 1839

MY DEAR SNODGRASS,

1. I presume that upon the 16th (the date of postmark of your last letter) you received my own dated 2 days before, in which I mentioned having forwarded 2 copies of the "Grotesque & Arab:" one for yourself & one for Mr. Carey. 2. You will therefore, ere this, have acquitted me of forgetfulness or neglect.

3. Touching the Premiums. 4. The Advertisement respecting them was written by Mr. Burton, and is not, I think as explicit as might [be.] 5. I can give you no information about their *desig* [nation furth]er than is shown in the advertisement itself. 6. The tru[th is,] I object, in toto, to the whole scheme.—but merely follow[ed in] Mr. B's wake upon such matters of *business*.

7. Either of your projected Essays would be, (as you could do it) a good thing—either that upon American Literature, or upon the Hints of Science as connected with every-day life. 8. The latter would, of course, be entirely re-modelled, so as to look *new*.

9. I am sorry to say that I have been unable to get the "Scenes of Childhood", in the January number, which is now ready—but it shall appear in our next. 10. If you look over our columns you will see that we only put in poetry in the odds and ends of our pages—that is, to fill out a vacancy left at the foot of a prose article—so that the length of a poem often determines its insertion. 11. Yours could not be brôt *to fit* in and was obliged to be left out.

12. If you see any of the Bal. papers notice my Tales, will you try and forward them, especially the weeklies which I never see.

13. The Philadelphians have given me the *very highest possible* praise—I cd desire nothing further. 14. Have you seen the U.S. Gazette, the Pennsylvanian, or Alexander's Messenger. 15. In the last is a notice by Professor Frost, which I forward you, today, with this. 16. The books have just reached New York. 17. The Star and the Evening Post have both capital notices. 18. There is also a promise of one in the New-World—Benjamin's paper—which I am anxious to see—for, praise or blame, I have a high op[inion of] that man's ability.

19. Do not forget to forward [me] the notices—if any appear.
Believe me I am truly yours

20. Write soon.

EDGAR A POE.

P.S. 21. None of my books have been sent to Richmond as yet—for I am happy to say that the edition is already very nearly exhausted.

6. JANUARY 20, 1840

Harrison, like Spencer, gives no date for this letter, and Woodberry gives Jan. 21, 1840. Poe clearly dated it Jan. 20, 1840, if Browne's transcript is correct.

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Harrison follows Spencer in omitting sentences 1-7 and 13; Woodberry quotes the whole letter. Each however makes changes in wording and mechanics.

Ingram corrected "Jan. 21" to "Jan. 20" in his personal copy of Woodberry's *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, using Browne's transcript as his authority. Woodberry's dating must have been due to a misprint, an unintentional dating, or a misreading of either Spencer's press-copies, which he seems to have used, or the original letter, which is unlikely.

Allen makes no direct reference to this letter.

Snodgrass's name does not appear in the letter, but the reference to his poem "Friends of Childhood," published in the February issue of *Burton's*¹¹³ as "Childhood Scenes" (Poe calls it "Scenes of Childhood" in the letter for December 19, 1839) is unmistakable. "Mr. Carey" undoubtedly refers to John L. Carey (given as Henry C. Carey by Woodberry¹¹⁴). His book *Domestic Slavery* was published anonymously in Baltimore in 1838; but the second edition, in 1839, appeared with Carey's name. This Carey is apparently the same one mentioned in the letter for December 12, 1839. (Henry Carey's *The Slave Trade* was not published until 1853.)

It would seem from sentence 7 that Snodgrass has not thanked Poe for the copy of *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* sent in December. "Joseph Robinson's" may reasonably refer to a Baltimore book dealer.

Sentences 8 and 9 of the letter call for some explanation, partly conjectural, to be sure. After the *Museum* was started by Nathan C. Brooks in September, 1838,¹¹⁵ Snodgrass became an associate; and by January, 1839, he was listed as co-editor on the title page of volume two. The magazine died in June, 1839. (It will be remembered that Poe's "Small Talk" was printed in the January-February issues.) Brooks in an editorial farewell, dated May 16, 1839, and printed at the end of the last issue, announced the passing of the editorship to Snodgrass, whom he represented as a very worthy journalist. A friendly tone seems evident. However, almost immediately something occurred, for Snodgrass printed just below Brooks's

113. Vols. 5-6, p. 99.

114. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 250.

115. Frank L. Mott, *History of American Magazines* (New York, 1930), vol. 1, p. 345.

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announcement that financial inducements more interesting called him elsewhere and that he, too, was forced to give up the editorship.

L. A. Wilmer, in *Our Press Gang*,¹¹⁶ says that Snodgrass succeeded T. S. Arthur as publisher of the Baltimore *Saturday Visiter* but that he allowed it to die soon afterward, that is, late in 1839 or early 1840. On the other hand, it is a fact that he was proprietor of the *Visiter* at the time of Poe's letter to him on June 4, 1842.¹¹⁷ Mott, in his *History of American Magazines*, says the *Visiter* was merged with Bailey's *National-Era*, a Washington periodical, probably sometime between 1847-1850.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Snodgrass became an ardent abolitionist, and according to Mott the *Visiter* was anti-slavery in policy.

Thus a possible misunderstanding with Brooks in May, 1839, together with the poor financial standing of the *Museum*,¹¹⁹ may have encouraged Snodgrass to transfer his interests to the *Visiter*, a periodical of longer standing. Perhaps financial difficulties of the *Visiter* at the end of 1839 caused Snodgrass to ask Poe's editorial assistance in revitalizing the paper; but, since Brooks was a friend of Burton, a "difference" dating from only a few months before between Brooks and Snodgrass might have prevented any action on Poe's part. It is true Poe says that he is "obliged to decline saying anything of the *Museum*." He probably had that magazine in mind, but really meant to refer to the *Visiter*. The *Museum* was defunct. In the same letter, without Snodgrass's letter before him, he misquotes the title of his friend's poem. The slip in memory may well have occurred twice.

We read, too, that Poe is interested in rumors of a new Baltimore magazine. His perennial hope of establishing his own dream-monthly is, for a moment, revived, as it will be again when he repeats his request a year later in his letter of January 17, 1841.

PHILADELPHIA

MY DEAR SIR

Jan: 20. 1840

1. I seize the opportunity afforded by a temporary lull in a storm of business, to write you a few hurried words. 2. Your last letter is not before me—but I refer to it in memory. 3. I received the poem

116. Pp. 22-29 (published in Philadelphia, 1859).

117. See letter, below.

118. Vol. I, p. 381 n.; p. 801.

119. See Brooks's announcement, *American Museum*, vol. 2.

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through Godey, and retain it as you desire. 4. The "Friends of Childhood [sic] is in type for the Feb. no: 5. Mr. Carey's book has not yet reached me. 6. My own was forwarded by L & Blanchard to Joseph Robinson's—so they assure me. 7. I presume you have it before this.

8. I am obliged to decline saying anything of the "Museum" in the Gent's Mag: however much I feel anxious to oblige yourself, and to express my own views. 9. You will understand me when I say that I have no proprietary interest in the Mag: and that Mr Burton is a warm friend of Brooks—verb. sap. sat.

10. I have heard, indirectly, that an attempt is to be made by Some one of capital in Baltimore, to get up a Magazine. 11. Have you heard anything of it? 12. If you have, will you be kind enough to let me know all about it *by return of mail*—if you can spare the time to oblige me—I am particularly desirous of understanding how the matter stands—who are the parties, &c.

13. Excuse the abruptness of this letter, &

believe me very truly yours,

EDGAR A POE

7. JUNE 17, 1840

This letter has no year indicated, but Poe scholars concede its date as 1840. The derisive tone against Burton, whom Poe had recently left, the reference to a Prospectus, which he was getting out at this time—"six months in anticipation" of January 1, 1841, the date for launching the *Penn*, and the retrospective reference to his *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*—all indicate 1840.

Harrison omits sentences 12, 17-18, and 31; Allen quotes most of 10 and all of 11; and Woodberry includes the whole letter, though all make word changes and mechanical variations. Significant changes follow: Harrison omits from sentence 4, "The last day . . . office";¹²⁰ Woodberry in sentence 8 has "personally and sincerely"¹²¹—a change that misinterprets Poe's attitude at the time; and Allen omits from sentence 10 "with you,"¹²² a deletion that gives a false coloring to Poe's intended meaning. Allen also refers to the contents of this letter,¹²³ but gives as its date, June 7, 1841. He quotes directly and completely only sentence 11.

120. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 74.

121. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 249.

122. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

Browne¹ noted on his transcript that the first two words of sentence 17 were difficult of restoration, owing to the mutilated condition of the MS. His emendation of "You allude" is changed by Woodberry to read "I allude." Old press-copies, Browne's uncertainty, and the general context of the passage probably led Woodberry to attribute the allusion to Poe; however, Snodgrass's letter, written not long before Poe's reply, in all likelihood asked concerning the current issue, not one over a month old. By June, 1840, Poe was no longer with Burton. He had begun with the *Gentleman's* soon after May 10, 1839,¹²⁴ contributing all the reviews for the July number.¹²⁵ His final issue was that for June, 1840, published about the first of June; for in his letter to Burton, Monday, June 1, he is "at leisure" to itemize his contributions during the course of his association with the magazine. His last inclusion is nine pages of original and three of copied work for the June issue.¹²⁶ Thus, when Snodgrass found no Poe reviews in the June number, "the one last issued," he would naturally allude to the irregularity, and Browne's emendation is at least no less reasonable than Woodberry's. Besides, Browne was reading the holograph.

Poe's "unusual press of business" at this time was certainly relative to the *Penn*, which was publicly announced in the Philadelphia *Saturday Chronicle*, June 13, 1840, to appear January 1, 1841.¹²⁶ Woodberry says the prospectus went to press in August,¹²⁷ but Snodgrass, according to this letter, received either a printed copy of it or a hand-written one, which Poe asks him to show to Mr. Carey of the *American* or to some other editorial friend, "when you have done with it" (perhaps another indication that Snodgrass is associated with the *Visiter*). Moreover, Poe states that he has already sent prospectuses "to the Philadelphia editors."

Poe's strong language against Burton is understandable, if censurable, in the light of their recent rupture; and Poe's willingness to accompany Snodgrass to the *Gentleman's* office to recover a premium-entry is but a further reaction on Poe's part to the practice of Burton with which he never agreed.

124. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 204.

125. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 53; also Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 245.

126. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 245.

127. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

By now Poe has received Carey's book on slavery, probably John L. Carey's *Domestic Slavery*. Apparently, Snodgrass had asked concerning it, or earlier had even suggested that Poe review it. We learn, too, strangely enough, that Poe has had no contact with Lea and Blanchard concerning his *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* since its publication, which may account for his continued misapprehension about its sale.¹²⁸ Moreover, he may not have learned the truth until August, 1841, when his publishers refused to bring out a new and enlarged edition of a work that was a financial failure.¹²⁹ Finally, Poe has been able at last to forward a copy of his work to Wilson, and the earlier anticipation of a "commendatory Review" in *Blackwood's*¹³⁰ is yet to be fulfilled.

PHILADELPHIA

June 17

MY DEAR SNODGRASS,

1. Yours of the 12th was duly received but I have found it impossible to answer it before, owing to an unusual press of business which has positively not left me a moment to myself. 2. Touching your Essay. 3. Burton not only *lies*, but deliberately and wilfully lies; for the last time but one that I saw him I called his attention to the M.S. which was then at the top of a pile of other M.S.S. sent for premiums, in a drawer of the office desk. 4. The last day I was in the office I saw the Essay in the same position, and I am perfectly sure it is there still. 5. You know it is a peculiar looking M.S. and I could not mistake it. 6. In saying it was not in his possession his sole design was to vex you, and through you myself. 7. Were I in your place I would take some summary method of dealing with the scoundrel, whose infamous line of conduct in regard to this whole premium scheme merits, and shall receive exposure. 8. I am firmly convinced that it was never his intention to pay one dollar of the money offered; and indeed his plain intimations to that effect, made to me personally and directly, were the immediate reasons of my cutting the connexion as abruptly as I did. 9. If you could, in any way, spare the time to come on to Philadelphia, I think I could put you in the way of detecting this villain in his rascality. 10. I would go down with you to the office, open the drawer in his presence, and take the MS. from beneath his very nose. 11. I think this would be a good deed done, and would act as a caution to such literary swindlers in future. 12. What think you of this plan? 13. Will you come on? 14. Write immediately in reply.

128. See his P.S. to letter for Dec. 19, 1839.

129. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

130. See his P.S. to letter for Sept. 11, 1839.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

15. Mr. Carey's book on slavery was received by me not very long ago, and in last month's number I wrote, at some length, a criticism upon it, in which I endeavored to do justice to the author, whose talents I highly admire. 16. But this critique, as well as some six or seven others, were refused admittance into the Magazine by Mr. Burton, upon his receiving my letter of resignation. 17. You allude to the number for June—the one last issued. 18. I fancy, moreover, that he has some private pique against Mr. Carey (as he has against every honest man) for not long ago he refused admission to a poetical address of his which I was anxious to publish.

19. Herewith you have my Prospectus. 20. You will see that I have given myself sufficient time for preparation. 21. I have every hope of success. 22. As yet I have done nothing more than send a few Prospectuses to the Philadelphia editors, as it is rather early to strike—six months in anticipation. 23. My object, at present, is merely to call attention to the contemplated design. 24. In the meantime be assured that I am not idle—and that if there is any impossibility about the matter, it is the impossibility of *not* succeeding. 25. The world is fond of novelty, and in being absolutely *honest*, I shall be utterly novel.

26. If you would show the Prospectus to Mr. Carey, or any other editorial friend, when you have done with it, I would be obliged to you.

27. Touching my Tales, you will scarcely believe me when I tell you that I am ignorant of their fate, and have never spoken to the publishers concerning them since the day of their issue. 28. I have cause to think, however, that the edition was exhausted almost immediately. 29. It was only six weeks since that I had the opportunity I wished of sending a copy to Professor Wilson, so as to be sure of its reaching him directly. 30. Of course I must wait some time yet for a notice,—if any there is to be.

Yours most truly

E A POE

P.S. 31. If you would enclose me Burton's letter to yourself, I will take it as an especial favor.

8. JANUARY 17, 1841

Harrison quotes more of this letter than of any other, except one. Of the forty sentences, he omits only 2 and 8, but makes decided variations in several. By omitting the underscoring for "prose" in sentence 9, he removes the intentional emphasis on the kind of contribution Poe prefers from Snodgrass, whose literary abilities he knows

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by this time; and a more inexcusable variant appears in sentence 11 with Harrison's reading of "these topics are altogether in your line" for the original "these topics are not 'in your line.'" In sentence 37, Poe's "procure" becomes in Harrison "produce," an emendation not sanctioned by Spencer, who had the original reading.

Woodberry quotes the whole letter, with a few variations, one of which is the omission of Snodgrass's name at the end. Allen, it seems, makes no direct reference to the letter.

Spencer, Harrison, and Woodberry all have sentence 35 without the word "made." The fault is Browne's, who failed to copy it into his transcript. The correct reading is found in the Bixby facsimile. Other Browne variants follow: in the salutation, "dear" with a small letter (a consistent error in the transcripts); in sentence 5, no comma after "scheme"; in 14, a comma after the first "done"; in 19, no underscoring for "the best pens."

Browne's errors, here and later, show two things: first, that he did not copy Poe's letters, as he tells Ingram, correctly "to the comma"; and, second, that Woodberry did not have access to the original letters, or, if he did—which is doubtful—he followed Browne through Spencer's press-copies, for Browne's variants are repeated by Woodberry.

A pencilled note at the end of Browne's transcript reads: "The Prospectus which follows was printed on the 3^d page of this sheet. In other words, Poe took one of his prospectuses, folded it the other way, & wrote his letter." John H. Ingram then added his own note that the prospectus to Snodgrass varied little from the others sent out, and that it was dated January 1, 1841.¹³¹

The *Penn* did not appear, as promised, on January 1, 1841; still Poe remained incorrigibly optimistic: his prospects are "glorious." We learn that Snodgrass is not the man for an article on Poe's pet subjects of copyright and libel laws, at least for the *Penn*; and in tactfully dismissing him, Poe suggests that he broach the subject to David Hoffman, a Baltimore author,¹³² who might be induced to contribute such a paper.

131. Ingram MS.

132. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 76. See also, Mary Phillips, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 645, where Hoffman is identified as a partner in the law firm of Hoffman and Dobbins.

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Graham's offer to Poe and the uncertain financial state of the country led to a "scotching" of the *Penn*,¹³³ and the *Saturday Evening Post* for February 20, 1841,¹³⁴ announced that publication had been suspended.

"Quotidiana" was an article by Snodgrass in the form of brief observations on various subjects, the author's medical experience serving partly as source material. Poe's tone concerning Burton is more temperate than in his previous letter. For the first time, we hear the name of Graham, to whose magazine Poe is very soon to contribute, and with the April issue, to edit.¹³⁵

The failure to hear from Brooks may have been due to Poe's rupture with Burton, a friend of the former editor of the *Museum*, or to Brooks's new duties as principal of the Baltimore city schools, an office that required much of his time.

Inconsistencies in Poe's closing may be mentioned here. Frequently he underscored his signature and the name of the addressee. In this letter he underlines the name of Snodgrass, but not his own. According to the Bixby facsimiles, Poe underscored his signature in the letters for September 11, 1839, November 11, 1839, and September 19, 1841. Snodgrass's name is underlined in the two September letters and the one for January 17, 1841. Poe's pointing after his name is likewise optional. The Bixby facsimiles show that he placed a period after his signature in the letters for September 11, 1839, and for January 17, 1841.

Browne's transcripts indicate no underlinings of these items, but show periods after Poe's name in the letters for September 11, 1839, December 19, 1839, January 17, 1841, and July 12, 1841. He therefore shows the same pointing as do the Bixby facsimiles for corresponding items, namely, the letters for September 11, 1839, and for January 17, 1841.

PHILADELPHIA

MY DEAR SIR,

Jan. 17-1841

1. Your letters are always welcome—albeit "few and far between" (what an infamous tautology is that by the bye, for visits that are few *must* be far between)—and your last letter was especially so. 2. I thought you had forgotten me altogether.

133. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 275-276.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

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3. You write to know my prospects with the "Penn." 4. They are *glorious*—notwithstanding the world of difficulties under which I labored and labor. 5. My illness (from which I have now entirely recovered) has been, for various reasons, a benefit to my scheme, rather than a disadvantage; and, upon the whole, if I do not eminently succeed in this enterprize the fault will be altogether mine own. 6. Still, I am using every exertion to ensure success, and, among other manœuvres, I have cut down the bridges behind me. 7. I must now do or die—I mean in a literary sense.

8. Thank you for your offer of aid. 9. I shall be delighted to receive any *prose* article from your pen. 10. As for poetry, I am overstocked with it. 11. I am particularly anxious for a paper on the International Copy-Right law, or on the subject of the Laws of Libel in regard to Literary Criticism; but I believe these topics are not "in your line." 12. Your friend, David Hoffman Esq. has been so kind as to promise me his aid; and perhaps he would not be unwilling to send me something on one or the other of the heads in question. 13. *Will you oblige me by speaking to him upon this subject?* 14. Above all things it is necessary that whatever be done "if done, be done quickly"; for I am about to put the first sheet to press immediately, and the others will follow in rapid succession.

15. In regard to my plans &c the Prospectus will inform you in some measure. 16. I am resolved upon a good outward appearance—clear type, fine paper, &c—double columns, I think, & brier, with the poetry running across the page in a single column. 17. No steel engravings; but now & then a superior wood-cut in illustration of the text. 18. Thick covers. 19. In the literary way, I shall endeavor, gradually, (if I cannot effect the purpose at once) to give the Magazine a reputation for the having *no articles but from the best pens*—a somewhat negative merit, you will say. 20. In criticism I shall be bold & sternly, absolutely just, with friend & foe. 21. From this purpose nothing shall turn me. 22. I shall aim at *originality* in the body of the work, more than at any other especial quality. 23. I have one or two articles of my own in statu pupillari that would make you stare, at least, on account of the utter oddity of their conception. 24. To carry out the conception is a difficulty which—may be overcome.

25. I have not seen the January Messenger;—but "Quotidiana" is a very good title. 26. "Quodlibetica" is also good, and even more inclusive than the other. 27. I am fond of such articles as these; and in good hands they may be made very interesting.

28. Burton that illustrious "graduate of St John's College, Cambridge" is going to the devil with the worst grace in the world, but with a velocity truly astounding. 29. The press here, in a body, have

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given him the cut direct. 30. So be it—suum cuique. 31. We have said quite enough about this genius.

32. Mr Graham is a very gentlemanly personage. 33. I will see him to-morrow, and speak to him in regard to your essay; although, to prevent detection, Burton may have destroyed it.

34. And now, my dear Snodgrass, *will* you do me a favor? 35. I have heard some mention made of a new Magazine to be established in Baltimore by a Virginian & a practical printer. 36. I am *anxious* to know all the details of the project. 37. Can you procure & send me (by return of mail) a Prospectus? 38. If you cannot get one, will you write me all about it—the gentleman's name, &c. &c. &c.?

39. I have underscored the word "anxious" because I really mean what I say, and because, about a fortnight ago, I made to the Hon. N.C.Brooks, A.M. a request just such as I now make to yourself. 40. *He did not reply*; and I, expecting of course the treatment which one gentleman naturally expects from another, have been put to the greatest inconvenience by the daily but fruitless expectation.

Very truly & respectfully yours

Dr. J.E.Snodgrass.

EDGAR A POE.

9. APRIL 1, 1841

This letter is not found among the Browne transcripts. It was discovered by Mrs. Snodgrass among her deceased husband's papers and sent to the Baltimore *American*, where it appeared without sentence omissions on April 4, 1881. The New York *Herald* and the New York *World* also carried a copy of the letter on the same day under a Baltimore release.

Harrison's version,¹³⁶ based upon the Baltimore *American*, lacks sentences 3-7 and 52-57. Although Woodberry gives the *American* as his source, he adopts Harrison's sentence omissions; however, he later¹³⁷ quotes from the second postscript, indicating a knowledge of it. The italics in the letter is, according to editorial comment in the *American*, Poe's own. Allen quotes only sentences 8-11 entire. He draws elements from sentences 33-34 and 43, and rearranges them in such a way that Poe's original sequence and precise meaning are destroyed.¹³⁸

The essay by Snodgrass was printed, as promised, in the June issue of *Graham's* and was entitled "Poetry: the uncertainty of its appre-

136. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 158-161.

137. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 277.

138. *Op. cit.*, p. 366 n.

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ciation." It seems that this was the article Snodgrass submitted to Burton for a premium and about which so much has been said by Poe in his letters. Burton did not destroy it, and, probably at Poe's request, it was ultimately turned over to Graham.

Unlike Burton's magazine, *Graham's* came out almost a month in advance of date. Poe asks for a review of Soran's poems, which Snodgrass later sends. Snodgrass's last letter apparently contained not only strong feeling against Burton as a gentleman, but also suggested a conversation recently held with a Baltimore lawyer, which Poe seizes as a means of getting some free legal advice. However, the talk of a suit against Burton came to nothing. Poe's defense of himself against accusations of drunkenness is probably the truth. Again we find Snodgrass's name put on a free list; this time it is on *Graham's*.

PHILADELPHIA, April 1, 1841.

My Dear Snodgrass—

1. I fear you have been thinking it was not my design to answer your kind letter at all. 2. It is now April Fool's Day, and yours is dated March 8th; but believe me, although, for good reason, I may occasionally postpone my reply to your favors, I am never in danger of forgetting them.

3. I am much obliged to you for permitting me to hand over your essay to Mr. Graham. 4. It will appear in the June number. 5. In order to understand this apparent delay, you must be informed that we go to press at a singularly early period. 6. The *May* number is now within two days of being ready for delivery to the mails. 7. I should be pleased to receive a brief notice of Soran's poems for the June number—if you think this will not be too late.

8. In regard to Burton, I feel indebted to you for the kind interest you express; but scarcely know how to reply. 9. My situation is embarrassing. 10. It is impossible, as you say, to notice a buffoon and a felon, as one gentleman would notice another. 11. The law, then, is my only resource. 12. Now, if the truth of a scandal could be admitted in justification—I mean of what the law terms a scandal—I would have matters all my own way. 13. I would institute a suit, forthwith, for his personal defamation of myself. 14. He would be unable to prove the truth of his allegations. 15. I could prove their falsity and their malicious intent by witnesses who, seeing me at all hours of every day, would have the best right to speak—I mean Burton's own clerk, Morrell, and the compositors of the printing office. 16. In fact, I could prove the scandal almost by acclamation.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

17. I should obtain damages. 18. But, on the other hand, I have never been scrupulous in regard to what I have said of him. 19. I have always told *him* to his face, and everybody else, that I looked upon him as a blackguard and a villain. 20. This is notorious. 21. He would meet me with a cross action. 22. The truth of the allegation—which I could easily prove as he would find it difficult to prove the truth of his own respecting me—would not avail me. 23. The law will not admit, as justification of my calling Billy Burton a scoundrel, that Billy Burton is really such. 24. What then can I do? 25. If I sue, he sues; you see how it is.

26. At the same time—as I may, after further reflection, be induced to sue, I would take it as an act of kindness—not to say *justice*—on your part, if you would see the gentleman of whom you spoke, and ascertain with accuracy all that may legally avail me; that is to say, what and when were the words used, and whether your friend would be willing for your sake, for my sake, and for the sake of truth, to give evidence if called upon. 27. Will you do this for me?

28. So far for the matter inasmuch as it concerns Burton. 29. I have now to thank you for your defence of myself, as stated. 30. You are a physician, and I presume no physician can have difficulty in detecting the *drunkard* at a glance. 31. You are, moreover, a literary man, well read in morals. 32. You will never be brought to believe that I could write what I daily write, *as* I write it, were I as this villain would induce those who know me not, to believe. 33. In fine, I pledge you, before God, the solemn word of a gentleman, that I am temperate even to rigor. 34. From the hour in which I first saw this basest of calumniators to the hour in which I retired from his office in uncontrollable disgust at his chicanery, arrogance, ignorance and brutality, *nothing stronger than water ever passed my lips*.

35. It is, however, due to candor that I inform you upon what foundation he has erected his slanders. 36. At no period of my life was I ever what men call intemperate. 37. I never was in the *habit* of intoxication. 38. I never drunk drams, &c. 39. But, for a brief period, while I resided in Richmond, and edited the *Messenger*, I certainly did give way, at long intervals, to the temptation held out on all sides by the spirit of Southern conviviality. 40. My sensitive temperament could not stand an excitement which was an everyday matter to my companions. 41. In short, it sometimes happened that I was completely intoxicated. 42. For some days after each excess I was invariably confined to bed. 43. But it is now quite four years since I have abandoned every kind of alcoholic drink—four years, with the exception of a single deviation, which occurred shortly *after* my leaving Burton, and when I was induced to resort to the occasional use of *cider*, with the hope of relieving a nervous attack.

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44. You will thus see, frankly stated, the whole amount of my sin. 45. You will also see the blackness of that heart which could *revive* a slander of this nature. 46. Neither can you fail to perceive how desperate the malignity of the slanderer must be—how resolute he must be to slander, and how slight the grounds upon which he would build up a defamation—since he can find nothing better with which to charge me than an accusation which can be disproved by each and every man with whom I am in the habit of daily intercourse.

47. I have now only to repeat to you, in general, my solemn assurance that my habits are as far removed from intemperance as the day from the night. 48. My sole drink is water.

49. Will you do me the kindness to repeat this assurance to such of your own friends as happen to speak of me in your hearing?

50. I feel that nothing more is requisite, and you will agree with me upon reflection.

51. Hoping soon to hear from you, I am,

Yours most cordially,

Dr. J. E. Snodgrass.

EDGAR A. POE.

P.S.—52. You will receive the magazine, as a matter of course.

53. I had supposed that you were already on our free list.

P.P.S.—54. The *Penn*, I hope, is only “scotched, not killed.” 55. It would have appeared under glorious auspices, and with capital at command, in March, as advertised, but for the unexpected bank suspensions. 56. In the meantime, Mr. Graham has made me a liberal offer, which I had great pleasure in accepting. 57. The *Penn* project will unquestionably be resumed hereafter.

10. JULY 12, 1841

This is another Browne transcript of undisputed dating.

Harrison follows Spencer in omitting sentences 18-20 and 35-39,¹³⁹ and only summarizes sentences 3-7 and 9-10. Of special note is Harrison’s variant of “morning” for Poe’s “hurry” in sentence 22, though Spencer has the original reading. Woodberry quotes the whole letter.¹⁴⁰ Among his variants are “will” for “shall” in sentence 3, a change that destroys Poe’s intended emphasis; and the omission of “of Soran” in sentence 18, which is owing to an “illegible” source. Allen merely quotes phrases from sentences 6 and 31, and incorrectly at that.¹⁴¹

Snodgrass’s delay in answering Poe’s last letter may have been due partly to Poe’s own delinquency, admitted in the April 1 letter.

139. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, pp. 78-79.

140. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 283-285.

141. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 361 and 395.

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The "Reproof of a Bird" was a poem by Snodgrass and appeared in the September issue of *Graham's*. The "elision" Poe apologizes for undoubtedly occurred in Snodgrass's article on poetry, in the June number. The reference to "a small for a capital R in Rozinante" has to do with Poe's review of *The Quacks of Helicon* by L.A. Wilmer.

"Monumental writers" refers, of course, to Baltimoreans, Baltimore being the Monumental City. "Arthur" was T.S. Arthur, owner and editor of the *Baltimore Monument*, from October, 1836, to October, 1839.¹⁴² He was in Philadelphia by 1841¹⁴³ and gained his greatest fame as editor of *Leslie's* (February, 1844-July, 1846) and of his own *Arthur's Home Magazine* from 1853. McJilton was one of the literary group in Baltimore during Poe's stay there, the group numbering among its members Arthur, Carpenter, McJilton, Brooks, Hewitt, and Dawes.¹⁴⁴

Clark was W. Gaylord Clark, editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, who had just died.¹⁴⁵ As requested, Snodgrass had sent the review of Soran's poems, but too late, for Poe had indicated the June issue.¹⁴⁶ The paper Poe has in the August number was "The Colloquy of Monos and Una." Poe is very hard on Wilmer in his review, and this letter shows how Poe would use again material written for another occasion. Here, too, we find his well-known remark about E. Burke Fisher, who failed to pay for his review of Willis's *Tortosa*.¹⁴⁷

PHILADELPHIA, July 12. 1841.

MY DEAR SNODGRASS,

1. I have this moment received yours of the 10th and am really glad to find that you have not quite given me up. 2. A letter from you now is a novelty indeed.

3. The "Reproof of a Bird" shall appear in the September number. 4. The last sheet of the August no: has already gone to press.

5. I am innocent of the elision in your quoted lines. 6. Most probably the syllables were left out by our proof-reader, who looks over the articles after me, for such things as turned s's & o's, or battered type. 7. Occasionally he takes strange liberties. 8. In our forthcoming number he has substituted, (I see), a small for a capital

142. Mott, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 381 n.

143. *Dictionary of American Biography*.

144. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 97.

145. See notes to letter for September 19, 1841.

146. See sentence 7, letter for April 1, 1841.

147. See sentences 22-23, letter for September 11, 1839.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

R in Rozinante. 9. Still—the lines *read* very well as they are, and thus no great harm is done. 10. Every one is not to know that the lost one is a finale to a stanza.

11. You say some of your monumental writers “feel small”—but is not that, for them, a natural feeling? 12. I never had much opinion of Arthur. 13. What little merit he has is negative. 14. McJilton I like much better. 15. He has written one or two *very* good things. 16. As a man, also, I like him better. 17. Do you know, by the bye, that W.G.Clark reproved me in his Gazette, for speaking *too* favorably of McJilton?

18. I re-enclose the notice of Soran. 19. It was unavoidably crowded from the July no: and we thought it *out of date* for the August. 20. I have not read the book—but I would have been willing to take his merits upon your word.

21. You flatter me about the Maelstrom. 22. It was finished in a hurry, and therefore its conclusion is imperfect. 23. Upon the whole it is neither so good, nor has it been $\frac{1}{2}$ so popular as “The Murders in the Rue Morgue.” 24. I have a paper in the August no: which will please you.

25. Among the Reviews (for August) I have one which will, at least, surprise you. 26. It is a *long* notice of a satire by a quondam Baltimorean L.A.Wilmer. 27. You must get this satire and read it—it is really good—good in the old-fashioned Dryden style. 28. It blazes away, too, to the right & left—sparing not. 29. I have made it the text from which to preach a fire—&—fury sermon upon critical independence, and the general literary humbuggery of the day. 30. I have introduced in this sermon some portion of a Review formerly written by me for the “Pittsburg Examiner,” a monthly journal which died in the first throes of its existence. 31. It was edited by E. Burke Fisher Esq.^{re}—than whom a greater scamp never walked. 32. He wrote to me offering 4 \$ per page for criticisms, promising to put them in as contributions—not editorially. 33. The first thing I saw was one of my articles under the editorial head, so altered that I hardly recognized it, and interlarded with all manner of bad English and ridiculous opinions of his own. 34. I believe, however, that the number in which it appeared, being the last kick of the maga:, was never circulated.

35. I presume you get our Mag: regularly. 36. It is mailed to your address.

Very cordially your friend.

EDGAR A POE.

37. Will you do me the favor to call at the Baltimore P.O. and enquire for a letter addressed to John P. Kennedy *at Baltimore*. 38. By some absence of mind I directed it to that city in place of Washington. 39. If still in the P.O. will you forward it to Washington?

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

II. SEPTEMBER 19, 1841

This is the last letter in the series that Browne copied for Ingram. Collation of the transcript with the Bixby facsimile shows that Browne committed no errors of omission, but made the following variations: in the salutation, he has "dear"; in sentence 4, "in the"; in 5, "The Dial."; in 9, "and" for "&"; in 10, "Co."; and in 17, "Monuments?"

Harrison¹⁴⁸ quotes only sentences 5-8, but briefly summarizes parts of the rest. As usual, his pointing varies from the original. Woodberry¹⁴⁹ quotes the whole letter, making the customary variants, especially in sentence 16, where he corrects Poe's "it is" (the transposition being indicated in the holograph). Allen makes no direct reference to the letter.

The "contre-temps" mentioned by Poe was occasioned by the following item in *Godey's* for September: "A Bird's Reproof" by Dr. J.E.Snodgrass, of Baltimore. It was headed: "Written for the *Lady's Book*. Thus, both *Godey's* and *Graham's* carried the same poem in the same month.¹⁵⁰ However, the poems vary in punctuation and wording, the *Graham's* printing having an extra stanza and being apparently a revised work. Perhaps Poe had some share in the improvement. Perhaps Snodgrass sent the poem to Poe after previously sending it to Godey, who had delayed its publication. The poem is quite mediocre in quality.

The "tale in question" was Poe's "Never Bet Your Head" in *Graham's* for September. W.Gaylord Clark had been editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette* until his death on June 13, 1841. *Graham's* carried a eulogy in its August, 1841, number.¹⁵¹

Poe not only has hope that Graham will back the *Penn*, which he never did, but also seems still eager to establish his magazine in Baltimore. He may be throwing out a hint (perhaps not the first) that Snodgrass become his backer, a hint that he states more pointedly in his next letter, nine months later. However, the hint or the query found no Baltimore "publisher or gentleman" to join Poe "in the scheme."

148. *Op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 80.

149. *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 285-287.

150. *Godey's Lady's Book*, XXIII, 137 (Sept., 1841). *Graham's*, XIX, 103 (Sept., 1841).

151. *Graham's, op. cit.*, p. 85.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

PHILADELPHIA—Sep. 19. 41.

MY DEAR SNODGRASS,

1. I seize the first moment of leisure to say a few words in reply to yours of Sep. 6.

2. Touching the "Reproof of a Bird," I hope you will give yourself no uneasiness about it. 3. *We* don't mind the contre-temps; and as for Godey, it serves him right, as you say. 4. The moment I saw the article in The "Lady's Book," I saw at once how it all happened.

5. You are mistaken about "The Dial". 6. I have no quarrel in the world with that illustrious journal, nor it with me. 7. I am not aware that it ever mentioned my name, or alluded to me either directly or indirectly. 8. My slaps at it were only in "a general way." 9. The tale in question is a mere Extravaganza levelled at no one in particular, but hitting right & left at things in general.

10. The "Knickerbocker" has been purchased by Otis Broadus & Co of Boston. 11. I believe it is still edited by Clark the brother of W. Gaylord.

12. Thank you for attending to the Kennedy matter. 13. We have no news here just yet—something may turn up by & bye. 14. It is not impossible that Graham will join me in The "Penn." 15. He has money. 16. By the way is it impossible to start a first-class Mag: in Baltimore? 17. Is there no publisher or gentleman of moderate capital who would join me in the scheme?—publishing the work in the City of Monuments.

18. Do write me soon & tell me the news,

Yours most cordially

Edgar A Poe

12. JUNE 4, 1842

This is the last known letter in the Poe-Snodgrass correspondence. Neither Spencer, Harrison, Woodberry, Miss Phillips, nor Allen seems to have had knowledge of it. The letter is here reproduced from the Anderson Galleries Catalogue,¹⁵² which announces the sale of the Frank Maier library, New York City, November 22, 1909. It is item 1700 in part two of the sale.

There seems to be no reason to question the authenticity or date of the letter. Poe was still in Philadelphia but had just left *Graham's*, probably sometime in April with the completion of the May number.¹⁵³ Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America* had appeared in April,¹⁵⁴ and Poe's letter to George Roberts, of Boston, on June 4,

¹⁵² No. 784, pp. 210-212.

¹⁵³ Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 111 (letter to F. W. Thomas).

¹⁵⁴ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

1842,¹⁵⁵ carried passages identical to some in the Snodgrass communication.

We learn that Snodgrass has not written Poe for some time, probably owing to the press of duties as "sole proprietor of the *'Visiter'*" and perhaps, also, to Poe's own negligence in prompt replies.

As previously suggested, Snodgrass may have become associated with the *Visiter* after the last issue of the *Museum* in June, 1839.¹⁵⁶ Poe's second paragraph indicates that his friend's connection with the journal is not recent. Could Poe's sixth and eighth sentences account for his repeated hints that there might, or could, be someone in Baltimore to assist him in launching the *Penn*? Had Snodgrass really been in his mind all the while, or is the fact of his sole proprietorship either a more definite magnet or but an occasion for Poe to hope again? Whatever the explanation, nothing came of the matter.

John H. Hewitt was the winner of the poetry prize offered by the Baltimore *Saturday Visiter*, in 1833, at the same time that Poe won the prose premium. Wilmer, then editor, was replaced by Hewitt, who, having won the graces of McCloud, the owner, usurped Wilmer's position.¹⁵⁷

Also in this letter, we learn that by June Poe is completing his *Mystery of Marie Rogêt*. What is more interesting, however, is that his explanation of its conception, style, and purpose is, with but few changes, almost word for word that of his letter to George Roberts for June 4, 1842, the same day.¹⁵⁸ The only significant sentence found in the Snodgrass letter and not in Roberts' is: "Dupin *reasons* the matter throughout." Moreover, whereas Poe offers the "article" to Roberts for fifty dollars, owing to a desire to have it printed in Boston, he asks Snodgrass forty dollars, because he is eager to have it published in Baltimore. Poe was clearly making two bids at the same time—perhaps there were more—in order to hasten publication and the remuneration. Neither editor took the story, and it was printed in Snowdon's *Lady's Companion*, November and December, 1842, and February, 1843.¹⁵⁹ Why Poe would have told Snodgrass that the *Visiter* was the proper channel for his story, just after saying that

155. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, pp. 112-113.

156. See notes to letter for Jan. 20, 1840.

157. L.A. Wilmer, *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 22-29.

158. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, pp. 112-113.

159. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 343.

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the journal was still suffering from *mauvais odeur*, is hard to explain. Nevertheless, discrediting his friend's paper would scarcely contribute to the acceptance of the "article," even at less than Poe apparently valued it.

This letter may be Poe's earliest epistolary ridicule of Griswold's book on poetry, which had appeared in April, 1842.¹⁶⁰ Numerous attacks are to be found in Poe's later correspondence, and in November, 1842, he himself "used it up" in a lecture.

Poe's request that Snodgrass "notice" his quitting *Graham's* was further indication of his chagrin that the June number did not carry such an announcement, a point that Poe makes with other correspondents.¹⁶¹ He did not want to be held responsible for some one else's editing.

For the first time in this series of twelve letters, Poe addresses his friend as "S," suggesting a familiarity beneath the tone of respect characteristic of the preceding letters. In a communication devoted almost wholly to soliciting aid, "my dear S." seems out of key. Moreover, prior to this letter, Poe did not sign his postscripts to Snodgrass, with name or initials.

PHILADELPHIA, June 4, 1842.

MY DEAR SNODGRASS:

How does it happen that, in these latter days, I never receive an epistle from yourself? Have I offended you by any of my evil deeds?—if so, how? Time was when you could spare a few minutes occasionally for communion with a friend.

I see with pleasure that you have become sole proprietor of the '*Visiter*': and this reminds me that I have to thank your partiality for many flattering notices of myself. How is it, nevertheless, that a *Magazine* of the highest class has never yet succeeded in Baltimore? I have often thought, of late, how much better it would have been had you joined me in a *Magazine* project in the Monumental City, rather than engage with the '*Visiter*'—a journal which has never yet been able to recover from the *mauvais odeur* imparted to it by Hewitt. Notwithstanding the many failures in Baltimore, I still am firmly convinced that your city is the best adapted for such a *Magazine* as I propose, of any in the Union. Have you ever thought seriously upon this subject?

I have a proposition to make. You may remember a tale of mine published about a year ago in '*Graham*' and entitled the '*Murders in*

¹⁶⁰. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

¹⁶¹. Harrison, *op. cit.*, vol. 17, pp. 110-111.

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

the Rue Morgue.' Its theme was the exercise of ingenuity in detecting a murderer. I am just now putting the concluding touch to a similar article, which I shall entitle '*The Mystery of Marie Rogêt*—a sequel to "*The Murders in the Rue Morgue.*"' The story is based upon that of the real murder of Mary Cecelia Rogers, which created so vast an excitement, some months ago, in New York. I have handled the design in a very singular and entirely *novel* manner. I imagine a series of nearly exact *coincidences* occurring in Paris. A young grisette, one Marie Rogêt, has been murdered under precisely similar circumstances with *Mary Rogers*. Thus, under pretence of showing how Dupin (the hero of the Rue Morgue) unravelled the mystery of Marie's assassination, I, in fact, enter into a very rigorous analysis of the *real* tragedy in New York. *No point* is omitted. I examine each by each, the opinions and arguments of our press on the subject, and show (I think satisfactorily) that this subject has never yet been *approached*. The press has been entirely on a wrong scent. In fact, I really believe, not only that I have demonstrated the falsity of the idea that the girl was the victim of a gang, but have *indicated the assassin*. My main object, however, as you will readily understand, is the analysis of the *principles of investigation* in cases of like character. Dupin *reasons* the matter throughout.

The article, I feel convinced, will be one of general interest, from the nature of its subject. For reasons which I may mention to you hereafter, I am desirous of publishing it in *Baltimore*, and there would be no channel so proper as the paper under your control. Now the tale is a long one—it would occupy twenty-five pages of 'Graham's Magazine'—and is worth to me a hundred dollars at the usual Magazine price. Of course I could not afford to make you an absolute present of it—but if you are willing to take it, I will say \$40. Shall I hear from you on this head—if possible by return of mail?

Have you seen Griswold's *Book of Poetry*? It is a most outrageous humbug, and I sincerely wish you would 'use it up.'

If you have not yet noticed my withdrawal from 'Graham's Magazine,' I would take it as a great favor if you would do so in something like the following terms, even if you *have* noticed it, this might go in.

We have it from *Undoubted authority* that Mr. Poe has retired from the editorship of 'Graham's Magazine,' and that his withdrawal took place with the *May* number, notwithstanding the omission of all announcement to this effect in the number for June. We observe that the 'Boston Post' in finding just fault with an exceedingly ignorant and flippant review of 'Zanoni,' which appears in the June number, has spoken of it as from the pen of Mr. Poe. We will take it upon ourselves to say that Mr. P. neither did write the article, nor could

A POE CORRESPONDENCE RE-EDITED

have written such an absurdity. The slightest glance would suffice to convince us of this. Mr. P. would never be guilty of the grammatical blunders, to say nothing of the mere twattle, which disgraces the criticism. When did he ever spell *liaison*, *liason*, for example, or make use of so absurd a phrase as '*attained to*' in place of attained? We are also fully confident that the criticism is [sic] question is not the work of Mr. Griswold, who (whatever may be his abilities as the compiler of a Book of Poetry), is at all events a decent writer of English. The article appears to be the handiwork of some underling who has become imbued with the fancy of *aping* Mr. Poe's peculiarities of diction. A pretty mess he has made of it! Not to announce Mr. P's withdrawal in the June number was an act of the rankest injustice; and as such we denounce it. A man of talent may occasionally submit to the appropriations of his articles by others who *insinuate* a claim to the authorship, but it is a far different and vastly more disagreeable affair when he finds himself called upon to father the conceit, ignorance and flippant impertinence of an ass.

Put this in editorially, my dear S., and oblige me eternally. You will acknowledge that it will be an act of justice.

Write immediately and believe me, your friend,

EDGAR A. POE

If you put in the paragraph send me the No. of the Visiter.


DR. J. EVANS SNODGRASS,

Ed. of Visiter, Baltimore, Md.

E.A.P.

Jefferson Refutes a Tory Argument

BY WILLIAM F. KELLER, LITT. M., ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA

NTRODUCTORY—In June, 1775, the American Colonies were but a year removed from declaring their independence. At this blood-stirring time, Thomas Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia to take his seat in the Continental Congress as a delegate from Virginia. He had already made a name for himself by writing "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," a document which was causing a furor in England. Jefferson plunged immediately into the work of the Congress, serving on the committee which drew up the "Address on the Causes of Taking up Arms." He made two drafts of this declaration, of which the second was submitted to the committee, thoroughly revised by John Dickinson, and finally reported to the Congress on July 6, 1775. In his second draft, Jefferson told how "Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil & religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, to the ruin of their fortunes, with the relinquishment of everything quiet and comfortable in life, they effected settlements in the inhospitable wilds of America; and there established civil societies with various forms of constitutions."* The idea that the colonists themselves bore the financial burden of settlement was never to leave his mind; it was to reappear in two more significant documents. On December 28, 1775, while the Congress was still in dramatic session, Jefferson returned to his Virginia home. There, presumably, he wrote the document which appears on the following pages. The King's speech of October 26, 1775, charging that the American Colonies were planted and fostered at the expense of the British nation, caused him to draft a reply in vigorous language. He outlines the efforts of sixteenth and early seventeenth century promoters to establish settlements in America, showing that they privately financed the ventures. He then berates the English sovereign for advancing such a "palpable untruth." This

*Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1892), I, 464-65.

JEFFERSON REFUTES A TORY ARGUMENT

unpublished manuscript of Jefferson, written sometime between late January and early June, 1776, is important in that its single thesis was incorporated briefly in the Declaration of Independence. In his rough draft of the monumental Declaration, he stated:

We have reminded them [the British] of the circumstances of our emigration & settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and we appealed to their native justice & magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which were likely to interrupt our correspondence & connection.†

This statement appears in the final, parchment copy of the Declaration as:

We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence.‡

Thus the document below shows the genesis of one point mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, and, for that reason, is of considerable significance.

This manuscript, which is in the form of a bound notebook, fills less than one-third of the total number of pages. It has a false binder's title, "Historical Notes of Virginia"; the subject matter has no connection with Jefferson's famous "Notes on Virginia," written in 1782. The page opposite the front cover bears the pencilled inscription:

Respectfully presented to

* Hart

By J. T. Barclay§

Monticello Oct. 16th '33

†See Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York, 1922), pp. 148-49.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 191.

§A former owner of Monticello.

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There are no existing records to indicate from whom it was obtained by the Library of Congress. It was found in the Division of Manuscripts of that institution by John Cook Wyllie, the Director of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the University of Virginia's Alderman Library. This is believed to be the first publication of the document.

Queen Elizabeth by letters patent¹ bearing date the 11th. of June 1578. granted to S^r. Humphrey Gilbert license to search for uninhabited countries, and to hold the same to him and his heirs, with all jurisdiction & royalties by sea and land, reserving to the crown of England his allegiance and the fifth part of all the oar of gold and silver which should be gotten there. he had moreover liberty to wage war with any persons who should annoy him by sea or land, or who should settle without his leave within 200 leagues of any place or places where he or his associates should within six years make their dwellings and abidings. he had also power to govern & rule the subjects who should settle in such new countries or within 200. leagues as aforesaid according to such statutes, laws and ordinances as he or his heirs should devise or establish, so as they were as nearly as convenient agreeable to the form of the laws and policy of England, and were not against the Christian faith then professed in the church of England. Provided that if he or his heirs, or any other by their license should commit unjust hostility against the subjects of the queen or her successors or of any other state in amity with them, it should for her and her successors to put Sir Humphrey and his heirs and the inhabitants of such new countries out of their allegiance and protection, from which time S^r. Humphrey and his heirs and the said inhabitants, and the places within their possession and rule, should be out of her protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostilities as being not her subjects, nor by her to be advowed, nor to her protection or allegiance belonging.

Sir Humphrey² set out the 11th. of June 1583. with five ships³ and 260. men equipped at his own expence, and that of his brother in law S^r. Walter Raleigh.⁴ one of these however soon put back in distress. S^r. Humphrey with the others passed by Penguin island into S^t. John's

1. See text in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow, 1904), VIII, 17-23. Jefferson's edition of Hakluyt, printed in London, 1589, was in one volume, foolscap folio.

2. Jefferson based his account of Gilbert's voyage on Edward Hayes' report in *ibid.*, VIII, 34-77. Hayes was the captain and owner of the *Golden Hind*.

3. *Golden Hind, Delight, Raleigh, Swallow, and Squirrel*. The *Raleigh*, with many of her sailors sick, returned to Plymouth; the *Golden Hind* was the only ship which completed the voyage.

4. Gilbert was Raleigh's half-brother.

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where he came to anchor Aug. 3. he found there a great number of fishing vessels from England, Spain, Portugal, France, Etc. to these he declared his intentions of taking possession of the island of Newfoundland in the behalf of the crown of England. he landed on the 4th. of Aug. on the 5th. he summoned the people both English & strangers to attend. he read before them his commission & by virtue thereof took possession of the harbour of St. John and 200. leagues every way, by taking livery of a twig and turf. he ordained three laws, for the conformity of religion to the English church, for punishing treason, and against disrespectful speaking of the Queen. he then had the English arms engraven in lead, and erected on a pillar, and granted to sundry of the fishermen in fee-farm⁵ divers parcels of land by the water side in the harbor of St. John's & elsewhere, for the purpose of dressing & drying their fish; reserving a yearly rent to him and his heirs.

Aug. the 20th. St. Humphrey and his people with the ships they had left, which were only three, sailed from St. John's for the Southern parts of America, which he wished also to bring within the compass of his patent. but one of the vessels being lost off Newfoundland, he concluded to return with the other two to England; in which return he himself perished with the vessel he was in & all his crew: so that one only got back of the four which had gone out.

St. George Peckham in his relation 2.Hakl.167.tells us 'he understands that the adherents, associates and friends of St. Humphrey Gilbert mean to pursue the American settlement.'⁶ accordingly, St. Humphrey's patent being expired, we find St. Walter Raleigh taking up the matter in his own right, and obtaining from the crown letters patent bearing date the 25th. of March 1584. copied almost verbally from those given to St. Humphrey Gilbert. they are in these words⁷

1584. In consequence of this compact with the crown St. Walter Raleigh fitted out two barks under the command of capt Philip

5. A form of socage tenure. Non-agricultural folk paid rents but were not subject to any of the old feudal services. See Sir William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London, 1935), III, 52-53.

6. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 93-94. This pamphlet by Peckham, a promoter of colonial ventures, is entitled "A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow thereby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Adventurers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the voyage. Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe adventurer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land."

7. Jefferson quotes the complete document and adds: "the above is copied literally from 3. Hackluyt's—voiajes .243." This omitted part of the MS. is not in his handwriting, but in that of some secretary or clerk. For text of the letters patent, see *ibid.*, VIII, 289-96.

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Amadas & capt Arthur Barlowe who left England Apr. 27. 1584.⁸ they touched at the West Indian islands, from whence they sailed up the coast, intending to put into the first river they should find. on the 13th. of July a river⁹ appeared into which they put. they landed immediately and took possession of the country in right of the queen and afterwards delivered it over to the use of S^r. Walter Raleigh and his heirs, according to the queen's grant. this proved to be the island of Wokokon,¹⁰ 20. miles long & 6. wide. from hence they visited an island¹¹ about 16. miles long, and some other of the islands which stretch along the Carolinian coast. capt Barlowe, who writes the account in Hakluyt, describes this as a tract of island 200. miles in length, and about six miles wide in general, having only two or three entrances into the sea. the sound between the islands and the main from 20. to 50. miles over & in this above 100. islands interspersed.¹² having thus examined the country and taken possession they returned to England where they arrived about the middle of September, carrying with them two of the American natives.¹³ on the 18th. of December a¹⁴ bill in confirmation to S^r. Walter's patent passed the house of Commons: but what became of it afterwards we know not.

1585.

In the spring following, S^r. Walter fitted out 7. sail of vessels¹⁵ under the command of S^r. Richard Greenville,¹⁶ they sailed from Plymouth Apr. 9. 1585. touched at the West Indies, and arrived at Wococon the 26th of June. on the 11th. of July they visited the main land for the first time, and on the 25th. of August, such of the vessels as remained weighed anchor for England,¹⁷ leaving 107. men under

8. Jefferson based his statement of this voyage on Barlow's report to Raleigh, "The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Raleigh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth," in *ibid.*, VIII, 297-310. Barlow was an old friend of Raleigh. Sir Walter made Amadas Admiral of Virginia for the second expedition in 1585.

9. Most probably the Ocracoke Inlet to Pamlico Sound. See Conway Whittle Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia: The First Attempt* (Norfolk, 1924), pp. 81-83.

10. The site of an Indian town. See map in *ibid.*, opposite p. 76.

11. Roanoke Island.

12. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 309.

13. Named Wanchese and Manteo.

14. Here Jefferson cites: "Davis's journ. fol. 341." John Davis made three voyages in 1585-87, seeking the Northwest passage. He was the author of *The Seaman's Secrets* (London, 1594) and *The Worldes Hydrographical Description* (London, 1595). See Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VII, 381-445; XII, 28-32.

15. *Tiger*, *Roe-buck*, *Lion*, *Elizabeth*, *Dorothy*, and two small pinnaces unidentified.

16. Greenville. Jefferson follows Ralph Lane's account in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 310-345. Lane was deputy to Greenville.

17. Greenville had been with the settlers from June 24 to August 25.

JEFFERSON REFUTES A TORY ARGUMENT

the charge of mr Ralph Lane, to settle the country. they chose for their habitation the island of Roanoke.¹⁸ from hence they extended their discoveries to Secotan,¹⁹ 80 miles Southward of Roanoke; to the Chesepians,²⁰ 130. miles Northward; & to Chawanook²¹ 130. miles Northwestward, of the same island. in the spring of 1586. they put into the ground seeds sufficient to produce them a plentiful subsistence for two years. Okisko, king of Weopomeiok, in a full council of the natives, acknowledged himself servant & homager to the queen of England & after her to S^r. Walter Raleigh. soon after this the colony became greatly distressed for provisions, and despairing at so late a season of the supplies which S^r. Richard Greenville had promised should certainly come before Easter, and S^r. Francis Drake touching there to visit his friend's colony on his return from the expedition against Cartagena, S^t. Augustine, & S^t. Domingo, they took their passage on board his fleet the 19th of June, 1586, and arrived at Portsmouth July 27. following. in

1586.

In the mean time a vessel, fitted out by S^r. Walter Raleigh, had sailed with supplies for the colony.²² it arrived immediately after the departure of the colonists, &, having in vain sought for them, returned. about 14. or 15. days after her departure, Sir Richard Greenville arrived with three other vessels under his command. being unable after great search to find or hear any thing either of the colony, or of the ship which had been sent before him, and unwilling to lose possession of the country, he left 15, or as²³ some say 50. men in the island of Roanoke, with plentiful provisions for two years, & departed for England.

1587.

In 1587. S^r. Walter Raleigh sent out a new colony of 150. men under the charge of John White²⁴ as governor.²⁵ he appointed him 12 assistants, gave them a charter, and incorporated them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia. he instructed them particularly, on their arrival in Virginia, to

18. Jefferson places it at "about Latitude 35°50'."

19. Region between Albemarle Sound and the Pamlico River.

20. Near Norfolk.

21. Region including Halifax, Northampton, Bertie, and Hertford counties. See Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 164n.

22. Jefferson based his account for this year on the report of an unknown writer in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 346-48.

23. Here Jefferson cites: "Smith's hist. of Virginia." His edition was Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1632). See Smith's *Works*, ed. by Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1884), I, 325.

24. An artist with the second expedition to Virginia, 1585.

25. Jefferson follows the account, probably written by White, in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 386-402.

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remove the settlement to the bay of Chesepiok,²⁶ & there to make their seat and fort. they sailed in three vessels from Portsmouth Apr. 26. 1587. and arrived at Hatorask²⁷ the 22^d. of July following. they immediately sent a party of men to the island of Roanoke to search for those whom S^r. Richard Greenville had left there the year before. but none of them were to be found, nor any sign of them, except the bones of one: and they afterwards learned that part of them had been cut off by the savages & the rest driven out to sea in a boat in which they must have perished. on the 18th. of August mrs Dare was delivered of the first child born in Virginia, who was christianed Virginia. August the 27th. the governor at the entreaty, and almost by compulsion of the planters returned to England for supplies. upon his arrival in England S^r. Walter Raleigh immediately appointed a pinnace to be sent thither with such provisions as were wanted, and wrote letters to the planters assuring them he would send a plentiful supply of shipping, men, & necessaries the next summer.

1588.

He accordingly prepared a fleet to go under the command of S^r. Richard Greenville; and it waited only a fair wind when S^r. Richard received orders from the state not to depart the kingdom, the Spanish Armada being then daily expected. Governor White upon this procured two pinnaces to be sent with fifteen planters, & provisions for the colony. they left Biddeford Apr. 22. 1588. but being more intent on gain than on supplying the colony they went in quest of prizes, & after being shattered in some unsuccessful encounters with the enemy they put back to England.

1589.

Raleigh, having received²⁸ no assistance from the crown in any of these enterprises, and having now expended 40,000. pounds in them, made an assignment to divers gentlemen & merchants of London 'for continuing the action of inhabiting & planting his people in Virginia'. the particulars of that assignment, says Oldys,²⁹ we may gather from an indenture made the 7th of March. 31st. Eliz.³⁰ between 'S^r. Walter Raleigh of Coliton in Devonshire, as he is therein distinguished,

26. Chesapeake Bay.

27. An inlet near Roanoke Island.

28. Here Jefferson cites: "Hakluyt's dedication of his translation of Bassanier's history of the first discovery of Florida." This refers to Renè de Laudonniere, "A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida:" in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 439-86. In 1587, Martin Basanier, a friend of Hakluyt, had published a French edition of Laudonniere's work.

29. Refers to William Oldys who wrote *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, prefixed to Raleigh's *The History of the World, in Five Books* (London, 1736), I, 1-36.

30. 1589.

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chief governor of Virginia & Thomas Smith³¹ with other merchants of London and adventurers to Virginia, and John White and other gentlemen, reciting that S^r. Walter Raleigh (by her majesty's letters patents beforementioned) had granted on the 7th. of January 1587. to John White & the rest free liberty to carry into Virginia and inhabit there such of her majesty's subjects as should willingly accompany them. and that the sd Thomas Smith & others the sd adventurers purposing to be made free of the corporation and company late constituted by S^r. Walter in the city of Raleigh, by this indenture grants to the sd Thomas Smith & others, & to the sd John White & the rest their several heirs and assigns free trade and traffick for all manner of merchandize to and from Virginia or any other parts of America where the said S^r. Walter his heirs or assigns did or might claim any interest title or privilege; free from all rents customs and other charges except the fifth part of the oar of gold and silver which he reserves to himself and his heirs. And further the sd S^r. Walter Raleigh as well for and in especial regard and zeal of planting the Christian religion in and among the sd barbarous & heathen countries and for the advancement & preferment of the same and the common utility and profit of the inhabitants therein as also for the encouragement of the said adventurers and other assistants in Virginia does freely and liberally give them the sum of one hundred pounds.³²

1590.

About the end of February 1590. mr John Wattes a merchant of London, at his own special charge had prepared three ships to go to Virginia when an embargo was laid on all the shipping of England. by the interest however of S^r. Walter Raleigh mr John White obtained leave for them to depart with men and necessities for the colony. but the commanders of the vessels, who seem to have had other views, found means to obstruct and prevent the governor from putting any thing on board, & from carrying even a boy to attend on himself. after cruising in the West Indies and taking some Spanish prizes they landed in Roanoke island Aug. 20. on going to the place where the colony had been left in the year 1587. they found it deserted and on a tree the Roman characters CRO. carved. on a post of a fort also, which they had built they found the letters—CROATOAN. this, according to an agreement between mr White & them, intimated that they were removed to Croatoan, and moreover that they were in no distress, as in that case a note of distress was to have been added. they

31. A famous merchant prince, who helped organize the Levant, East India, and Virginia Companies.

32. Here Jefferson cites: "this assignment, may be seen at large in the first edition of Hakluyt's voyages. fol. 1589. pa. 815."

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then returned on board their ships, & weighed anchor for Croatoan; but the weather coming on very foul, & being destitute of fresh water, they concluded to run down to the islands of St. John, Hispaniola, or Trinidad to winter there & return to Virginia in the spring. however the weather still continuing bad and the wind driving them off to the Eastward greatly, they determined to go to the Azores, from whence they sailed for England. what was the fate of the colony whom they thus deserted, was never known, as no search was made for them afterwards.³³ Oldys indeed, in his life of St. Walter Raleigh, tells us that tho' he³⁴ had made an assignment of his patent to others, yet they making no successful progress, he was so regardful of the English he had planted there, that he continued to send to them almost every other year. insomuch that besides the five first voyages made chiefly at his expence we are well³⁵ informed of five voyages more, the last of which was in the last year of the queen's reign under the command of Samuel Mace. but it is believed St. Walter was deceived by the persons he employed to go there, and that no one of them ever performed the voyage except Mace, who undertook it in the year 1602. and as is said,³⁶ was killed by the natives on his going on shore. his crew who attended him, escaped with difficulty. in 1602. captain Gosnold³⁷ with 32. men sailed in a small vessel for Virginia, and in 1603. mr Richard Hakluyt (compiler of the Voyages) having prevailed on some merchants of Bristol to join with him in raising a stock of £1000. for the adventure, and obtaining leave from St. Walter Raleigh, sent out two small vessels under the command of Martin Pringe.³⁸ but both Gosnold and Pringe confined their discoveries to that part of the American coast which lies between 41 & 43°. North Latitude. the Northern parts of the continent seem after this to have attracted all the adventurers until the year 1606; when several gentlemen & merchants, supposing that by the attainder of St. Walter Raleigh his patent was wholly forfeited, petitioned king James the first for new letters patent to authorize them to raise a joint stock & to settle colonies in Virginia. this he accordingly did, dividing them into two companies, the Northern & Southern.³⁹ a colony was sent out by the

33. Jefferson based the above account for the year 1590 on White's letter of February 4, 1593, to Hakluyt (Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, VIII, 404-06) and White's report of his voyage in *ibid.*, VIII, 406-22.

34. Here Jefferson comments in the margin of the MS.: "he never did assign."

35. Here Jefferson cites: "4. Purchas's Pilgrims. 'Virginia's Verger'." See Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), XIX, 227. Purchas's works were first issued in four volumes in 1625.

36. Here Jefferson cites: "3. Salm. Mod. hist. 429." See Thomas Salmon, *Modern History: or, the Present State of All Nations* (London, 1746), III, 429.

37. Bartholomew Gosnold.

38. Pringe.

39. The Plymouth promoters received the right to colonize between the forty-fifth and forty-first parallels; the London group between the thirty-eighth and thirty-fourth parallels.

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latter under the command of captain Newport,⁴⁰ who affected a settlement on the river Powhatan, now James river which has been ever since maintained. in 1624. James the first by proclamation suspended the proceedings of the Virginia company: and in 1626. Charles the first took the government of the country into his own hands. a Quo warranto indeed is said to have issued against the company, in order to draw over these arbitrary proceedings the veil of legal form. but it is⁴¹ doubted whether any judgment was ever obtained. the company in establishing this colony had expended an hundred thousand pounds.

This short narration of facts, extracted principally from Hakluyt's voyages, may enable us to judge of the effect which the charter to S^r. Walter Raleigh may have on our own constitution and also on those of the other colonies within it's limits, to which it is of equal concernment. it serves also to expose the distress of those ministerial writers,⁴² who, in order to prove that the British parliament may of right legislate for the colonies, are driven to the necessity of advancing this palpable untruth that 'the colonies were planted & nursed at the expence of the British nation': an untruth which even majesty itself, descending from it's dignity, has lately been induced to utter from the throne.⁴³ kings are much to be pitied, who, misled by weak ministers, & deceived by wicked favourites, run into political errors, which involve their families in ruin: and it might prove some solace to his present majesty, when, fallen from the head of the greatest empire the world has seen, he shall again exhibit in the political system of Europe the original character of a petty king of Britain, could he impute his fall to error alone. error is to be pitied and pardoned: it is the weakness of human nature. but vice is a foul blemish, not pardonable in any character. a king who can adopt⁴⁴ falshood, & solemnize it from the throne, justifies the revolution of fortune which reduces him to a private station. when the accident of situation is to give us a place in history, for which nature has not prepared us by corresponding endowments, it is the duty of those about us carefully to veil from the public eye the weaknesses, & still more, the vices of our character. a minister who can prompt his sovereign publicly to betray either, will permit the perpetual execrations of those who, in the future pages

40. Sir Christopher Newport.

41. Here Jefferson cites: "Stith's history of Virginia. 330." See William Stith, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (New York, 1865), p. 330. Jefferson's edition of Stith's work was printed in Williamsburg, 1747.

42. Probably a reference to Dr. Samuel Johnson, a royal pensioner, whose *Taxation no Tyranny; an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress* was published in March, 1775.

43. See the King's speech, October 26, 1775, in *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* (London, 1813), XVIII, 696.

44. Jefferson inserted an asterisk here, but without an accompanying footnote.

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of history, shall see consecrated to infamy the names of their nearest relations.—such was the sovereign, and such the minister,⁴⁵ of October the 28th. 1775.⁴⁶

45. Lord North.

46. October 26. The colonial newspaper dispatches from London containing the King's speech were dated October 28. See *The Maryland Gazette*, January 18, 1776.

The Life of Edward Carrington, A Brief Sketch

BY REV. GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA



COLONEL EDWARD CARRINGTON was born at "Boston Hill," the home of his father and the home of Carringtons for several generations following, in the upper part of Cumberland County on February 11, 1749.¹ He was the son of Colonel George Carrington, Sr., and Anne Mayo Carrington. On his father's side he was descended from high-standing middle class Irishmen. His paternal grandfather, Paul, had sailed from Ireland and settled in the Barbados in the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century. His father, George, came to Virginia in 1727 in company with the Mayos, William and Joseph, and settled in Goochland County. George married Anne, the daughter of William Mayo, and moved over into that part of Goochland which later became Cumberland County, settling in the upper part of the present county of Cumberland, close to Cartersville and near the James River. He secured a large tract of land and there built "Boston Hill." Anne Mayo Carrington and Colonel George had eleven children, five of whom contributed importantly in the moulding of the new State and two of whom should be classed among the establishers of the Nation. Paul, of whom much has been printed, and Edward, who has received so little recognition for his many accomplishments, are worthy of positions among the first rank of early notables, while Colonel George, Jr., Colonel Mayo, and Colonel Joseph played important rôles in the organizing of the State.²

Edward Carrington was born in the same year that saw Cumberland made a county. Sparsely populated and having few internal improvements, Cumberland was still one of the frontier counties. The

1. Carrington, Peyton R.: Carrington Manuscript (unpublished), p. 14: "Edward Carrington, born the 11th of February 1748-9, about eleven o'clock Saturday night." (From family Bible.)

2. Hopkins, Garland Evans: "History of Cumberland County."

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life there was necessarily of the pioneer type. Social contacts were limited to the inhabitants of the nearby plantations. But with these limitations the boy Edward still was able to make valuable acquaintances and associates for he lived near the Flemings, the Harrisons and the other Carter's Ferry folk. Though he was a great deal younger than the more famous members of these families, he must have made contacts that stood him in good stead for the rest of his life. As to the amount of education to be obtained in the county at that early date, little can be ascertained. It is highly probable that the major part of the boy's education was imparted by his parents—especially his mother, since his father was not so very well versed in the arts. His brother Paul had attended William and Mary, but Paul was much older than he and the times had been much less turbulent and uncertain when he had gone off to college than they were when Edward became old enough to go. It is reasonable to conclude that, in spite of the fine manner in which he wrote, Carrington was a man of very little schooling.³ The educational advantages in a home such as his must not, however, be underestimated.

As a boy he probably spent the greater part of his days working on some part of his father's immense plantation, preparing the splendid physique that characterized him in after life. He must have listened, too, to the many and agitated conversations that were held in the neighborhood concerning the acts of the British Parliament, imminent war, the county and State politics. His father and his brother George were both very active in Cumberland politics, while his brother Paul was gaining a reputation for himself in Charlotte, to which place he had moved. He must, therefore, have been interested in politics. Besides these advantages, there was the church to attend every Sunday, old Tear Wallet in Southam parish where his father was a vestryman, at which he could hear learned discourses by such men as Dickenson and Talley and later the brilliant Scot, graduate of Edinburgh, Christopher McRae.

On court days he would, in all likelihood, accompany his father and brother, the former the presiding justice and the latter a gentle-

3. Peyton R. Carrington states that Edward Carrington was a lawyer in Cumberland County before the war. This writer doubts very much the truth of this statement. Carrington's name is not mentioned in the Order Books of Cumberland County as having obtained a license to practice law. His extreme youth, too, is against this assumption.

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man justice, to court, where he listened to the fiery Patrick Henry, frequently a practitioner there, the able Fleming or, perhaps, Jefferson, who came at times.⁴

The first public office held by Edward Carrington was as a member of the County Committee of Safety, the greater portion of the minutes of which were written by him.⁵ On this committee were his father, who was chairman; his brothers Joseph and George, Jr.; John Mayo, his uncle; William Fleming, Carter Henry Harrison, Maurice Langhorne, and sixteen other of the most prominent men in the county. The purpose of these committees, it must be remembered, was to safeguard the counties and to organize the militia. In a great many cases companies of militia had formed independently of the committee and elected officers. Carrington had probably been elected the captain of one of these previous to his election to the committee, for though we find him defeated by Charles Fleming for the captaincy of the county's regular company, he is mentioned later as Captain Edward Carrington, and resigned his commission as such because of his acceptance of another office.⁶

While a member of the committee, he was appointed with William Fleming, Rev. John Hyde Saunders and Carter Henry Harrison to draw up instructions empowering the delegates to the convention to take proper steps toward protection (February 18, 1775). The same commission was asked to draft an address of approval to the Virginia members of Congress for the work they had done. This was probably the first commission in America to be officially instructed to prepare for rebellion. On May 10, 1775, he was empowered to invest money for arms "as best he could." But arms were scarce in those days and after over a month of fruitless searching he proposed that a powder mill be erected in the county. Accordingly, he and William Fleming were ordered to draw up a scheme for the erection and operation of a powder mill (June 30, 1775). Whether the plans materialized or not is indefinite, for though there was a Revolutionary headquarters at Cumberland Courthouse, no further mention of the powder plant has been found by the writer. It may be that the county joined with several around it in establishing one outside of

4. Hopkins, Garland Evans: "History of Cumberland County.

5. McIlwaine, H. R. (editor): "Proceedings of the Committee of Safety—Cumberland and Isle of Wight Counties, Va., 1775-6."

6. *Ibid.*

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the county, for the safety committee appointed a committee—of which Edward Carrington was one—to invite the other counties lying around Cumberland to join in establishing the powder mill.⁷

It was while he was stationed in Portsmouth as commander of the First Continental Artillery⁸ that Colonel Carrington, who had been commissioned lieutenant-colonel of artillery, November 26, 1776, and Governor Patrick Henry quarrelled over an insult Henry received from Carrington. Carrington seems to have formed a violent dislike for Harrison, his immediate superior officer at Portsmouth. It is evident from this and following events in the life of Colonel Carrington that he was very quick tempered, indiscreet and minded not at all to say what he thought when often he did not know the facts in the case. In particular he seems to have thought that the appointment of any officers of Harrison's regiment as officers of the Virginia Artillery would reflect on that branch of the army. In a letter to Governor Patrick Henry on August 4, 1777, he urgently desired the Governor not to appoint any of Harrison's men as officers in the artillery. Henry took offence at the letter and presented it to the council, who advised him to take the matter up with the Continental Congress, which he did. This letter was read in Congress on August 18 and referred to the Board of War. On August 19 the following action is found in the Journal of Congress:

The Board of War brought in a report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

Congress taking into consideration the letter from Governor Henry, of Virginia, to the delegates of that state, in Congress, (representing the behavior of Lieutenant Colonel Carrington, of Colonel Harrison's corps of Artillery),

Resolved, That any officer now in Colonel Harrison's regiment . . . shall have liberty to leave the said regiment on being appointed to any office . . . in Virginia . . .

Resolved, That the behavior of Lieutenant Colonel Carrington towards Governor Henry, as set forth in the governor's letter of the 8th instant to the delegates of Virginia, is highly indecent and reprehensible, and that unless the said Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington in the space of five days after being notified of this resolution make such concessions to the Governor as he and the council of the said State

7. *Ibid.*

8. McIlwaine: "Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia," p. 87, Vol. I.

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shall approve of, Colonel Carrington being dismissed from the service of the United States.⁹

Whether from a sense of apology or anticipating that some such action would be taken, Colonel Carrington wrote a letter of apology to Governor Henry, August 13, 1777.¹⁰ On August 26, this letter was read in Congress and the matter dropped so far as the body was concerned until May 23 of the next year, when the following appears in the Journal:

A motion being made, that the resolution of August, 1777, relative to Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington be expunged from the Journals, an amendment was moved in lieu thereof, as follows:

Whereas Congress are fully satisfied that Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington, from a sense of the impropriety of his conduct to his excellency Patrick Henry Esqr. Governor of Virginia, had before he knew of any resolution having been past by Congress relative to him, made a suitable and satisfactory apology to Governor Henry,

Resolved, That Lieutenant Colonel Carrington stands in the opinion of Congress in as favorable a point of view as if the resolution of Congress, of 19th August, 1777, had not been entered into which was agreed to.¹¹

That Henry was satisfied with the apology is shown by a postscript added to a letter of his to Richard Henry Lee (September 12, 1777),¹² which probably led to the above resolution. The postscript follows:

P. S. Lieutenant Colonel Carrington having made every concession that was proper, I have to entreat that Congress will, if agreeable to them, erase the Resolution respecting him, that nothing of his prejudice may appear hereafter.—P. H.

The early part of 1780 saw him in New Jersey under Washington, who had his headquarters for the time around Morristown. Carrington may have seen some action on the battlefield while on this northern stay. At any rate, he so impressed Washington that he was chosen to serve with Alexander Hamilton and General Arthur St. Clair on a commission to meet a British commission composed of William Phillips, Cosmo Gordon and Charles Norton at Perth Amboy, New

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72 and 3, Vol. I.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 187, Vol. I.

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Jersey, to bargain with the enemy to formulate a general cartel for the exchange of prisoners.¹³ Washington advised the commission to treat with the British as an independent nation and to refuse to agree to a cartel unless the British commissioners would deal with them as representatives of such a nation. The commission met between March 10 and 14, 1780, but accomplished nothing for the British refused to recognize the equal rights of the Americans. Alexander Hamilton wrote Washington that "the commission has been seven days at an end. The enemy had no idea of treating on national ground. We are now in private conversation, and not without hopes that the liberation of our prisoners will be affected on admissible terms." He closed by prophesying that two or three more days would end the negotiations. In this he was wrong for the negotiations were not concluded until March 26, and correspondence was continued on the subject until the middle of April. It would seem that they were partially successful from a letter written by the three to George Washington, on April 10.¹⁴ After the disastrous battle of Camden, Greene took charge in South Carolina and commissioned Carrington as his deputy quartermaster general, at which time Carrington proceeded south to Carolina. The early part of the new year, 1781, saw Colonel Carrington engaged in procuring arms for this army in central Virginia, especially in Powhatan and Chesterfield counties. On the 10th of January, 1781, he wrote from Petersburg asking the State government for supplies for himself and Baron Steuben.¹⁵

Sometime before January 15, 1781, General Greene appointed Colonel Carrington deputy quartermaster to the Southern Department. This is evident from the letter written by Governor Jefferson to Colonel Timothy Pickering on January 15, 1781—which shows not only this but the beginning of the first estrangement of Carrington and Jefferson. The letter follows and indicates that in this matter as in the earlier affair with Governor Henry, Colonel Carrington showed very little discretion:

SIR,

I wrote you in a former letter that on recommendation of Gen^l Greene we had proposed to Maj^r Forsyth the accepting of the appoint-

13. "Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington," Series I. (a) pp. 1269, 1272 and 1277; Vol. II, Series I. (b) p. 416, Vol. I, Series I.

14. Sparks: "The Writings of George Washington," Vol. VI, p. 483.

15. Palmer: "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," p. 426, Vol. I.

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ment of Deputy Quartermaster here which you had been pleased to refer to us. This appointment was kept open I think a month during which time (and indeed at any time since) we never received any answer from Major Forsyth, or intimation through any other Channel that he would undertake it. On the contrary it appeared by letters from him that he had accepted the office of Deputy Commissary of Purchases for the Southern Department. In the mean time Col^o Carrington, appointed by Gen^l Greene Deputy Quarter Master to the Southern Army arrived here, claimed the right of nomination, and nominated a Maj^r Claiborne. Tho' we doubted the propriety of his claim, yet it was a want of acquaintance with Maj^r Claiborne which induced us to refer the nomination altogether to Baron Steuben who was here: He approved of Maj^r Claiborne and assured us that the appointment would be particularly agreeable to Gen^l Greene, and that he would undertake to satisfy you also of its propriety¹⁶

That Colonel Carrington was actively engaged in fighting at this time may be seen from a letter of General Nathanael Greene to Governor Thomas Jefferson, February 15, 1781, in which he tells of the efforts of Colonels Edward Carrington and Williams to retard the enemy. In the same letter he states that conditions are critical and that he lacks money.¹⁷ It was Greene's plan to draw the battle-worn troops of Cornwallis as far from their storehouses as possible and then engage them in battle. To do this he kept constantly moving up and out from the Dan River.¹⁸ It was while engaged in this pseudo-retreat that Carrington and Jefferson engaged in a series of rather cryptic notes marking the first break between these men. Jefferson published a letter on the subject the "Estimates to be complied with in Virginia." Major Claiborne, now firmly established as deputy quartermaster-general in Virginia, sent a copy of this letter to Carrington, who was rather surprised to find some of the estimates so high when his own estimates had been only a tenth of the amount named by Jefferson. Accordingly, and acting without having first ascertained the facts in the case, he wrote Jefferson a letter in which he stated that Major Claiborne had sent him "a Copy of his Excellency's letter on the subject of the "Estimates to be complied with in Virginia"; that

16. McIlwaine: "Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia," p. 281, Vol. II.

17. "Correspondence of George Washington," p. 1717, Vol. III.

18. Andrews, E. Benjamin: "History of the United States," Vol. II.

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they are so great as to place them beyond even an attempt to meet them.

Upon receiving Colonel Carrington's letter, Jefferson presented it to the council and while at a meeting of that body wrote the following reply:

IN COUNCIL MARCH 3^d 1781.

COL^O EDWARD CARRINGTON

SIR,—I have received your letter wherein is this paragraph, "the sum indeed mentioned in your Excellency's Letter is excessive and I am not surprised it should be so, when I find by a State of your affairs sent to General Greene you have magnified the estimate in one article ten fold and perhaps the same circumstance attends the estimation on some of the other articles. I estimated for fifty thousand Bushels of Grain; in your Excellency's state to Gen^l Greene it is called five hundred thousand. I should be glad the Executive would revise their estimation, and perhaps after correcting those errors &c. &c."

I trust you would have been more choice in your terms had you revised the Estimate yourself as recommended to us. I send you a copy of it wherein you will find the quantity of Corns or Oats expressed in these figures and Letters "500,000 Bushels" in a former estimate given some Days or perhaps Weeks before this

Carrington looked more deeply into the matter and found that the mistake was his and not Jefferson's. Immediately upon ascertaining this he wrote to Jefferson an apology that, fortunately has been preserved in toto:

LT: COL: ED: CARRINGTON TO GOV: JEFFERSON:

SIR, Your Excellency's letter, I had the honor to receive, and with great pleasure acknowledge the impropriety of mine which gave occasion to it. I find the Error in my Estimate in the Article of grain, happened through the Clerk who Copied it in my office. On seeing your State to Gen^l: Greene, I naturally recurred to the original paper in my own possession & there found that it stood in these figures 50,000.

I am really sorry that my letter should contain anything disrespectful to yourself or the Executive, & am much obliged to you, for the delicacy, with which you have taken notice of it.

As to the 50,000 bushels being too little for the purposes intended, the claim for that much on Virginia was only meant as a supplement to what Carolina might be able to afford

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While this interchange of notes was taking place, Carrington was planning for the battle at Guilford Court House.¹⁹ Cornwallis had been greatly weakened by the defeat at Cowpens, and he determined to strike Greene as soon as possible and revive the waning spirits of the regulars and loyalists.

Perceiving this, Greene decided after consulting his staff—which numbered such men as Kosciusko, Henry Lee, William Washington and Carrington—to lure the British general as far as possible from his base of supplies, and then to give him battle. He began an apparent retreat northward. Cornwallis fell into the trap, destroyed his heavy baggage and followed. The chase continued for two hundred miles. At Guilford Court House, just thirty miles from the Virginia border, Greene, having joined the forces of General Daniel Morgan with his own, wheeled about and after some days of sparring for position offered battle. In the meantime he was joined by additional recruits from Virginia. Colonel Carrington was given the responsible position of planning the action to be taken. The plan followed was one often used by General Morgan: place the raw militia in front with orders to fire two or three volleys before giving away, after which the brunt of the battle was to be borne by the regulars.²⁰ The battle was a very bloody one and ended when General Greene withdrew his forces from the field. Cornwallis claimed the victory since he had been left with possession of the field, but the loss sustained by the British was much greater than that by the Americans. Cornwallis hastened to the seacoast refusing Greene's challenge to fight a second time. At only one other time in the war, at Yorktown, in charge of the artillery, did Carrington show himself to be a more exceptional military leader than at this battle. By the flight of Cornwallis, North Carolina was left in the hands of the Americans and Greene turned again to South Carolina.²¹

On April 24, 1781, Colonel Carrington led the artillery at the battle of Hobkirk Hill, near Camden, South Carolina.²² He had been commanding the artillery, as well as officiating as quartermaster-general, for the whole of Greene's Southern campaign.

19. Andrews, E. B.: "History of the United States," Vol. II.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. Andrews, E. B.: "History of the United States," Vol. II.

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After regaining North Carolina, it will be remembered that Greene marched down into South Carolina. His forces were greatly reduced by the expiration of the term of service of a great many of his men. After several indecisive skirmishes, he was defeated at Hobkirk Hill. However, he had greatly weakened the British, who found it to their disadvantage to garrison the places captured. Greene's army, or at least a part of his army, marched north to Virginia. So we find Colonel Carrington in Williamsburg in early September, 1781.

The French Army and the Americans under LaFayette followed Cornwallis across the State and bottled him up in the Peninsula. Washington hurriedly came from the North, DeGrasse and his fleet held the Chesapeake; Cornwallis was trapped. Still he gave fight and a long battle raged between October 6 and 17, 1781. Colonel Carrington commanded the artillery during the length of the battle. Much of the credit for the brilliant victory has been given to the artillery, but little has ever been said about their commander. Carrington probably stood in the line with the other commanders when Cornwallis' sword was surrendered.

Yorktown practically ended the war. His services no longer needed on the field of battle, Colonel Carrington was detailed to dispose of the stores captured at Yorktown.

Early in 1782 Colonel Carrington traveled northward to Philadelphia.²³ Here he saw Morris, who was working hard to put the colonies on a sound financial basis. He agreed heartily with Morris' plan and was entrusted by Morris with the execution of that part of the plan that had to do with the support of the Continental posts in Virginia. He wrote to Governor Harrison from Philadelphia on April 30:

DEAR SIR,

I have been detained here by prudential views towards the evacuation of that town, which event would have given us great relief in our scanty finances. I am at length, however, dispatched with every success to this place, that circumstances will admit. All public business in Virginia & as far southwardly as contracts can be extended, is not to be put on that footing. Such contracts as are at present necessary in Virginia, both in & out of my department I am authorized to make; in which are included the feeding of the troops Cumb: Court House

23. Palmer: "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," p. 143, Vol. II.

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& the Corps of Cavalry. Nothing but Criminal negligence in the different States can Frustrate Mr. Morris' views of giving our finances the firmest basis—of this I am a little fearful; the Gealousies & the intolerable idolence which prevail are really alarming. I shall set out tomorrow & will soon be with you.

I am with affection
yrs:²⁴

On January 1, 1783, Colonel Carrington offered his resignation from the army.²⁵ It seems to have gone unnoticed and he continued to serve in the capacity of quartermaster-general to the end of the war.

The gentler side of Colonel Carrington's nature is seen in a letter written to the Governor from Charleston on April 1, 1783. It is in behalf of "Doctor Gordon, an old inhabitant of Norfolk," who being "of the banished characters and persons of certain description," prohibited from returning during the war, desire now to join his family in Norfolk. The experienced warrior "Humbly beseeches" that he may be allowed to return and become a citizen.²⁶

On April 19, 1783, exactly eight years after Lexington, Washington proclaimed the war at an end, and discharged the army. Carrington returned to Richmond immediately. It is probable that he lived for a while in Cumberland following the war. At any event, we find him elected to represent Cumberland in the House of Delegates in 1784. Carrington established at this short session a name for himself as an able legislator. He had been associated with men who were even then famous and who were to become later the greatest men of the country and had proven himself their peer.

His second session as a representative from Cumberland was that from October 18, 1784, to January 7, 1785.

It was during this session that Colonel Carrington was defeated by Selden by one vote for a seat on the council. It was probably a fortunate defeat for Carrington, for had he been elected to the council, he would probably never have been elected to the Continental Congress. His third session in the Legislature was from October 17, 1785, to January 21, 1786.

It was while a member of this session of the House that Colonel Carrington was elected to the Continental Congress. In a letter to

²⁴. *Ibid.*

²⁵. *Ibid.*, pp. 439-40, Vol. III.

²⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 464, Vol. III.

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Jefferson, James Madison notifies him that Edward Carrington and H. Lee, Jr., have been added to R. H. Lee, James Monroe, and William Grayson in Congress.²⁷ This was the crowning honor of Carrington's career. His election, coming at a time when the new Nation was on the brink of ruin, showed the confidence of the State in his ability.

On his way to Congress, Carrington visited his old friend and chieftain, Washington. In his diary Washington makes the following entries:

1786

Tues. Feb. 21—Col. Carrington came to dinner

Wed. Feb. 22—Col. Edward Carrington continued on his way to Congress after breakfast.²⁸

Carrington was no minor figure in the Halls of the Continental Congress. He succeeded to James Monroe's position as Jefferson's confidential agent at the Congress. Jefferson was then minister plenipotentiary at Paris.

Monroe was leaving Congress for another mission. He had been Jefferson's correspondent carrying out his plans and informing him as to the actions of Congress. Jefferson writes him:

I know not to whom I may venture confidential correspondence after you are gone. Lee I scarcely know. Grayson is lazy. Carrington is industrious but not always as discreet as well-meaning, yet on the whole I believe he would be the best if you find him disposed to the correspondence. Engage him to begin it.²⁹

This proposal was readily agreed to by Carrington, who was willing enough to become friendly again with Jefferson.

Edward Carrington was seated as a delegate to the Congress from Virginia on March 3, 1786.³⁰ His first important service was as one of a committee appointed to consider "a plan of the Sec'y at War for Modeling the Militia of the U.S."³¹ This committee was appointed in April and did not report on the matter until September, at which time the plan submitted was adopted.³²

27. "William and Mary Quarterly," p. 221, Vol. I.

28. Fitzpatrick, John C.: "George Washington Diaries," p. 22, Vol. III.

29. Ford: "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," p. 265, Vol. IV.

30. Fitzpatrick, John C.: "Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-89," p. 193.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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It was fitting that Carrington be appointed on a committee to decide upon a fitting memorial to his old commander, Nathanael Greene. The committee recommended a monument be raised in Greene's honor.³³

His gentlemanly bearing made him a frequent choice on committees to meet or welcome distinguished visitors. His facile pen wrote many of the documents and public addresses of the sessions he served in Congress. In September, 1786, he helped draft an "Address to the States."³⁴

Carrington served on several committees on Indian affairs while in Congress.³⁵ His part in the removing of the Cherokee Indians was probably the most important act of his Congressional career.

In a letter written August 4, 1787, Thomas Jefferson informs Carrington that he thinks the executive and legislative should be separated.³⁶

He proposes an executive committee to head the Nation. Then follows a series of letters on the banking of money in Denmark.³⁷ In his letter of December 21, 1787, Jefferson thanks Carrington for the hints he offered in regard to the Danish bank and says of the new Constitution: "As to the new constitution I find myself nearly a neutral. There is a great mass of good in it, in a very desirable form: But there is also to me a bitter pill or two."³⁸

In answer to a letter of Carrington's dated April 24, 1788, Jefferson wrote on May 27 that he felt more favorably to the Constitution than at first.³⁹ He expresses the hope that Congress will make Paul Jones a rear-admiral since the Empress of Russia has offered him that position. "The United States would do well to keep him."

In April, 1788, Powhatan County chose Edward Carrington as its delegate to the House of Delegates, while he was still a member of Congress. This was done without the knowledge of Carrington, who was attending the session of Congress in New York. Hence, though he was the regularly elected delegate from Powhatan, he was not present at the session of the House from June 23 to 30, 1788.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 641.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 645.

36. Ford: "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," p. 423, Vol. IV.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 480, Vol. IV.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Ford: "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," pp. 19-22, Vol. V.

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On July 2, 1788, the Constitution as drawn up by the convention elected for that purpose was presented to Congress. Carrington was present and voted in favor of it.⁴⁰ He resigned from Congress sometime in the fall of 1788 and returned to Virginia in the middle part of October to take his seat in the House of Delegates.

It was some time around 1790 that Carrington was married.⁴¹ He married Elizabeth Jacquelin Ambler Brent, of Richmond, a young widow. Her husband had been William Brent, of Prince William County. She was well educated and of very good family, being descended from the Amblers and Jacquelins of Jamestown. Some of her letters have received notice for the fine manner in which they describe life in Virginia in her time.⁴²

In 1791, or previous to that date, Colonel Carrington was appointed Supervisor of the Virginia District for the collection of the excise tax from liquors.⁴³

In January, 1795, Washington wrote Hamilton, asking his advice as to a good man for Comptroller of the Treasury if Wolcott resigned.⁴⁴ Hamilton replied: "There is one gentleman in the south, whom I have before mentioned, of whose fitness in every respect, from trial of him in different public situations, it appears to me impossible to entertain a doubt—I mean Colonel Edward Carrington. I will pledge my reputation to the President for his proving, if appointed, an excellent Comptroller and a valuable acquisition to the department."⁴⁵ Washington, however, was searching for a man in a different geographical section and Carrington was not chosen. The evaluation by Hamilton shows the national reputation of Carrington.

In this same year, 1795, Washington wrote Carrington, asking him what his opinion of Innes for the Attorney-General of the United States⁴⁶ was. Carrington answered that he would try to secure Innes for the post.⁴⁷ In a letter dated October 9, Washington tells Carrington of his troubles in securing cabinet members; asks of Henry and

40. This vote may be found recorded in numerous journals. We are especially indebted to Madison's record of the procedure as found in "Debates in the State Conventions"—a compilation.

41. The writer has not been able to ascertain the exact date.

42. Christian: "Richmond—Her Past and Present," p. 163.

43. Henderson: "Washington's Southern Tour, 1791," p. 53.

44. Ford: "Writings of Alexander Hamilton," pp. 67-68, Vol. V.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Sparks: "The Writings of Washington," p. 79, Vol. XI.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, Vol. XI.

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Innes as possibilities; and wishes to know if Carrington would consider the office of Secretary of War.⁴⁸ Carrington praised Henry and Innes, hoping that they might be obtained, but declined the post in the War Department.⁴⁹ Pickering, then Secretary of War, wrote Hamilton: "He (Washington) proposed to Colonel Carrington's acceptance the Department of War, under the idea of removing me to the Department of State. Colonel Carrington chose to remain where he is."⁵⁰

In a letter of July 14, 1798, Washington proposes to Hamilton that Carrington be made quartermaster-general should war occur with France.⁵¹

On August 19, 1799, Hamilton wrote McHenry, the Secretary of War:⁵²

It is much to be regretted that Carrington was not appointed quartermaster general according to the new arrangement before the last session of the senate ended, so that every thing in that branch of service might be now in complete train. If this appointment is determined upon, will it not be well to notify the intention to him and to prevail upon him to come to the seat of government to the end that you may concert with him the proper arrangements You would find his assistance in every view very valuable.

However, war was averted and Carrington's service along that line was not needed.

Carrington was at this time, and continued to the end of his life, living a quiet life in Richmond. He entered with the enthusiasm so characteristic of the man into the civic and social life of the city. His appearance lent an air to whatever social function he attended. As a contemporary describes him, he was "a man of dignified deportment, which was well sustained by his tall and massive figure." His portrait shows him to have been clean-shaven, with a large face and stern bearing.⁵³ In the political life of the city he played a leading rôle.

Ardent Federalist, he was in constant contact with the leaders of the party in the Nation and, therefore, was rather a Nestor than a

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80, Vol. XI.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82, Vol. XI.

50. Ford: "The Writings of Alexander Hamilton," p. 67, Vol. VI.

51. Sparks: "The Writings of Washington," pp. 263-66, Vol. XI.

52. Ford: "The Writings of Alexander Hamilton," p. 302, Vol. V.

53. Christian: "Richmond—Her Past and Present."

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leader in Richmond politics. In the religious life of the city, he and Mrs. Carrington were leading members of St. John's⁵⁴ and were instrumental in supporting the churches in Richmond when the backwash of the war seemed to have placed religion in a state of coma.

In 1805, Colonel Carrington was elected recorder of the city of Richmond. This was the first local office he held. The next year, 1806, he was elected mayor of the city for a one-year term.⁵⁵ In 1807 the colonel was again brought before the public eye as foreman of the jury that tried Aaron Burr for treason in Richmond.⁵⁶

In 1809 Colonel Carrington was elected for his second term as mayor. He served the one-year term, but, failing in health, retired from all public and business enterprises. He led a quiet life in his Seventh and Marshall home the few remaining months of his life. On October 28, 1810, Colonel Carrington died. His death was widely mourned. Stern and haughty as he was, his kindness and aid to those in distress had won him multitudes of friends. His death was widely noticed in the papers of the State. The Richmond (Virginia) "Inquirer" of October 30, 1810, carried notice of his death and funeral. It will be seen that his funeral was as stately as he could ever have wished it to have been. A friend once told the writer of having seen the notice in a scrapbook of John Randolph. Penned along the margin of the paper was the word "bombastic."

The committee of arrangements being informed that it would not be pleasing to the friends of Col. Carrington that his interment should be attended with the usual honors of War, have thought proper that such honors should be dispensed with, and have decided upon the order of procession to be as follows:

- 1st the Mayor;
- 2nd Colonel Carrington's horse covered with a white net with black fringe and led by his servant;
- 3rd The Alderman of this city;
- 4th the Cincinnati
- 5th The Clergy
- 6th The corpse drawn by 4 black horses caparisoned;
- 7th Relations
- 8th Physicians

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

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- 9th The Governor and Mrs. Giles in Mr. Giles's carriage
- 10th The Council
- 11th Judges of the Superior Court
- 12th Gentlemen of the Bar
- 13th President and Directors of the Bank
- 14th Strangers
- 15th President and members of the Common Council
- 16th Citizens (Aged to be preferred)

The master of Police has obtained Major Ambler's house for the reception of the Company; and he will provide the necessary refreshments. The Sargent and his deputies will consider it their duty to invite the citizens to attend at the house of Col. Carrington, at ten o'clock tomorrow morning; to arrange the procession in conformity with the foregoing order.

JOHN ADAMS, PATRICK GIBSON, J. ROBINSON.

Colonel Carrington was well remembered. He had lived to see the Nation born and put on a firm foundation. He had played a conspicuous part in this founding and his country had honored him by offering him one of the most important gifts in her possession. He declined the honor, preferring to remain in his capacity as head of a lesser office. His native county had honored him by electing him to the highest office in its possession and his adopted city had made him her chief officer. He followed his convictions, remaining a Federalist as long as he lived. He had been at one time a subordinate of Jefferson and had he remained so, his name might have ranked with Madison and Monroe on the pages of the Nation's history. But Edward Carrington was not made to be a subordinate. He preferred to be first in Richmond rather than second in Washington.

The Episcopal Church in the Confederate States

BY REV. ROBERT E. LEE BEARDEN, JR., B. D., LUXORA, ARKANSAS



DURING the spring and summer months of 1861 there arose in the South a large number of organizations and institutions, which, sharing the fate of the Confederate government, were destined to live for only four trying years. The great majority of them are forgotten today. They shared the defeat of the "Lost Cause" and remain only as museum pieces, dusty and long unopened records in Southern homes and libraries. They are like the old Confederate ten-dollar bills which one finds advertised in dingy Charleston antique shops for five cents each. Their value is gone, and yet they may tell a fascinating story of proud origins and sad defeats, a story which reaches from the first Bull Run to Appomattox. On those Confederate bills of badly cut, inferior paper, there appears this optimistic promise, "Payable Two Years After the Ratification of A Treaty of Peace Between the Confederate States and The United States of America." Such were the high hopes of those societies and that government which lasted but four years.

Among this group of institutions one of the most interesting and unusual was the Protestant Episcopal Church of The Confederate States. Its influence on the South was tremendous, but its history has been neglected, even by church historians. Only one book has appeared on the subject,¹ and that seemingly was written without the benefit of certain invaluable primary material.

Secular historians recognize the influence of the churches on the progress and causes of the conflict. The division of the various Protestant churches, North and South, was a definite overture to the final breach. As early as the 1820's the schisms began to appear, with fervored debates on the conference floors over the question of slavery.

1. Cheshire, J. B., *The Church in the Confederate States, A History of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States.*

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Southern clergymen vigorously defended slavery and were as vigorously opposed by Northern churchmen, who were determined to stamp out the entire institution. Ministers of the North were far less cautious and hesitant than politicians in demanding absolute abolition. Considered from the social and political standpoint some compromise was possible, indeed, even wise, but from the moral standpoint all compromise was utterly unthinkable.

Clergymen also came to blows early over the question of State's rights. Debates arose over the question among church groups which were equally as heated as those on the floor of Congress. With such conditions, then, it seems impossible to understand adequately the entire picture of the war without taking into consideration the part played by the various churches.

In this regard the Episcopal Church was unusually different from all other churches in that its schism did not occur until after the establishment of the Confederate government, and was healed within six months after Appomattox. Other churches required forty to a hundred years for reuniting Northern and Southern branches, and several remain divided today. The short life of the Episcopal Church in the South was due to the relation between church and State provided for in the polity and custom of the church, according to which separate churches should be established in each recognized nation. Thus, when the Confederate States were organized, the breach was automatically conditioned, not by churchmen, but by the secular governing bodies.

Actually, there was less strife in the Episcopal Church between members in the North and South than in any other. The division was not a result of a bitter struggle, but was made necessary by a law which could not be broken. Thus, for Southern churchmen, the establishment of a new church was a matter of course. The first move for division involved nothing more dramatic than a letter written from Sewanee, Tennessee, on March 23, 1861, by Bishops Polk and Elliott to all Southern dioceses, calling a convention for the establishment of the new church. This convention met in Montgomery on July 3, 1861, where, only five months before, the Confederate government had been organized. The gathering which, in other churches, was a hot-bed of trials, debates and voting, was hardly more than a routine affair. The Confederate government was recognized, "a law of

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alteration forced by the necessity of obedience to the law of Christ,"² a committee to draft the new constitution was appointed and the place of the organizing convention was selected. This group, whose responsibility it was to establish the new church, met in Columbia, South Carolina, on October 20, 1861. The change in the new constitution was hardly more than a shifting of allegiance from "The United States" to "The Confederate States." The Bishop of Alabama declared that the new constitution was "altogether in spirit and almost in letter the same as the old one."³

Naturally, in the white heat of hatred and conflict, when both North and South felt that they were fighting for their very existence, some bitterness crept into the church. Southern churchmen were fervent supporters of the Confederacy. They were largely the aristocracy of the old South, and many of the civil and military leaders of the Confederate government were members of the Episcopal Church. Lee was an Episcopalian, as were a large number of his staff. One of the striking figures of the Confederate Army was the "Bishop-General" Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, who, because of training at West Point, became a general in the Army of Tennessee, and was killed at Kenesaw Mountain.

The faith of the Southern Episcopalians in the new nation was shown by the very fact that they established a separate church, which undoubtedly means that they expected the Confederate States to become permanent. They shared the vigorous energy and hope of the entire South at the outbreak of the war. Articles, editorials and news reports in *The Church Intelligencer*⁴ point to the fact that the church was entering into the establishment of the new nation with great enthusiasm. The author of one such article believed the "new

2. *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, The Diocese of Louisiana*, 1861, p. 4.

3. *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, The Diocese of Alabama*, 1863, p. 57.

4. This weekly paper, printed in Raleigh from December 6, 1860, to March 25, 1864, became the official periodical of the Southern Church. It contained both secular and religious news. By the side of an article on infant baptism there would appear a sketchy account of the engagement at Chickamauga. Many of the difficulties of newspapers in the South during the war may be seen in the printing and paper of this old church periodical. Many of the '64 editions are printed on what seems to be a heavy wrapping paper, which took the print very badly. The Duke University Library contains a complete file of this publication.

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experiment" would result in the "highest ideal of coöperation between church and state ever seen in history."⁵

Here, again, the question was one of church polity. Was the Confederate government a separate and distinct nation? If so, both Northern and Southern churchmen would have agreed that a division in the church was necessary. Most of the conflict within the Episcopal Church arose over this point. The clergymen of the North considered the Southern States to be in open rebellion against the United States, and did not recognize the Confederacy as an indigenous State. Under such conditions, then, the Southerners had no right to establish a separate church. But this reasoning did not appeal to the Southern Episcopalians. They set to work to make the Confederacy a nation, recognized over the world as separate and distinct from the United States.

The brief history of this Southern church is a record in miniature of the whole South during the war years. It sustained tremendous losses in membership and wealth, made great sacrifices for the Southern effort, and finally suffered defeat and died along with the Confederate government. The consistent loyalty to the South, however, served the Episcopal Church well in at least one way. Prior to the war it was regarded as the church for the wealthy slaveholder. Small farmers and poorer folk thought of it as an exclusive organization, and, therefore, not very religious. The emotional revivals of the early part of the nineteenth century had not yet lost their force, and the formal ritual of the Episcopalian was not "warm religion," to the ordinary rural Southerner. But as rich and poor, slave owner and small farmer, joined in the common struggle to "preserve" the South, much of the prejudice against Episcopalians disappeared. The history of the Episcopal Church during the war contains stories of heroism and sacrifice fully as noble and enthralling as those of other churches and institutions. Church buildings were offered for hospitals and headquarters. Old and beloved altar pieces and relics were laid aside in order that shelter might be provided for the army. The churches of Little Rock gave their expensive carpets to be made into blankets for the soldiers, boards were donated from the side of the

5. Anon., "The Confederate States in America," in *The Church Intelligencer*, March 21, 1861, p. 388.

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church at Rome, Georgia, and one entire building was given, the lumber of which was to be used for the erection of a camp hospital.

A great number of Episcopal churches were destroyed, either by bombardment or vandalism. One was torn down to make a bridge over which Sherman's army could cross. Property losses were enormous, but, of course, the church was sharing in this matter an experience common to the whole South. All this naturally created a sense of bitter resentment among many churchmen against the Northern people. The editor of *The Church Intelligencer* prefaced an article on the capture of Atlanta with this sentence, "Our beloved land is trodden under the foot of the Destroyer."⁶ Despite the bitterness, however, the clergymen of the Episcopal Church were probably less frequently engaged in tirades against the North than any other single group of Southern people. Many of them recognized that the "destroyer" was not the Federal Army or the people of the North, but rather the natural outgrowth of war itself. Some of the reports in diocesan journals seem to intimate that a great deal of General Lee's fairness and gentle attitude toward the North was due to the sense of Christian unity that existed within his church. This spirit of kinship, despite war and all the inevitable consequences, was never actually destroyed.

A great deal of new light is thrown on the often misrepresented mind of the Southerner during the war by a study of the journals and the periodicals of the Episcopal Church. There is to be found the usual defense of slavery on scriptural ground, the arguments for race superiority and the last echoes of the chivalry and pride of the landed aristocracy. And yet, strangely enough, these arguments do not sound smug and dogmatic. It is evident that the aristocracy of the South felt that they were fighting for the very existence of their homes and land. The war was for them, as one history of the South has put it, "The South's Struggle for Constitutional Justice." They were defending their land from a ruthless invader. They were defending the "Fundamental elements of civilization."⁷

It would seem reasonable to believe that the strife and hatred of the war had made reunion between the two churches impossible.

6. "Communication," editorial in *The Church Intelligencer*, May 29, 1863, p. 185.

7. Anon., "Among the Soldiers," *The Church Intelligencer*, September 14, 1864, p. 4.

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Some clergymen demanded the maintenance of a separate church, charging the Northern branch with betrayal and even "wholesale murder and destruction."⁸ But the minds of the more balanced and reasonable heads of the church prevailed, and the Southern soldiers had hardly made their weary way home before the reunion was effected. At the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, held in Philadelphia in October of 1865, the church in the South merged back into the national church as quietly as it had broken away. Even the journal of that convention seems to take the entire procedure for granted. The names of the Southern delegates were called, they were recognized as members in equal standing with all other clergymen, a few resolutions were passed asking that all refrain from bitter words and feelings and that the Southerners proceed in their affiliations exactly as before the war. That was undoubtedly one of the most unusual meetings in the history of the period. The wall of bitter hatred was as high and impregnable as it had ever been between brothers of the North and South. Lincoln had been assassinated, and Congress was attempting to force a program of military dictatorship upon the Southern States. The resentment of the South did not die with the last surrender, but was really only born there, for the Reconstruction Era drew stubborn resistance from the defeated South that the war had never done. What a fascinating gathering this general convention was! Without any excitement or show, with very little mention in the contemporary press, and in an almost routine manner the first union of a triumphant North and a broken South was made. It was made upon a basis of mutual good will and friendly coöperation on the part of the North. This was the only possible way the country might be welded together again, but the politicians and statesmen did not learn that until the turn of the twentieth century. There was no blame placed on the Southern churchmen, no speeches made against them. A division had come about because of national strife. That conflict was over and there was no further need for division or ill feeling. The polity of the church and the minds of sane men demanded a reunion, and that reunion quickly came about. What a vastly different Nation America might have been today if the secular North and South had acted upon

8. Fides, "In Our Camps," *The Church Intelligencer*, May 2, 1865, p. 765.

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just such principles! The convention of 1865 recognized that the Southern church would need financial aid to rebuild its shell-torn churches, and so, without proclamations or press notices, a substantial sum of money was voted for that purpose. There appears in the financial column of the convention journal, in a rather inconspicuous place, a record of this expenditure: "For the Rehabilitation of the Churches in the South."

Conrad Kohrs, Montana Pioneer

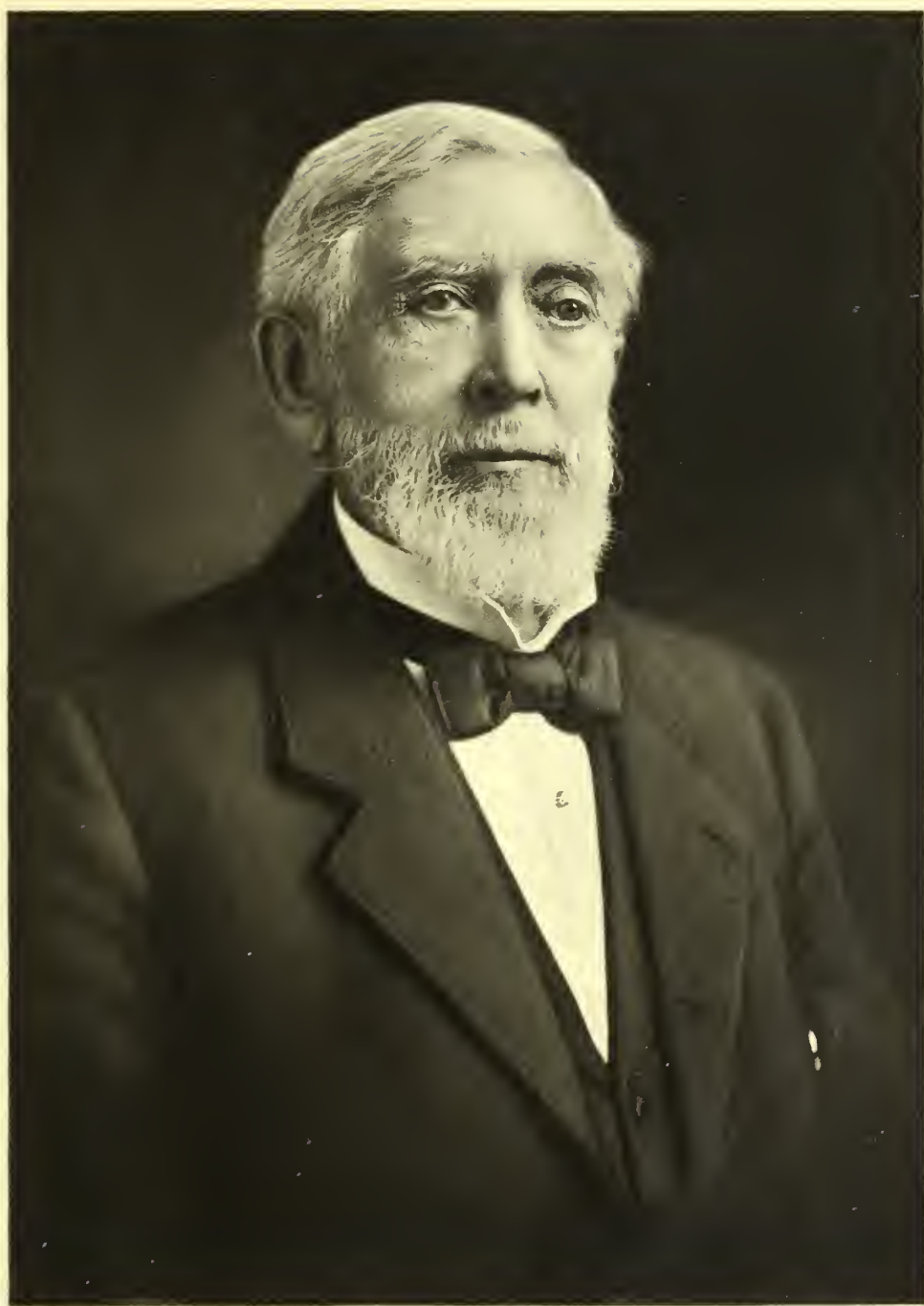
By J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



IN his memoirs Conrad Kohrs describes himself as an adventurous personality whose zest for life and all it had to offer led him far afield. No appraisal could be more accurate, no description could better portray the man and the life he lived. A recital of his travels, his accomplishments, the hardships and the triumphs he experienced read like a fascinating piece of fiction and reveal a character strong in mind and body, ambitious, courageous and able, who by perseverance and shrewdness grew to become one of the leading figures of his generation in the Northwest, where he was known as the "preëminent cattle king" of his time.

Mr. Kohrs begins his autobiography in the following forthright manner: "I, Conrad Kohrs, or properly Carston Conrad Kohrs, the son of Carston Kohrs and Gesche Krause Kohrs, was born August 5, 1835, in Wewelsfleth, a peaceful fishing town in the province of Holstein, at that time a possession of Denmark." From the remainder of the text an amazing story unfolds.

His father died when Mr. Kohrs was still an infant and nine years later his mother married Claus Bielenberg, a farmer, who was a severe taskmaster and appears to have had nothing but contempt for his stepchildren, particularly Mr. Kohrs, whom he took out of school so that he might work on the family farm. Conditions in the home grew worse. Bielenberg, a poor manager and wastrel, gambled away family funds and in an attempt to recoup suggested that his stepson learn a trade, offering to support him during his apprenticeship. But the boy would not tolerate such an arrangement and having gained confidence and a high degree of independence, decided to make his own way in the world. As a product of a fishing town he turned to the sea. At the age of fifteen he went to Hamburg and shipped as a cabin boy on the schooner "Sane" bound for South America. The ship called at Maranhao, Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro, all in Brazil; later visited several of the Cape Verde islands and then sailed for



Conrad Kohrs.

CONRAD KOHRS, MONTANA PIONEER

Buenos Aires, Argentina, arriving during the rebellion of 1851. After this he returned to Rio, where Mr. Kohrs contracted a severe case of yellow fever, which incapacitated him for several months. His boat sailed without him and when he regained his health he managed to secure a place on the clipper bark "Cornelia," a package ship plying between Brazil, Havana and New York.

Shortly after arriving in New York, Mr. Kohrs met an old school-mate, who told him that his cousin, Michael Hilpert, was foreman of a packing house in the city. He managed to locate his relative and was invited to stay at his home, a fortunate occurrence in view of the fact that he contracted erysipelas and was confined to bed for a number of weeks. Upon recovering he signed on the bark "Abracia" and again journeyed to Brazil, going to the State of Rio Grande do Sul. The voyage was an eventful one for the young man. Arriving at their southern destination, he had his shin bone splintered by the anchor chain and upon the return voyage was abused by his shipmates because he refused to mutiny. He described the crew as the worst he had ever traveled with and probably was thankful his injured leg prevented him from continuing at sea after he reached New York. He stopped with his cousin again, worked in a German grocery store on Forty-second Street for a time and then managed to get a position as cook's helper on the "North America," which was bound for Hamburg. He visited an uncle here, who told him that his sister Kate and her husband, Mr. Berwald, had sailed for America. Later Mr. Kohrs went to his native community of Wewelsfleth, where he came under the care of his grandfather, a physician and surgeon, who cured his leg in about two months.

By the time he was ready to come back to New York he learned that the packet "North America," held up for repairs, was still in Hamburg. He hastened to that port, again succeeded in signing on as a cook's helper and forty-five days later was in New York once more. He learned that his sister was here and that her husband had gone to Davenport, Iowa. Work was scarce but through his cousin he managed to get a position in a packing house carrying dressed hogs and hanging them on the rack. "This was hard work for a young fellow eighteen," Mr. Kohrs wrote later. "At the end of a month my back and shoulders were so raw from the bristles that I was compelled to give up this job."

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In the meantime Mr. Berwald had written and asked his wife to come to Davenport and bring Mr. Kohrs with her. They arrived in the latter part of the month of December and by the following spring Mr. Berwald had started a dry goods and grocery store, but Mr. Kohrs did not join him, preferring working in the open and devoting his time to hauling cordwood on a flatboat up the Mississippi River. In July, 1854, his parents and younger brothers arrived in this country and during that summer he took a vacation hunting prairie chickens with several other young men. On one of these excursions he drank stagnant water and shortly afterward was stricken with typhoid fever, but as in his previous illnesses was able to throw it off. Once recovered, he worked in a brewery at Rock Island for a time, went to St. Croix, Wisconsin, where he got work running logs down the Mississippi to St. Louis and after several trips went to St. Clair, about eighteen miles above Davenport, where he helped several rafts over the rapids. This was to be the last of his river work for in the fall of 1855 he entered his brother-in-law's store and the following winter went to the little town of Savanna, where he was to work in a distillery until the late spring. With the money he saved he bought a large yawl, "built on the clipper style," and returned to Davenport with several companions. For a time he worked in Mr. Berwald's store, but eventually retired to become captain of his boat, the "John C. Fremont," which he had sold to the Republican Yacht Club. It was an exciting political year and Mr. Kohrs got his first real taste of a hotly contested American presidential campaign, which he appears to have enjoyed greatly. After the election he resumed his association with Mr. Berwald and continued here until the fall of 1857, when the wanderlust gripped him again. This time it was California that beckoned—California and its gold. Several of his friends had returned from the Far West and had remarkable stories to tell. The glamour and adventure of it all was too much for a youth of Mr. Kohrs' disposition and before long he was bound for San Francisco with two companions.

The young men went to New York, boarded a side-wheel boat described as an "old tub," that "creaked and groaned with every motion." Nevertheless, it got them to Aspinwall in Panama, where they took a railroad across the isthmus and connected with the "John

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L. Stevens," which took them up to San Francisco. After staying here for a few days they booked passage for Sacramento. Competition was exceedingly keen between steamship lines, and their tickets, including meals, cost them only one dollar. The California capital was like a thriving mining camp filled with shops, saloons, restaurants, gambling houses and dance halls, all designed to relieve the unwary of their money. From Sacramento they went to Red Bluffs by boat, continued to Shasta by stage, on across the snow-carpeted Trinity mountains by mule, thence over the Scott mountains to Callahan Ranch in Scott's Valley, which was a stage stop on the route to Yreka. They proceeded to the latter town the following day to seek work but, being unsuccessful, decided to enter mining. Together they bought a claim near here and took an old prospector who knew how to mine in partnership with them. Throughout the summer they worked the property with satisfactory results but gave it up when they discovered it was "salted." They prospected in this vicinity for a time and eventually returned to their original diggings, the owner having agreed to waive further payment.

Mining had really gotten into Mr. Kohrs' blood. When he heard of the discovery of gold on the Frazer River in British Columbia he urged his companions to go with him. They would not, so he formed his own party who, due to limited funds, decided to hike as far as Portland, Oregon, a distance of four hundred miles. They made the trip in eleven days and, discovering there would be no boat going northward for eleven days, got work peeling bark from trees for a tannery. At the expiration of this period they shipped for Whatcom, Bellingham Bay, Washington, transferred to canoes there for the trip to the mouth of the Frazer River, later headed up the Harrison River, where they encountered high water and swift currents that compelled them to hire Indian guides, who demanded pay in the form of blankets and clothing rather than money. After several long portages they were back on the Frazer River, and worked several claims, the most profitable being at Nugget Bar, where Mr. Kohrs averaged about fourteen dollars a day. Indian troubles caused a shortage of provisions and the miners were forced to live on horse meat for a while. During the early winter they decided to return to San Francisco and arrived in the California city, a "suspicious-looking crowd, dirty,

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unshaven," with "hair long" and "clothes patched with self-rising flour sacks."

They restocked here and a few days later were on their way to the mining fields again, *via* Sacramento and Oroville. During the winter they mined at Thompson's Flat, went on to Butte Creek in the spring and, finding the diggings shallow, decided to prospect at Inskip, where they worked until June with disappointing results. They returned to Butte Springs and Mr. Kohrs went on to Sierra County, where he worked for wages in the placer mines until the following spring. At the request of his sister, whose husband, Mr. Berwald, had died, he returned to Davenport to take charge of her business. His reply was delayed and when he arrived she had sold out and was operating a boarding house. Unable to assist her, he joined his brother and stepfather, who had established themselves in a sausage manufacturing business. Mr. Kohrs was sent to New Orleans to sell them and during his stay here the Civil War broke out. He sold what he could and traded the balance for Havana cigars, since the Southerners refused to pay in cash. Upon his return to Davenport he was informed that there was a large quantity of sausages that must be disposed of and was ordered to go to New York to see if he could sell them there. Again he was confronted with the problem of getting cash, and after trying vainly succeeded in trading off his stock to a grocery house for rice, German prunes and coffee. The transaction was not appreciated by his associates until later, when the goods nearly doubled in value.

Mr. Kohrs was going to join the army. His mother begged him not to and he determined to go to California at the first opportunity, which soon presented itself when a Mr. Sickels hired him, along with two of his friends, to drive twenty-two horses across the continent. The journey was difficult and at Salt Lake City the company had a dispute. Mr. Kohrs and one of his companions left the party and decided to go to the Florence Diggings at Florence and Elk City. En route they met a number of men whose names have become famous in Western history, among them Comstock, discoverer of the great mines bearing his name in Nevada, and William Hickman, known as one of Brigham Young's destroying angels, credited by Mr. Kohrs with having cured him of a severe attack of rheumatism by rubbing snake oil on the affected parts.

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On this trip which took them along the banks of the Deer Lodge River, "a beautiful stream, the water clear and sparkling and alive with the finest trout," the party camped at Cottonwood, then to Gold Creek and on to Pike's Creek, but in each instance the fields were over-run with prospectors. The men decided to look for new locations and it was while they were on their way between Deer Lodge and Gold Creek that Mr. Kohrs met Hank Crawford, who was looking for a butcher with the view of establishing a business near Grasshopper Creek. The munificent salary of twenty-five dollars a month was offered and Mr. Kohrs accepted. He drove his employer's stock, which consisted of three fat heifers, from Deer Lodge to Bannack, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, and they opened shop in a brush roof shanty. In addition to his regular duties Mr. Kohrs was delegated to take care of the books and his employer, who "caroused around a good deal," left the management of the business largely up to him. In fact, Crawford left to replenish supplies shortly after they opened and long before he returned the existing stock had been sold. Rather than remain idle Mr. Kohrs bought a few work cattle from travelers and several moose. When Crawford returned he was so pleased at his enterprise that he raised his salary to one hundred dollars a month.

The country was growing and the business progressed rapidly, but Hank Crawford ran into trouble with Sheriff Plummer, who happened to be in league with certain notorious desperadoes, and shot the officer. The dispute was largely based on an argument that occurred in connection with Mr. Kohrs' having harbored a dying man in Crawford's shop after the sheriff had shot him. Crawford hurriedly left town and the business fell to Mr. Kohrs, who despite the lack of money, carried on by trading with cattle bought on credit. He was doing a satisfactory business when the Alder Gulch strike occurred. Bannack was virtually deserted and most of the money Mr. Kohrs had on the books was lost. He had to give up and for a time thought of mining again. He and Ben Peel investigated several claims in the vicinity, but none proved attractive and eventually they determined to form a partnership in a butcher business. At this time Mr. Kohrs met George Gohn, who offered to finance the venture at a reasonable rate of interest. Together the men opened a shop at Summit, seven

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miles from Virginia City. They prospered from the outset. Beef was high, there was a continuous demand, and money was paid regularly by clients, most of whom were miners. In addition to cattle they bought a few hogs and to further swell receipts made candles out of spare tallow which they sold for \$1.50 a pound.

The outlaws in the new country had grown brazen. They preyed on miners, cattle men and stages. The situation became so acute that the better element banded together and formed a company known as the "vigilantes," who systematically routed out the desperadoes and made short work of hanging them. Mr. Kohrs, who took part in these raids, recites the following incident: "On January 13, 1864, several hundred miners living in the districts surrounding Highland, Pine Grove and Summit received notice from the Vigilantes to be at Virginia City, everyone to be armed, in order that the city might be surrounded. Being desirous to assist in the work of ridding the community of such desperate characters, men also came from Centerfield, Nevada and Adobetown and Junction. The first work was to establish a line of pickets all around the town and permit no one to enter or leave it. . . . A committee of twelve men were selected to search the town and to arrest all highwaymen within its limits. They were successful in arresting five without a shot being fired. George Lane, nicknamed Clubfoot George, Frank Parrish, Hayes Lyons, Jack Gallagher and Boone Helm were arrested one by one. . . . A new building, a low structure, afterwards known as the Norris Drug Store, was in the course of construction. Logs to the height of the building were laid up, but not beyond the roof. The beams that ran across were used for the gallows, ropes being thrown over them and boxes placed underneath for the victims to jump from. A few highwaymen felt very sad as they faced death, thoughts of the old home, of mother-love, of lost hopes may have flashed across their minds and made them wish that life's brief span had been better spent."

In the meantime, however, Mr. Kohrs had made a trip back to Bannack to try to collect some of the money owed him and was quite successful. With the proceeds he bought cattle at Deer Lodge and Stinkingwater and later purchased a number of animals from a large herd that had been driven in from Utah. In the latter transaction he



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met Colonel McLean, a prominent mining figure, who grew to become an intimate friend of Mr. Kohrs and one of his most ardent admirers.

After the vigilante campaign Mr. Kohrs returned to Summit to continue in the management of his newly organized firm, known as Con and Peel, his last name not being generally known. Circumstances and a shrewd ability to evaluate conditions led to the unprecedented success Mr. Kohrs came to enjoy. This was never more evident than during the winter of 1864-65. The continued discovery of new diggings had brought many miners to this section. Cold weather came early and snowbound roads held up the transportation of provisions. Speculators formed a ring and forced the price of foodstuffs to an exorbitant degree. The miners rioted in several places against the high cost of eating. Fortunately Mr. Kohrs had a large supply of beans and beef on hand on which he and his men subsisted. Knowing that the situation would lead to a demand for beef, Mr. Kohrs, whose credit standing was excellent, borrowed \$12,000 and bought beef and work cattle, which he turned out on the open range to fatten for the following spring. He had built a large shop at Last Chance Gulch and his firm was carrying on a wholesale trade with practically every butcher in the territory. He sold his meat at a reasonable price and as a result of this policy people bought more beef than any other provision and rapidly advanced their sales. "Live cattle sold at \$100 per head," Mr. Kohrs wrote, "and to this we looked for our main profit. Our retail shops lost money on account of so many miners following the stampede. Some left without paying their bills and others because they were without means. Having known what it meant to be hard up, I told the boys not to turn away those who could not pay." Thus we learn that with all his hard business sense Mr. Kohrs was very human in his outlook, a quality that earned him the respect and admiration of all who were privileged to know him.

Mr. Kohrs purchased his first herd for \$19,000 and his total annual purchases amounted to \$90,000. In addition to Mr. Peel, John Bielenberg, his half-brother, was associated with him and as the venture prospered they began bringing in herds from Oregon, which enabled them to supply practically the entire district. Conrad Kohrs purchased Peel's interest outright for \$17,500 in 1866, when the latter married and moved to Missouri, where he remained for the rest

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of his life. The Kohrs herd was already known throughout the northern cattle country, and from his first purchase of the ranch and stock of John H. Grant near Deer Lodge in 1866 his principal interest was cattle and ranching.

In 1866, Mr. Kohrs, with Ed Irvine, Benjamin Harris, S. E. Larrabee and John Bielenberg, organized the Rock Creek Ditch and Mining Company for the purpose of digging the Rock Creek ditch so that there might be sufficient water available for the mines. By 1871 they had expended \$168,000 on the ditch and collected from the mines for its use about \$144,000 in the years 1870-71. Later Mr. Kohrs purchased the interest of all his partners but Mr. Bielenberg, and also became interested in Pioneer Gulch, where he carried on mining operations from 1873 to 1919, working over a dozen claims. But perhaps his most lucrative mining venture was at Cable, where he is said to have made about \$100,000 in 1869, a fortune that enabled him to expand greatly his stock raising activities.

Throughout this time he devoted himself to the development and improvement of his stock and was responsible for introducing Short-horn cattle into the State in 1871 and Herefords in 1890. In 1876 he drove from his Sun River Range and shipped from Cheyenne. He made steady progress despite such losses as he sustained in the winter of 1880-81, when half the Sun River herd was destroyed. Recouping, his purchases in 1882 totaled \$90,000 and his sales \$165,000. In July, 1883, Conrad Kohrs, for Kohrs and Bielenberg, and Granville Stuart, representing Stuart and Anderson, bought of A. J. Davis, of Davis, Hauser and Company, 12,000 head of cattle for \$400,000. Since Stuart and Anderson were former owners of the herd, the sale represented in fact a purchase of the two-thirds interest of Judge Davis by Mr. Kohrs for \$226,667. Of the sale it was written at the time: "This is the heaviest transaction in cattle that has ever taken place in the territory. . . . By this transaction Conrad Kohrs placed himself at the head of the Montana cattle business." It was a distinction he was to enjoy for many years, while his interests steadily grew. At this time he formed the Pioneer Cattle Company, owned by him, Mr. Bielenberg, and a Billings cattleman, whose interest Mr. Kohrs later purchased. The Pioneer Cattle Company later expanded again, buying the N Bar N from Neideringhaus. His great ranch in the vicinity of Deer Lodge at one time comprised thirty thousand acres.



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Mr. Kohrs shipped more cattle to the Union Stock Yards, Chicago, than any man before or since. Along with his ranching activities he was active in the civic and political affairs of his surroundings, having served as county commissioner of Deer Lodge County from 1869 to 1872. His administration has been characterized as vigorous, progressive and efficient, an estimate which is further substantiated by the fact that during his tenure the value of county scrip rose from twenty-five cents on the dollar to more than seventy cents.

In December, 1867, Mr. Kohrs returned to the East for a visit, met Augusta Kruse, a childhood sweetheart, and they were married in Davenport, Iowa, February 23, 1868. Mrs. Kohrs, who is still living, although past her ninetieth year, was born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1849, and came to the United States in 1866. She was a governess in Davenport. Following her marriage, she accompanied her husband to Omaha and thence by steamer up the Missouri to Fort Benton, the head of navigation. Because of low water the vessel frequently grounded on sand bars, and the subsequent journey by wagon from Fort Benton to Mr. Kohrs' home at Deer Lodge was equally tedious. The entire trip consumed forty-eight days. Mrs. Kohrs shared the hardships of her husband's early life and his ultimate success. Mr. and Mrs. Kohrs returned to Germany for their first visit in 1871.

In 1880, Mr. and Mrs. Kohrs made another trip to Germany. On March 17, 1886, Mr. Kohrs' mother died at Davenport, Iowa. Because of Mr. Kohrs' ill health in 1894, John M. Boardman, his son-in-law, began taking a great deal of the work off Mr. Kohrs' shoulders. It was during that year that his mines and ditches required so much of his attention. In 1898 he and Mrs. Kohrs again went to Europe, this time covering the Continent. In 1899 they decided to winter in Helena and liked it so much that they purchased a home here, though they retained their ranch homestead at Deer Lodge. The last large purchase of cattle was made by Mr. Kohrs in 1898. By 1915 he had disposed of all of his live stock excepting remnants.

Conrad Kohrs shared in the hardships and dangers incident to the building of the Commonwealth. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention held in 1889 and a member of the Fourteenth Montana Territorial Legislature, in addition to his service as county

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commissioner. Always a Republican in politics, he was prominent in his party and was affiliated fraternally with the Free and Accepted Masons. In 1895-96, he was president of the Montana Pioneers Society, in whose activities he played a leading rôle. Although he long outlived most of his contemporaries, attaining the age of eighty-five, he remained what he was from the beginning—one of the most stalwart and admired of Montana's citizens. In his memoirs he tells of his contacts with the elder Hearst, Marcus Daly, Colonel Broadwater, Senator Clark, Governors Dixon, Worden and Higgins, Theodore Roosevelt, and many other men of prominence whom he had met. Of these he counted former President Roosevelt as one of his good friends, a sentiment that was shared by the statesman as far as Mr. Kohrs was concerned. On one of his trips after he became President he visited the Kohrs home. Later when a committee of cowmen called upon the President in Washington for the purpose of sponsoring legislation beneficial to the cattle raisers, Mr. Roosevelt looked up from his desk, singled Mr. Kohrs out of the large delegation and exclaimed: "Well, if it isn't my old friend Con Kohrs!" Business had to wait while the two exchanged greetings and discussed old times. Later Mr. Kohrs was invited to the White House.

Conrad Kohrs died on July 23, 1920. In paying tribute to his life and career John Clay wrote the following which appeared in an article published in "The Breeders' Gazette," December 2, 1920:

In his lifetime Mr. Kohrs had many financial adventures. As he used to say to me, "I guess, John Clay, I have been broke oftener than any man in the West, but I have always taken it cheerfully and gone to work again. . . . " Kohrs was a pioneer, a builder, laying a solid foundation by his life and work. In his youth he was adventurous; in middle life he went through vicissitudes that tempered his energies, directed them and made him in his way an empire builder. . . . At a meeting it was not his eloquence that impressed his audience. It was his common sense, his ideas of justice, his fearless probity, his patriotism, his undying devotion to Montana. . . . There was left out of his nature those mean and selfish traits that bring many great men down to the level of ordinary mortals. What he did for Montana can never be told. . . . A tribute to his memory might be graven on the rocks of his adopted State, in the words of his countryman, the immortal Hamlet: "He was a man, take him all in all; I shall not look upon his like again."



Carroll H. Wanner

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Mr. and Mrs. Kohrs were the parents of three children: 1. Anna Catherine, born on the Kohrs ranch at Deer Lodge, December 18, 1868. She married John M. Boardman, who was born in Dixon, Illinois, and died in 1924. 2. Katherine Christine, born on the Kohrs ranch, March 2, 1870; married Dr. Otey Yancey Warren, and they became the parents of three children: i. Robert, born on June 4, 1902, who was graduated from Dartmouth College, took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University and is now a practicing pediatrician at Wilmington, Delaware. He married, on June 17, 1927, Florence Prickett, of Wilmington, and they are the parents of three sons: Robert O. Y., born July 17, 1930; William Stuart, born March 16, 1934; and David Boardman, born March 11, 1937. ii. Anna Fredericka, born December 3, 1903. She was graduated from Smith College and on June 21, 1933, was married to Edwin William Bache, of Helena, Montana, who is connected with the bond and investment business. The Baches reside at Berkeley, California. They have two daughters: Catherine Kohrs, born June 3, 1934; and Mary Carroll, born October 8, 1936. iii. Conrad Kohrs, born August 16, 1907, at Butte, Montana. After two years at the University of Virginia, he returned to Montana to enter the family cattle business and now manages the celebrated Kohrs ranch at Deer Lodge, Montana, carrying on the family tradition in stock raising. On May 1, 1934, he married Nellie F. Flynn, and they are the parents of one daughter, Patricia, born June 15, 1936. Dr. Warren died on October 19, 1907. On May 1, 1925, his widow married Frank Bogart. 3. William Kruse, born November 1, 1879, died on March 20, 1901, while attending Cornell University at Ithaca, New York.

For Freedom of the Press

BY JOHN J. BIRCH, PS. D., VICE-PRESIDENT SCHENECTADY COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK



THE newspaper, as a free vehicle for expressing, discussing and formulating public opinion upon current political and economic issues, is so commonplace today that one often fails to realize that, like our independence, its freedom had to be fought for.

A very interesting historical background led up to the freedom of the press. John Montgomery, the Governor of the New York Province, died on July 1, 1731. The command of the Province then automatically fell upon Rip Van Dam, who was president of the council and also an eminent and wealthy merchant. He filled the interregnum well until August 1, 1732, at which time William Cosby, formerly Governor of Minorca, arrived bearing a commission as Governor of the Province from the English Crown.

Unlike the yielding and good-natured Montgomery, Cosby was testy, despotic and rapacious, bringing with him a none too savory reputation. From his former executive post he had learned the art of conveying public funds to private uses, so his first act after arriving in the Province was to produce a royal order prescribing an equal division of the salary, emoluments and perquisites of the office with Rip Van Dam since the time of his appointment. Van Dam declared his willingness to comply with the order and to divide the salary he had received during the thirteen months he had acted as Governor, which was a little less than two thousand pounds, on the condition that Cosby should also divide the six thousand pounds which he had received as perquisites before reaching the Province.

The citizens had already become weary of the rapacity of English favorites and adventurers, so that the mass of them supported Van Dam in his demand for half of the perquisites. They saw that the interests of the Colonists were wholly disregarded by the home government and that they were valued chiefly as a means whereby spend-

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thrift noblemen could repair their fortunes. It was obvious that, if the English government could take a fairly earned salary from the hands of an official and share it with one who had done nothing to deserve it, there was little security for the rights of Colonial subjects.

Cosby refused to acquiesce to Van Dam's proposition, but was somewhat puzzled as to how he could proceed legally to enforce his demands. Since he was himself Chancellor *ex-officio* he could not sue in chancery, neither did he dare bring a suit at common law, fearful that a jury would render a verdict against him. Cosby searched for a loophole in the law and finally found that he could bring an action against Van Dam in the name of the King. Cosby's party included James De Lancey, Phillipse, Bradley and Harrison; while Alexander, Stuyvesant, Livingston, Cadwallader, Colden and most of the prominent persons supported Van Dam.

The counsel for Van Dam took exception to the jurisdiction of the court in the case and endeavored to institute a suit at common law. The plea was supported by Chief Justice Lewis Morris, but was overruled, and the case of Van Dam was declared lost and he was ordered to pay half his salary to the Governor. Morris undoubtedly published his opinion, for which Governor Cosby removed him from office and appointed De Lancey Chief Justice in his stead without even the formality of consulting his council.

This high-handed proceeding aroused the indignation of the people and rumblings of discontent were rife in the city. They soon awakened to the fact that this was no petty quarrel between two men, but that it involved the question as to whether or not citizens were to be denied recourse to impartial courts in the defence of their rights.

During the Cosby-Van Dam controversy there was but one newspaper published in the New York Province—"The New York Gazette,"—printed by William Bradford. As this paper derived its support from the government it naturally espoused the cause of Cosby, which left the Van Dam party voiceless.

During the trial, John Peter Zenger, a Palatinate and formerly an employee of Bradford, was induced to establish a newspaper as an organ of opposition—a tribune of the people underwritten financially by Van Dam. It was known as the "New York Weekly Journal" and its first issue came off the press November 5, 1733. Morris,

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Alexander, Smith and Colden were the principal contributors, and in a series of articles made vigorous warfare upon the administration, particularly of the treatment of Van Dam. The columns of the new journal were filled from week to week with able and caustic articles satirizing the courts and assailing political measures. In addition it kept up a continuous fusillade of cutting squibs and lampoons and finally became so bold as to charge the Governor and his council with violating the rights of the people and perverting public stations for selfish purposes.

The people were delighted with the wit and pungency of their missiles, but the Governor and his party deemed them incendiary and demanded the punishment of the author. For about a year the officials endured these attacks, but finally at a meeting of the council on November 2, 1734, four numbers of the obnoxious paper which contained alleged libels were ordered to be publicly burned at the pillory by the common hangman in the presence of the mayor and aldermen. Public opinion ran high and the court forbade the hangman to execute the order, but the Governor supplied his place by a negro slave of the sheriff. The papers were burned, but the magistrates unanimously refused to witness the ceremony.

A few days later Zenger was arrested on the charge of publishing seditious libels against the government, thrown into jail, which was at that time in the city hall, now the site of the present United States Sub-Treasury Building on Wall Street. He was denied the use of pen, ink and paper, but nevertheless he continued to edit his paper by smuggling directions to his assistants through a crack in the door. Several months elapsed and Zenger was still held in prison.

The grand jury refused to find a bill of indictment for this offense, but Cosby's attorney-general filed an "information," which was in substance an indictment without the action of a grand jury, against him for "false, scandalous, malicious and seditious libels."

Evidently George Clarke, president of His Majesty's Council for the Province, favored sending Zenger to England for trial, for in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, he wrote:

. . . . If James Alexander, William Smith and Lewis Morris, Jr. the author of the seditious papers, with John Peter Zenger, their printer, were sent to England the spirit of faction would be entirely

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broke, but this at present I dare not venture to do without orders, being by His Majesty's 45th instruction forbid to send any prisoners to England without sufficient proof of their crimes to be transmitted with them.

Had this been carried out, even graver complications undoubtedly would have resulted. It served, however, to transfer public interest from Van Dam to Zenger, for now, more than ever, the people saw in the printer their representative, imprisoned and robbed of his right of free speech.

At the time there were but three lawyers of eminence in New York: Smith, Alexander and Murray, the latter having been retained by Cosby, while the other two represented Zenger. This worried the government officials and they were ever on the alert to find some means, fair or foul, by which they could deprive Zenger of his two able lawyers. An opportunity soon presented itself, for early in the legal proceedings his lawyers attacked the commissions of Judge De Lancey and Judge Phillipse, before whom Zenger was to be tried, on the ground that they had been appointed by the Governor without the advice of his council, to hold their office "during pleasure" instead of "during good behavior." The anger of the judges thus assailed was expressed by De Lancey, who replied: "You have brought it to this point, gentlemen, that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar," wherewith he summarily issued an order excluding them from further practice in the court, disbarring them.

This was obviously a heavy blow to Zenger. But the Sons of Liberty had been working diligently for Zenger in an attempt to thwart this ingeniously conceived intrigue and had secretly secured the services of the venerable Quaker lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, who took the case without fee or reward. Although eighty years old, he was one of the most distinguished and astute barristers of his day, and a more capable advocate could not have been found. As a subterfuge an insignificant attorney, John Chambers, was retained to represent the prisoner. The trial came before the Supreme Court on August 4, 1735, De Lancey acting as Chief Justice and Phillipse as second judge. The court room was crowded and the preliminaries conducted by Chambers were soon concluded. The prisoner then pleaded "not guilty," but boldly admitted the publication of the

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alleged libels and offered full proof of their justification. Attorney-General Bradley had just risen and announced that the facts in justification of the alleged libels were not admissible as evidence; the court sustained him.

Hamilton then unexpectedly entered the court room, his long white hair flowing over his shoulders instead of being fashioned into a queue in the style of the day. As most of the people in the court were in sympathy with Zenger, an awesome silence filled the room, for the secret of Hamilton's appearance had been well kept and it was generally thought he would appear against Zenger.

From that moment Hamilton became the dominating figure in the trial. The blood of Zenger's sympathizers turned cold when he boldly proclaimed: "My client is guilty." One could hear a pin fall. Then in a few eloquent sentences he reminded the court that printing and libeling were not synonymous, that his client had merely printed and not formulated them. He skilfully appealed to the independent principles of the jury to remember that they were themselves judges of the facts and the laws, and that they were competent to judge of the guilt or innocence of the accused. He informed them that they were the sworn protectors of the rights, liberties and privileges of their fellow-citizens, which in this instance had been violated by a most outrageous and vindictive series of persecutions. By the use of biting sarcasm he conjured them to remember that it was for them to interpose between the tyrannical and arbitrary violators of the law and their intended victim, and to assert by their verdict in the fullest manner the freedom of speech and the press and the supremacy of the people over their wanton and powerful oppressors. There was no note, satiric, pathetic or patriotic which he did not strike.

The orator concluded amidst a burst of applause. Overwhelmed by the torrent of eloquence, Attorney-General Bradley scarcely attempted a reply. The Chief Justice, in a last desperate attempt, stated that the jury might bring in a verdict on the fact of the publication and leave it to the court to decide whether or not it was libelous.

But Hamilton was far too wary to be caught napping. He knew that the jury was composed of the poorest men in the city, men who loved liberty, yet who were fearful of the English overlords. "I know, may it please your Honor," he said, "that the jury may do so;

FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

but I do likewise know that they may do otherwise. I know they have the right, beyond all dispute, to determine both the law and the fact, and where they do not doubt the law, they ought to do so." The Chief Justice did thereupon charge the jury: ". . . . the only thing that can come in question before you is whether the words set forth in the information made the libel."

The jury retired to deliberate, but soon returned with the unanimous verdict "not guilty." The court room rung with a shout of triumph which the disappointed judges vainly endeavored to suppress; they might as well have tried to stop the flow of the North River. A son-in-law of ex-Chief Justice Lewis Morris, in a loud voice, declared that cheers were as lawful there as in Westminster Hall, where they had been loud enough over the acquittal of the seven bishops in 1688. Hamilton was acclaimed the people's champion and was carried from the court room to a great entertainment which had been quickly prepared for him.

Thus ended the celebrated trial which established the freedom of the press and planted the seeds which germinated among the people and sprang up like the sown dragon's teeth, a host of armed warriors. Thus a precedent had been established for resistance to oppression which ripened at last into the American Revolution. Gouverneur Morris is reported to have said: "Instead of dating American liberty from the Stamp Act, I trace it to the persecution of John Peter Zenger, because that event revealed the philosophy of freedom both of thought and speech as an inborn human right."

The Stokes Family

By MYRTLE M. LEWIS, RIVERWOOD, NEW JERSEY



THE Stokes family is of very early origin, according to Dr. Joseph Stokes, in whose library the compilers and author are indebted for much of the material which follows concerning the Stokes family. A certain Ranulphus de Praeres or de Praeres lived over with William the Conqueror. He seems to have been close to high command, and for his services was rewarded with landings in Cheshire, one of his titles being "Lord of the VII in York." Thus from a little village near Chester comes the family name. These early ancestors had large families and their land holdings were extensive in various scattered parts of England. The name Stokes therefore became widespread and is borne by many whose family line diverged centuries ago.

Bartholomew, "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Dr. Joseph Stokes: "Name of Mr Stokes Family."

The Family in England

1086—1087. In 1086, when the Domesday Book was made.

1087—1088. In 1087, when the Domesday Book was made.

References to members of the Stokes family are found as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. A Ralph de Stokes was a clerk of the great wardrobe in the reign of Edward II (1307-1327). A John de Stokes was clerk of the records of the Exchequer in November 1346, in the reign of Edward III (1327-1377). On August 29, 1360, a writ was issued for the arrest of William de Stokes, a knight of Dunsmuir County, Essex, on a charge of counterfeiting the king's money, both gold and silver. His opposing counsel claimed that he appeared to have been possessed in the marriage of Barnham on October 24, 1370, and de Stokes was a Clerk of the Great Wardrobe in the reign of Richard II (1377-1399). Richard Stokes was constituted a Baron of the Exchequer on October 2, 1377, in the reign of Richard II, and retained the place for twenty-one years.

Edward Foss: "The Judges of England" Vol. III, p. 309; Vol. IV, p. 27. William Page and J. H. Round: "The Victoria History of the County of Essex." Vol. II, p. 170.

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I. Robert Stokes, earliest known ancestor of this family, born about 1382, died in England in 1440. He held a "Place in Court" under King Henry V. This honor which involved some duties in the palace gave him the privilege of living there and entitled him to attend all court functions. It was awarded shortly after Henry V had defeated the French at Agincourt in 1415. The eldest son of Robert Stokes was Thomas, of whom further.

(Dr. Joseph Stokes: "Notes on My Stokes Ancestry," p. 5.)

II. Thomas (1) Stokes, son of Robert Stokes, born about 1410, held the same "Place" in the palace as did his father. It was "confirmed" to him in his father's lifetime, should he survive his parent, Robert Stokes. Thomas Stokes was the father of a son, Thomas (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.)

III. Thomas (2) Stokes, son of Thomas (1) Stokes, born about 1438, was known as a "Gentleman of St. Sepulchre's Parish," and was an "Usher at the Palace" until 1513. He died in 1516, leaving a substantial sum of money for masses for his soul and that of his son. He was evidently a devout churchman, the last Catholic of this branch of the Stokes family and the last who had a close connection with the court. Thomas (2) Stokes was the father of George, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 6.)

IV. George Stokes, son of Thomas (2) Stokes, was born about 1466. He was involved in the upheavals of the reign of Henry VIII, and while we do not know his personal sentiments, we do know that the husband of his sister Elizabeth, Richard Lyster, who was First Baron of the Exchequer, was one of the judges in the trial of Sir Thomas More in 1535, and that his son, George, was a member of the packed jury. George Stokes had two sons: 1. George, who was a juror in the trial of Sir Thomas More. 2. Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 12. Nicholas Harpsfield and E. V. Hitchcock: "The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight," pp. 349-50.)

V. Thomas (3) Stokes, son of George Stokes, was born about 1498. In the county of Essex, about thirty miles northeast of Lon-

STOKES

don in the parish of Aythorpe Roding and not far from the town of Great Dunmow, stands a fine old country house known as "Fryer's Grange," built over four centuries ago and shaded by a magnificent old beech probably still older. This was the home of Thomas (3) Stokes, and his son, Thomas (4) Stokes, was born in it. Thomas (3) Stokes married a Miss Trappes, and they had a son, Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, 12.)

VI. Thomas (4) Stokes, son of Thomas (3) and Mrs. (Trappes) Stokes, was born in "Fryer's Grange," Aythorpe Roding, Essex, about 1530, and died in 1605. This property descended to his son, Thomas (5), who later became involved financially and was sued for debt. At the trial Thomas claimed that he was paying as rapidly as agreed upon, but he lost the case and "Fryer's Grange" was lost to him and to the Stokes family. Thomas (4) married, in 1553, at High Ongar, County Essex, Anney Wright, and had the following children: 1. Thomas (5). 2. Edward, of whom further. 3. John, born about 1574.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 12.)

VII. Edward Stokes, son of Thomas (4) and Anney (Wright) Stokes, was born in 1572 and died in 1650. He lived in the parishes of Aythorpe Roding, Beauchamp Roding and in the town of Great Dunmow, all in County Essex.

Edward Stokes married, in 1589, Elizabeth Mylborne, daughter of a distinguished family in Essex. The ceremony took place in the church at Dunmow. They were the parents of a son, John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

VIII. John Stokes, son of Edward and Elizabeth (Mylborne) Stokes, was born in 1606 at Great Dunmow, County Essex, England. He was known as "John of Wentworth Street" and was closely associated with Roger Williams, founder of the Providence Colony in Rhode Island. Roger Williams lived for a year in the parish adjoining Aythorpe Roding and married a Miss Barnard. John Stokes was for a time the agent of Roger Williams while the latter was in America, but John Stokes remained in England.

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John Stokes married, in 1629, Ann Baeber. They were the parents of: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. John, of London; also called "of Wentworth Street."

(*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.)

(The Family in America)

I. Thomas Stokes, son of John and Ann (Baeber) Stokes and founder of the Stokes family of New Jersey, was born in 1640 at London and lived there until his emigration to America in 1677. He and his wife were members of the Devonshire House Friends' (Quakers') Meeting, in London. In August of 1677 the ship "Kent" dropped anchor at New Castle, Delaware, bearing a large company of Friends, including Thomas Stokes, his wife, two small daughters, Sarah and Mary, and a small son, John. They belonged to a group of Friends who were seeking refuge from persecution, and made their way up the Delaware River past the future site of Philadelphia to what is now Burlington, New Jersey, their final destination. It was an unbroken wilderness in the midst of which these first English settlers set about to make a home for themselves; their only neighbors, Indians. In 1685 Thomas Stokes settled on one hundred and sixty-two and a half acres of land on the Rancocas Creek near the present village of Rancocas, which he had received from his brother, "John of London." He died early in 1720.

Thomas Stokes was one of the signers of the laws and concessions of West New Jersey. He moved to the home of his son Thomas in Waterford Township, Gloucester County, New Jersey, several years before his death. There he made his will, dated October 13 or 30, 1719, and proved April 9, 1720, in which there were bequests to his children: John and his daughter, Mary, who was under eighteen; Thomas and three of his children, Lydia, Deliverance and Joseph; Joseph; Sarah; and Mary. The executor was John. Thomas Stokes married, December 30, 1668, at the Westbury Street Friends' Meeting House, London, Mary Barnard, of Stepney, who died in 1699. Children: 1. Sarah, married, in 1693, Benjamin Moore. 2. Mary, married, in 1696, John Hudson, son of Robert and Mary Hudson. 3. John. 4. Joseph, of whom further. 5. Thomas, born in 1682, died November 7, 1736; married (first), in 1704, Deliverance Horner,

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daughter of Isaac and Lydia Horner; (second), September 1, 1715, Rachel Wright, daughter of Job and Rachel Wright.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 13-16. Richard Haines: "Genealogy of the Stokes Family, Descended from Thomas and Mary Stokes," pp. 7-10. "New Jersey Archives," First Series, Vol. XXIII, p. 443. John Clement: "Sketches of the First Emigrant Settlers in Newton Township, Old Gloucester County, West New Jersey," pp. 302-03.)

II. Joseph Stokes, son of Thomas and Mary (Barnard) Stokes, was born in New Jersey about 1680 and died between December 28, 1757, and June 1, 1759, in Chester Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. In his will, dated December 28, 1757, and proved June 28, 1759, Joseph Stokes made bequests to his wife, Anne (or Ann), and to his children, Mary, Elizabeth (under age), Samuel, Joseph, John (under age), Hannah Gosling, Martha Allen, Rebecca Roberts, Judith (wife of William Allen), and Bathsheba Evans; and grandchildren, John Coles and Joseph Coles. He disposed of his home farm and other land in Chester Township, and a farm in Evesham Township, as well as personal estate. His executors, his wife and son-in-law, Joshua Roberts, were made guardians of the two minor children. The witnesses were Joshua Raper, Samuel Allinson and Gabriel Bond. On June 18, 1759, and June 27, 1759, inventories of his personal estate were made by Samuel Coles, Joshua Ballinger and Enoch Roberts. The first inventory was £1,241.6.11; the second £71.2. On January 15, 1768, Anne Stokes, acting executrix, reported £147.18.1, in giving an account of the estate.

Joseph Stokes married (first), about 1710, Judith Lippincott. He married (second), intentions published in September, 1746, at Haddonfield, New Jersey, Anne or Ann (Ashead) Haines, daughter of John Ashead and widow of John Haines. The maiden name of his second wife, though given in the Stokes genealogy as Ashard, was evidently Ashead; for Moses Ashead, in his will, dated January 7, 1741, mentions his sister, Ann Haines, and makes his brother-in-law, John Haines, sole executor. Among the children of the first marriage were: 1. Samuel. 2. Hannah, born May 2, 1713; married (first), in 1733, Thomas Cole, son of Samuel and Mary (Kendall) Cole; (second) John Goslin. 3. Bathsheba, born in 1724; married Isaac

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(2) Evans. A child of the second marriage was: 4. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17, 52. Richard Haines: "Genealogy of the Stokes Family, Descended from Thomas and Mary Stokes," pp. 8, 12. "New Jersey Archives," First Series, Vol. XXX, p. 24; Vol. XXXII, p. 311. "Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey," Vol. III, p. 72.)

III. John Stokes, son of Joseph and Anne or Ann (Ashead-Haines) Stokes, was born in Chester Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. His wife's father was perhaps the same John Hatkinson, of Mount Holly, Burlington County, New Jersey, who, in his will, dated May 12, 1770, mentioned two sons under twenty-one, and three daughters (ages not stated), one of whom was Mary. John Stokes married Mary Hatkinson, daughter of John Hatkinson. They had a son: 1. Joseph, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 17. Richard Haines: "Genealogy of the Stokes Family, Descended from Thomas and Mary Stokes," pp. 12, 23. "New Jersey Archives," First Series, Vol. XXXIV, p. 236.)

IV. Joseph Stokes, son of John and Mary (Hatkinson) Stokes, was born in 1778 and died in 1804; married Esther Newlin. They had a son: 1. Nathaniel Newlin.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 17-20. Richard Haines: "Genealogy of the Stokes Family, Descended from Thomas and Mary Stokes," pp. 23, 47.)

BOOK NOTE

"First Census" of Kentucky, 1790, by Charles Brunk Heinemann and Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh; 118 pages, royal octavo, cloth, published and sold in limited edition by G. M. Brumbaugh, M. D., 905 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C., 1940.

The Federal Census of 1790 serves as the foundation stone of many genealogical edifices, and, in territories for which it is lacking, the task of tracing family history is complicated and enlarged to an unbelievable degree. No research worker in this field in Kentucky will take exception to the statement that the state is a most difficult territory in which to piece together the mosaic of recorded fact that is a genealogical study. So it is that the work of Messrs. Heinemann and Brumbaugh is hailed by their co-workers in this branch of research as a most valuable added tool in assembling the story of families resident in Kentucky during the late eighteenth century period.

The compilers devote the first page of their volume to a disclaimer of any intention of offering it as a State or Federal enumeration of inhabitants, explaining that "it is a privately compiled list of tax payers appearing in the tax lists of all Kentucky counties which were established at the time of the First Federal Census."

The volume is largely material carefully typewritten and apparently reproduced on a substantial paper by one of the offset methods, although the eleven pages of a Part Second are in conventional printed form. This Part Second is devoted to "State Enumerations of Heads of Families, Virginia and Kentucky," made necessary by the fact that after the work was partially printed it was discovered that portions of the large Lincoln County area, etc., could not be included because "non-existent in Kentucky." Dr. Robert Armistead Stewart, of Richmond, Virginia, published the tax lists of Fayette County, Virginia (Kentucky) for 1787 and 1788 in "The Researcher" for July and October, 1927, together with other county records not included in the Federal Census of 1790, and a number of these are reproduced in the present volume.

BOOK NOTE

Even the layman would recognize the fact that in the compilation and manufacture of a work such as this there is little in the way of financial compensation to be expected, that the rewards are those of satisfaction and contentment which are the constant fruits of scholarly research and painstaking investigation, done, as Kipling wrote, "for the joy of the working." Something of this is indicated in Mr. Heinemann's "Foreword and Acknowledgment": "The users of this list owe the Supervisor-Compiler nothing. His task has been relatively a simple one. He acknowledges a debt of gratitude to those splendid men and women who have protected and preserved these precious records through all these years. Many have gone to their rewards, and their names are unknown to this Compiler, who nevertheless, voices his appreciation of their work. We would be remiss indeed if we did not express our appreciation to those faithful and splendid present custodians of these records. Their patient and full coöperation has made the work possible, and its undertaking a task of genuine pleasure."

So much for the book, its contents, and its reason for being. Edwin W. Wheat, of this writer's organization and himself a research enthusiast of the type mentioned above, placed the volume upon the editorial desk with the note: "This supplies a long-felt want. It should be in every genealogical library."

M. M. LEWIS.



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AMERICANA

OCTOBER, 1940



The Slaughter of De La Bastie

A Kentucky Mountain Ballad on an Aftermath
of Flodden's Fatal Field

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDGAR ERSKINE HUME, U. S. ARMY



It is a far cry from the Scottish Border in the early sixteenth century to the mountains of Kentucky in the first half of the twentieth. But ballads have a way of ignoring limitations of time and space, and of surviving in the songs of simple folk who have had them from their grandsires. Often ballads commemorate well-known incidents; sometimes they are wholly imaginative. In others the historical background is not clear, or the incident long forgotten, and one must leave much to conjecture. It is one of this last class that the writer discovered by accident during the summer of 1938. To his great surprise it proved to concern his own ancestor.

Kentucky Mountain Ballads—In the Cumberland Mountains, less than a hundred miles from the beautiful Blue Grass Region of Kentucky, is the heart of the mountain country. Kentuckians of these neighboring lands are, perhaps, no less different than are Scotsmen of the Highlands and the Lowlands today. The people of the Blue Grass came from the tidewater counties of Colonial Virginia, and the families that dwell in those counties include some of the most distinguished that are to be found in the New World. Many of them

THE SLAUGHTER OF DE LA BASTIE

descend from younger, or even elder, sons of Scottish and English noble or county families. The mountain folk, on the other hand, spring from sturdy British yeoman stock, many from the northern counties of England, and not a few from Scotland.

The people of the mountains of the Southern States of the American Union—Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, chiefly—were cut off from the rest of the country by the tide of immigration and rapidly moving political events. Until recently they continued to live as did their fathers. Primitive folk, but with their full share of primitive virtues as well as of primitive faults. The deadly feud still exists; but hospitality is unbounded and no stranger need fear danger. Untaught in many instances; but with a full meet of wisdom and canny shrewdness that simple existence has fostered. Kindly, but unforgiving of insults, they are poor but proud.

The songs of such a people are the songs of their forefathers in Scotland and England, handed down and treasured in the long memories that characterize unlettered men and women. Sometimes the very instruments on which their ancestors accompanied their songs have been inherited. To the accompaniment of the fiddle, the banjo, and—most surprising—of the dulcimer, the age-old ballads are sung beside firesides in mountain cabins or at county fairs, just as they were sung in Britain lang syne.

The Southern Mountaineers speak the English of Queen Bess's day, and use many a word or expression that is nowhere else to be found in living speech. They say *fur* with Sir Philip Sydney, and *furder* with Lord Bacon. Like Hakluyt they use *allow* for assume, and like Shakespeare they say *soon* for early. Piers Plowman speaks of a *heap* of people; Spencer wrote *yit* and rhymed it with wit; the Queen Mother of Henry VII wrote *seche* for such; and Chaucer's friend, Gower, said "a *sight* of flowers." All these words are in the mountain speech of today. The venerable word *buss* (to kiss) is considered obsolete in dictionaries, but the term is in common use in the mountains. Mountain people say "I *aim* to do somethin'," as frequently as Shakespeare, and like that bard they use the expression "*kill up*." A doll is a *puppet*, and at once the early puppet plays come to mind. Strong preterites are much in use, like *clum* for climbed (Chaucer said *clomb*); *drug* for dragged; *wropt* for wrapped (used

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by the courtly Lovelace); *help* for helped (as in the King James Bible). When the mountaineer calls a cow *contrarious*, he has the authority of Milton. His *afeared* was preferred by Lady Macbeth. The mountain boy says of a frisky calf, "Hit's an *antic* calf," without knowing that Hamlet put "an antic disposition on." In the mountains one hears "the turkeys *use* in the wheat-patch." Fletcher wrote: "I will give for thy food no fish that *useth* in the mud." These are but a very few, and there are many other old words and expressions that have been traced to the speech of Britain of a few centuries ago. As elsewhere in the United States, the old participle *gotten* is heard instead of *got* as used in Britain. It is after hearing the speech of the mountain folk, no less than after hearing their ballads, that one is struck by the aptness of the saying that they are our "contemporary ancestors." (Cf. *Land of the Saddle-Bags* by Prof. James Watt Raine, a native of the Kentucky Mountains, now head of the Department of English at Berea College, Kentucky.)

History as it was created on the Scots-English Border is particularly well reflected in mountain ballads. One hears versions of "The Douglas Tragedy," "The Hunting of the Cheviot or Chevy Chase," "Lord Thomas and Fair Annie" (included by Scott in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*), "The Fause Knight upon the Road," "The Three Ravens" (a variant of the Scottish "The Twa Corbies"), "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," "The Lass of Roch Royal," and others. The "Noble Skewball," a dramatic account of a horse-race between Skewball (a corruption of *Usquebaugh*, the Gaelic word which has become *whisky* in English) and the Gallant Grey Mare, during the singing of which one can all but see the Day of Truce, when Scottish and English Borderers might safely meet. There is "Bonnie Barbara Allen," easily the best of them all, and numerous variants of Robin Hood. These and others are as well known in Virginia and Kentucky as in Scotland and England. There are many others, less well known, and one of them is the ballad of "De La Bastie's Death."

A ballad is defined as a story in song, characterized by complete impersonality as far as the author or singer is concerned. The ballad of "De La Bastie's Death" certainly fulfills such conditions. The singer was a primitive old body, almost illiterate, and without idea as to the identity of the people of her song. Questioned as to where she had

THE SLAUGHTER OF DE LA BASTIE

first heard the ballad, she said "hit was a favorite of my old grand-dam," but ventured the supposition that it was probably only a "tune," and that there "warn't never no sech folk." Asked if she had heard other people of today sing this ballad, she replied that she thought most people did not know it.

Here are the words written down line by line as they were sung:

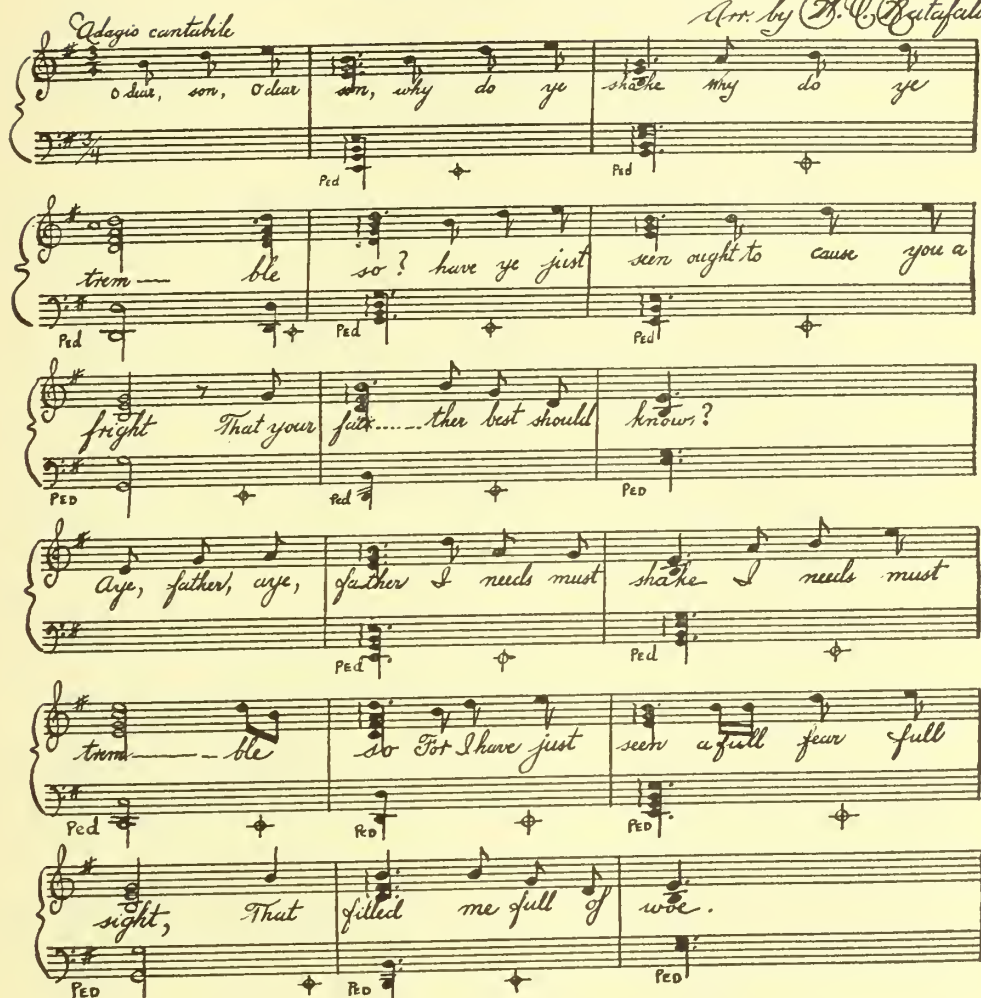
SIR DARSIE'S DEATH

O dear son, O dear son, why do ye shake
Why do ye tremble so?
Have ye just seen ought to cause you a fright
That your father best should know?
Aye, father, aye, father, I needs must shake,
I needs must tremble so,
For I have just seen a full fearful sight,
That filled me full of woe.
As I was walking along the high road,
Along the high road so bright,
I saw Sir Darsie upon his stout horse,
Spurning away in full flight.
What was it caused this flight, my dear son,
And why did the Warden flee?
Was he pursued by one man or more,
And who could such men be?
Aye, father, aye, father, he was pursued,
By one man and by more.
And e'en as I looked they came up with him
And shed his noble gore.
My son, my dear son, I charge ye to tell
Who these bold men could be,
And who would dare seek to slaughter this lord,
This lord from over the sea.
O father, I saw all these men full well,
Ere did they their horses turn,
And Oh, they were led by no other than
Sir Davie of Wetherburne.
And Sir Davie he drew his gleaming sword,
His gleaming sword so true,
And with a fierce shout and a might sweep,
Bawtie's neck was stricken through.

Sir Parsie's Death

Arr. by H. C. Natafalusy

Adagio cantabile



O dear, son, O dear son, why do ye shake my do ye trem- ble so? have ye just seen ought to cause you a fright That your fate... ther best should know? Aye, father, aye, father I needs must shake I needs must trem- ble do For I have just seen a full fear full sight, That filled me full of woe.

MUSIC OF THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAIN BALLAD OF DE LA BASTIE'S DEATH

(Arranged by Warrant Officer Alexander Natafalusy, Band Leader, United States Army)
The words of only the first stanza are given. See text for the complete ballad.

THE SLAUGHTER OF DE LA BASTIE

By its long curled locks, Sir Davie he caught
The head to his saddle bow,
And away they rode from the Corning Ford
Where the blood-red water did flow.

And it's father of mine, I do not know
The cause of Sir Darsie's doom,
Nor why the French knight should be stricken down
By the hand of Sir Davie Hume.

My son, 'tis a long and full woeful tale
A tale of dishonestee,
And it has brought shame upon our whole land,
Upon our whole countree.

The belted Hume, a brave Earl and bold
Was done to death by guile,
And there was none to avenge the foul deed,
For many a long long while.

And the false Sir Darsie he then did replace
Our rightful Warden and all,
And high folk and low, aye, both far and wide
Did pity the shame of his fall.

'Tis only this day that the race of Hume
Have avenged their lawful chief,
And God send that all their enemies may
In like manner come to grief!

In listening to the monotonous tune to which the ballad was sung, it was impossible not to have memorized it by the time the seventeenth stanza was finished. It has since been written down for the author of this account by Band Leader Alexander Natafalusy, U. S. Army.

The singer of this ballad knew a few lines of another "tune" about Bawty's death, which she sang to the air of "Johnnie's So Late from the Fair."

Have ye heard, have ye heard
Oh! Bawty the beautiful,
Whose lang hair and fair face
Maked leddies undutiful?

He cam o'er frae france
Lang syne, so I have heard tell,

THE SLAUGHTER OF DE LA BASTIE

But that was all she could recall, which is a great pity, for it is evidently an entirely different version of the story.

Here then, we have a ballad that owes its origin to an historical occurrence, the slaughter of Sir Anthony d'Arcie de la Bastie, French Warden of the Marches, by Sir David Home (or Hume) of Wedderburn on 17 September, 1517. The incident is set forth in many Scottish histories, with varying details. Since it was a sort of aftermath of the battle of Flodden, the story is worth retelling in brief.

The Battle of Flodden—The battle of Flodden was fought on 9 September, 1513, by the Scottish Army, commanded by James IV, King of Scots, against the English Army under the Earl of Surrey. The war began with King James's invasion of England in accordance with the terms of his agreement with Louis XII, King of France, Scotland's ancient ally. Henry VIII of England had invaded France, and though he hoped that the King of Scots, who had married his sister Margaret, would not go to the assistance of France, he made Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, his lieutenant-general for the northern countries. Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk as a reward for his defeat of the Scots.

This is not the place to describe the battle itself. Suffice it to say that at first it seemed to be a victory for the Scots. The divisions of the Earl of Huntley and Lord Hume, which opposed the right wing of the English force, commanded by Surrey's brother, Sir Edmund Howard, were successful. Lord Hume was Alexander Home of Home, third Baron Home, Great Chamberlain of Scotland and Warden of the East and Middle Marches. "At the first attack, the English suffered terrible loss, and at length, after long and severe fighting, wavered and fled, leaving Huntley and Home* masters of that part of the field. At the first flush of victory, the Scots pressed forward with enthusiastic shouts, eager to encounter a fresh foe. They had their wish, for at that moment Lord Dacre and the Bastard Heron brought up a large body of horse, and, joining Howard's men, effectually stopped the progress of the Scottish left wing. . . . Hour after hour every inch of ground was doggedly contested. Home was

*The name of this family is always pronounced *Hume*, but is spelled both *Hume* and *Home*. In quotations in this sketch the spelling of the original is preserved, otherwise the spelling *Hume* is used.

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hard pressed, yet there was no beating him back. He had taken a number of prisoners, amongst them Sir Philip Dacre, and these he guarded faithfully, keeping his ground against considerable odds until darkness set in." (James Robson, *Border Battles and Battlefields*, 66.)

Lord Home at Flodden—Alexander, third Lord Hume, who succeeded his father as the head of the family in 1506, was made Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland in the following year. He was virtually Prime Minister during the remainder of the reign of James IV. The wardenships of the East, Middle and West Marches, previously entrusted to three noblemen, were delivered to his sole charge. Thus his authority in the south of Scotland was supreme.

At the battle of Flodden, he commanded the vanguard, along with Lord Huntley, and completely routed Edmund Howard, brother of the Earl of Surrey, who commanded a thousand Cheshire men and five hundred Lancastrians (*Letters of Henry VIII*, I, 144). Then it was that, conceiving the battle won, Lord Hume's men, according to border habits, began to concentrate their energies on pillage. They remained in ignorance of the actual result of the battle, thinking that the Scots were victorious. Hence the blame that has so often been attached to Lord Hume.

A month after the battle, 13 October, the English under Lord Dacre ravaged the lands of Lord Hume and others of his name and family. For repression of disorders arising during the minority of the King, Lord Hume was constituted Chief Justice on the south side of the Forth. (*Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII*, I, 4951). In this capacity he agreed to the appointment of the Duke of Albany as Regent, and his name appeared first on the signed agreement to that effect. In 1514, however, Lord Hume supported Andrew Foreman, the Pope's nominee for the office of Archbishop of St. Andrews, in opposition to the candidate of the Duke of Albany. The Duke from this time forth was active in his enmity to Hume. In the confused warfare which followed Hume was for a time allied with Lord Dacre, and succeeded in capturing Hume Castle, which had long been held by the other party. When ordered by Albany to leave the kingdom he replied by retiring into Hume Castle which, with that of Blackadder, he held in opposition to Albany.

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Later, Hume and Angus came to terms with Albany, and Hume was given a pardon on condition that he live peaceably on his estates and have no dealings with England. Not long afterwards Lord Hume and his brother, William Hume, were summoned to a convention in Edinburgh to consider Scottish relations with England. But as soon as they entered the gates of Holyrood, they were arrested on the charge of high treason. Buchanan insists that both Hume's supposed private crimes and his former rebellions were brought up, and that it was alleged that he had not done his duty at the battle of Flodden. "Albany's desire to rid himself of a formidable foe best explains the sentence of death which was immediately pronounced," not only on Lord Hume but on his brother as well.

Modern Historians Acquit Lord Hume—Nations which lose battles must have someone on whom to place the blame. Scapegoats have been sought in modern, no less than ancient times. Flodden was the greatest tragedy in Scottish history, a battle in which there perished the Scottish King, his son the Archbishop of St. Andrews, one Bishop ten mitred Abbots, twelve Earls, fourteen Lords, fifteen Knights and twenty-five gentlemen heads of families of note. On the English side comparatively few men of importance fell.

Still from the sire the son shall hear
Of the stern strife and carnage drear,
Of Flodden's fatal field.
Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield!

It has been said that any Scottish participant in the battle who lived to tell the tale had, as it were, to justify his being alive. Lord Hume was one of those who escaped and was the object of abuse by his countrymen for centuries. But not justly so. Modern accounts of the battle, by students of military history, fail to show that Lord Hume can in fairness be blamed for his conduct. His division was the only one in the Scottish Army which defeated the English opposite it. The basis of the criticism of Lord Hume is that, after defeating the English under Sir Edmund Howard, his division did nothing further, and left the field with the spoils of victory and allowed his King to perish. "I think," writes Leather, "that the action of the Earl

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of Hume in leaving the field can easily be accounted for, and the execrations poured out by Scotsmen against the Hume family for over 400 years are quite unmerited."

The Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513, by Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Fitzwilliam Elliot (1911) and *New Light on Flodden*, by Gerard F. T. Leather (1937) are typical of the modern accounts of the battle, and, like other works of today, indicate that Lord Hume not only does not deserve censure, but merits the gratitude of Scotsmen. The private soldier of the Tudor period, says Leather, had to follow his overlord to the wars whenever summoned, this being necessitated by his tenure of his house and land under the feudal system.

"He had to provide his own arms and armour, and perhaps a horse, whilst he received no pay. He had also to provision himself until such time as he reached the hostile country, after which he lived by pillage. After a successful engagement he was at liberty to secure what plunder he could and return home. Border forays usually began and ended with one engagement, after which it was usual for all to return home, whether as victors or vanquished."

This custom had a direct bearing on the conduct of the forces commanded by Lord Hume at Flodden. They were the vanguard and bore their share of the battle. "They knew that the whole Scottish Army was in column of route behind them. In fact, the powerful forces of Crawford and Montrose were at their very heels, and the Borderers had no intention of sharing their plunder with anyone. . . . As victory seemed assured for the Scots, the vanguard continued their retreat to Coldstream, according to plan, carrying as much booty with them as possible, and leaving the attacking of Lord Howard to Crawford and Montrose." "I find," continues Leather, "it quite impossible to believe that a courageous soldier, as Lord Hume was well known to be, could have held himself back from joining in the fight that had so far been successful. It is only by visiting the spot where the first clash took place, that one sees at once that Hume knew nothing and *could* know nothing of what was happening in his rear. He knew that the burghers of Jedburgh, Hawick and Selkirk, were close behind him, but the rise of ground prevented him from actually seeing them. . . . He therefore carried out the original orders of the King."

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Sir David Hume of Wedderburn—The Humes of Wedderburn are the eldest cadets of the family of which the Earl of Hume is the chief. Sir Thomas Hume of Hume was the thirteenth in the direct male line from Crinian, Lord of the Isles, who was killed in 1045. Sir Thomas, who is mentioned in a document dated 1385, had two sons. The elder, Sir Alexander Hume of Hume, was killed at the battle of Verneuil, 1424, being the ancestor of the Lords Hume, later Earls of Hume. The second son was Sir David, who received the lands of Wedderburn in 1413, and is the progenitor of the Humes of Wedderburn.

"The Homes of Wedderburn are not only the eldest cadets of the family of Home, but also may be said to be the most prolific, more so even than the parent stem, both in offshoots and honours." (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Reports on Manuscripts of Col. David Milne-Home of Wedderburn Castle, N.B.*, 1902, intro. p. 3.)

The head of the family of Hume of Wedderburn at the period of the battle of Flodden was Sir David Hume, third of the barons of his line. This powerful Borderer and his eldest son, George, fell on Flodden Field. Halle's account of his part in the battle is of great interest in this connection. He relates that Sir Edmund Howard

was thre tymes felled to the ground, and left alone, savynge his standarde berar, and twoo of hys servants, to whome came Jhon Heron, bastarde, sore hurte saiyng, there was never noble man's sone so lyke too be loste as you be thys day; for all my hurts, I shal here lyve and dye with you; and there the sayde Sir Edmonde Howarde was in a great daunger and jeopardy of his lyfe, and hardlye escaped; and yet as he was goinge to the bodye of the vantgarde, he met with Davy Home, and slew him wyth hys owne hande, and so came to the vantgarde (Elliot, 83).

Sir Edmund Howard was the brother of the Earl of Surrey (later Duke of Norfolk) and father of Catherine Howard, consort of Henry VIII.

Sir David Home of Wedderburn, who fell at Flodden, was the father of "The Seven Spears of Wedderburn" as they are known in Border song and story. That he was accompanied by these seven sons to the field is evidence of the spirit of his house. He and the eldest of the "Seven Spears" were killed. The second of the "Seven

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Spears" was the Sir David Home, fourth of the barons of Wedderburn, who played the leading part in the de la Bastie tragedy, as we shall see. Sir Walter Scott in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* writes of them:

Vails not to tell each hardy clan,
 From the fair Middle Marches came;
 The Bloody Heart blaz'd in the van,
 Announcing Douglas, dreaded name!
 Vails not to tell what steeds did spurn
 Where the Seven Spears of Wedderburne
 Their man in battle-order set;
 And Swinton laid the lance in rest
 That tamed of yore the Sparkling crest
 Of Clarence's Plantagenet.
 Nor list I say what hundreds more,
 From the rich Merse and Lammermore,
 And Tweed's fair borders, to the war,
 Beneath the crest of old Dunbar,
 And Hepburn's mingled banners come,
 Down the steep mountain glittering far,
 And shouting still "A Home! A Home!"
 (Canto Fifth, IV.)*

More than eighty of the clan of Hume were slain at Flodden, including, besides Sir David Hume of Wedderburn and his eldest son, George, Sir Robert Hume of Blackadder, another of the "Seven Spears," and Cuthbert Hume of Fastcastle. The ancient banner carried by the Humes of Wedderburn on the fatal field was wrapped about the lifeless bodies of his father and brothers by Sir David Hume, the younger, and thus they were carried in sorrow back to Wedderburn Castle. This banner was used for the same purpose after the battle of Dunbar, 1650, when another Sir David Hume of Wedderburn and his son, George, in that case an only son, were slain. The banner has been preserved and, bearing the blood stains of these

*The following letter accompanied a presentation copy of the third edition (1806) of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. The flyleaf is inscribed: "George Home, Esq., of Paxton, from his obliged friend, the author." A letter accompanied the book: "My dear Sir: Will you pardon the vanity of an author in hoping a copy of a new edition of his work may not be unacceptable to you as a man of letters and an ancient Borderer. It contains some lines on p. 138 relative to the Homes of Wedderburne and the Swintons (my own maternal ancestors) with a few others which were added since the quarto edition. I am ever with great regard, Dear Sir, Your obliged and faithful servant, W. Scott. Castle Street, Friday." (*Rpt. on the MSS. of Home of Wedderburn*, No. 297.)

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four sons of the house of Wedderburn, has come down to us, and hangs today in Wedderburn Castle, a silent, yet telling reminder of the days of storm and stress in which the barons of the Border lived and died. The banner bears a yellow St. Andrew's cross on a green field†

The Duke of Albany—John Stuart, Duke of Albany, was the son of Alexander Stuart, brother of King James III. Invited to assume the regency during the minority of King James V, he arrived at Ayr on 16 May, 1515, and at Dumbarton two days later, with a fleet of eight ships laden with ammunition, gold and luxuries of France. Shortly thereafter he was restored to the title of Duke of Albany, which had been conferred on his father, but which had been forfeited by Act of Parliament of 1487 because of treasonable dealings with England. On 15 July, 1515, Albany was proclaimed Protector and Governor of Scotland until the King, who was his first cousin once removed, attained his eighteenth year. By a further Act of Parliament he was declared heir to the throne after the King. On 8 June, 1517, he returned to France, where he remained until 19 November, 1521. On that date he returned to Scotland, but remained less than a year, leaving once more for France on 25 October, 1522. On 24 September, 1523, he again landed in Scotland, which, after spasmodic regency of eight years, he finally quitted on 20 May, 1524, for France.

Albany was half French, his mother being the daughter of Bertrand, Comte d'Auvergne and de Bouillon. He married his cousin-german, Anne de la Tour, Comtesse d'Auvergne and de Lauragais. He probably considered Scotland as a foreign land for he never learned to speak any language than French. Certainly he was considered a Frenchman by the majority of Scots. (Cf. Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, I, 154.) Albany's wife's sister married Lorenzo di Medici,

†Of this ancient banner a modern bard has written:

The Homes of old were warriors bold,
As e'er auld Scotland ken'd, man;
Their motto was Their Country's Cause,
And *True unto the End*, man.
This is the banner which they raised
On Flodden's Battle Field, man;
Those noble men, their name be praised,
They died ere they would yield, man.

(Col. David Milne-Home, *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club*, 1896-98, XVI, 289.)

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the younger, nephew of Pope Leo X, and died giving birth to Catherine de Medici, who was to become the tragic Queen of France.

"Albany, the Regent of the Kingdom, bred in the French court, and more accustomed to wield the pen than the sword, feebly endeavored to control a lawless nobility, to whom his manners appeared strange, and his person despicable," wrote Sir Walter Scott.

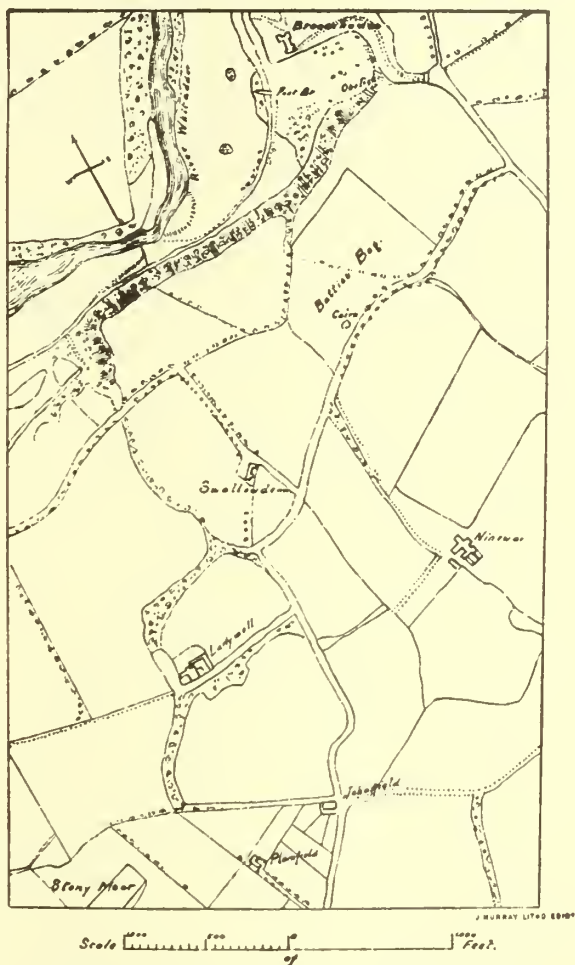
The Execution of Lord Hume—Less than a year after King James IV fell at Flodden, his widow, Queen Margaret, sister of King Henry VIII of England, married Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, the brother-in-law of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn. Angus was the grandson of the doughty old "Bell-the-Cat," as Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, is called in Scottish history. "After much internal disturbance, Queen Margaret was obliged altogether to retire to her brother's court, where she bore a daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, who was destined to be the mother of Lord Darnley, the ill-fated consort of Mary, Queen of Scots. In the meantime her party in Scotland was still further weakened. Lord Hume was one of her warmest supporters." (Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, Ch. XXV.)

"When Albany first saw Lord Hume, who was a little man," says the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "he exclaimed: '*Minuit præsentia famam*'—an imprudent remark which alienated the proud and powerful Border Chief" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, LIV, 317.)

Lord Hume was one of the standing council of the Queen Dowager. In her support he incurred the bitter enmity of the Regent, Albany, who seized Hume Castle and ravaged his lands. Lord Hume not unnaturally took the part of the Earl of Angus and the latter's wife, the Queen Dowager, against Albany in 1515, for the Humes and the Douglasses had been allied for centuries. Finally Albany caused the French Ambassador to offer an amnesty, and sent a pardon to Lord Hume, with the request that he meet him at Douglas. There the Duke treacherously arrested Hume and committed him to Edinburgh Castle, but with the aid of Lord Arran he escaped. In the following spring Lord Hume made his peace with Albany, and was restored to his honors and estates. Under a safe-conduct Hume was enticed to Edinburgh by the Regent, and with his brother, William

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Hume, was seized and thrown into the Tolbooth. After the mockery of a trial for supposed acts which had already been pardoned, and with fresh accusations concerning his alleged treachery at Flodden,



EDROM PARISH, BERWICKSHIRE, SCOTLAND
Showing Site of Broomhouse and the Cairn Marking de la Bastie's Grave. (From *The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1887, XII, 160, Plate A)

Lord Hume was beheaded on 8 October, 1516. His brother, William, suffered the same fate on the following day (Drummond's *Histories of Noble British Families*, II, 22). When a ruthless ruler has

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decided to have the life of a helpless prisoner, ostensible excuses are not wanting.

According to Leslie, Lord Hume was beheaded on 8 October, 1516, and his brother on the 9th, but Buchanan gives the dates as the 10th and the 11th. Their heads were exposed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where they remained until 1521, when they were taken down by Hume of Wedderburn and buried in Greyfriars Churchyard. Lord Hume's titles and estates were forfeited, but they were restored to his brother, George Hume, 12 August, 1522. (Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXVII, 219-21.)

The supposed discreditable conduct of Lord Hume at Flodden, and the valiant service of the men of Selkirk, are commemorated in the well-known ballad, *The Souters of Selkirk*. Most of the inhabitants of Selkirk seem to have been *souters*, that is, shoemakers, if we are to credit the old song.

THE SOUTERS OF SELKIRK
Up wi' the Souters of Selkirk,
And down wi' the Earl of Hume;
And up wi' a' the braw lads,
That sew the single-soled shoon.
Fye upon yellow and yellow,
And fye upon yellow and green,
But up wi' the true blue and scarlet,
And up wi' the single-soled sheen.
Up wi' the Souters o' Selkirk,
For they are baith trusty and leal;
And up wi' the Men o' the Forest,
And down wi' the Merse to the deil.

Sir Walter Scott wrote the following explanatory notes:

"The yellow and green, mentioned in the second verse, are the liveries of the house of Hume." "Selkirkshire is otherwise called Ettrick Forest. Berwickshire is otherwise called the Merse" (Sir Walter Scott, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, III, 317-32.)

The poem must have been written long after Flodden, for at that time there was no Earl of Hume, the Lords Hume being raised to the rank of Earl about a century later (1604). The old tradition that eighty *souters*, or shoemakers, went from Selkirk to the battle of Flodden is likewise somewhat overdrawn, for, says Sir Walter, "it

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is scarcely to be supposed that all the shoemakers in Scotland could have produced such an army, at a period when shoes must have been still less worn than they are at present." Scott, however, is not inclined to believe that the song refers not to Flodden at all, but to a football match between the men of the towns of Selkirk and Hume, as has been thought by Robertson, author of the *Statistical Account*. So one must conclude that the song is devoted to the praise of the gallantry of the men of Selkirk, not necessarily all *souters*, though that trade was the most important one in the town, and the supposed failure of Lord Hume to do his duty at Flodden, and perish on the field.

The above version of *The Souters of Selkirk* is from Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. The following additional verses are given in Allan Cunningham's *The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern* (1925), II, 66:

O! mitres are made for noddles,
But feet they are made for shoon;
And fame is as sib to Selkirk
As light is true to the moon.
There sits a souter in Selkirk,
Wha sings as he draws his thread—
There's gallant souters in Selkirk
As lang's there's water in Tweed.

The ballad of *The Souters of Selkirk* is at least as old as the period of the False Alarm, 1804, when through the mistake of a watchman in lighting the beacon on Hume Castle, the countryside was thrown into alarm, thinking that at last Napoleon Bonaparte had invaded Britain. When the Selkirkshire Yeomanry were present at a banquet after things had again quieted down, Lord Hume called for this old song. "None of the Yeomanry cared to sing it," says Hugh Thomson, "before a man on whose ancestor it reflects, whereupon amid rapturous applause, Lord Hume sang it himself." (*Highways and Byways in the Border*, 257.)

Quite another picture of Lord Hume at Flodden is given in a ballad quoted by Taylor, of which two verses are:

With whom encountered a strong Scot,
Which was the King's chief Chamberlain,
Lord Hume by name, of courage hot,
Who manfully marched them again.

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Ten thousand Scots, well tried and told
Under his standard stout he led;
When the Englishmen did them behold
For fear at first they would have fled.

(Taylor's *The Great Historic Families of Scotland*, I, 373.)

Sieur Antoine d'Arcy de la Bastie—The very name of the French Warden of the Marches, whose death at the hands of Sir Davy Hume gave rise to our ballad, has been the subject of dispute. We find references to him in Scottish history under the names Bawtie, Bautie, De la Beauté, Labastye, La Bastide, Darsey, "the Count of Beauty," etc. Lindsay of Pitscottie calls him "Tillibatie," which was considered the most extreme variation from the name as the knight himself knew it, until Miss Strickland wrote it "M. du Barody." Mackay gave much time to a study of de la Bastie's life, and gives his name as Sir Anthony d'Arces de la Bastie, which is probably the correct form.

Antoine d'Arces de la Bastie was Seigneur of La Bastie-sur-Melans in Dauphiné, not far from Grenoble. This was the country of the Chevalier Bayard, where the neighborhood to Italy, as well as the temperament of men born under the Southern sun, made the natives fonder of the chivalric form of the military art than in any other part of France. La Bastie, who was born in the reign of Louis XI or Charles VIII, early distinguished himself as a knight-errant, and became known as the *Chevalier Blanc*, because he fought in white armour. A contemporary and compatriot describes him as "A man of middle height and strong frame, endowed, besides other advantages, with large shoulders, denoting force, who traversed Spain, Portugal, England, and Scotland, to defy those who by their own wish or the will of their lady were disposed to fight à outrance. Everywhere his challenge was declined (*éconduit*) by the kings of these countries, except in Scotland, where the cousin of James IV jousted against him, but Antoine d'Arces threw him. Such was the love his prince had for him that he sometimes slept in the royal chamber. Loaded with presents, he returned to France with a suite of twenty-five horses. He had as his companion his compatriot Gaspard de Montauban, afterwards Baron of Aix, and it is from him and other companions of d'Arces that I got these details." (Æ. J. G. Mackay, *The Death of Sir Anthony d'Arces de la Bastie: An Episode in Scottish history*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, December, 1893).

De la Bastie's first visit to Scotland, as shown in the *Treasurer's Accounts* of that kingdom, was in 1506-07, in which year he fought

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his famous duel with Lord Hamilton. The *Treasurer's Accounts* confirm the tradition of the cordial reception of the French Knight, and name the rich presents that were given him. The story of the great passages at arms that were arranged leaves nothing to be desired in the way of romantic charm. By a curious stroke of fortune, after de la Bastie's death, he was succeeded in the office of Warden of the Marches by this same James, second Lord Hamilton, who in 1503 was raised to the dignity of Earl of Arran. He is the ancestor of the Duke of Hamilton, premier peer of Scotland.

After his return to France, La Bastie took part in the Italian war of Louis XII, where he greatly distinguished himself for bravery before the Venetians. He was twice made prisoner, but each time regained his freedom. "When Genoa revolted from the French in the end of June, 1512, La Bastie was 'one of the captains and brave French gentlemen of good family,' according to Brantôme, who fought in the last desperate campaign of 1513, in which the defeat of Louis de la Tremouille on the 6th of June near Novara by the Swiss drove the French out of Italy" (Mackay, *loc. cit.*).

Three months later (9 September, 1513) the catastrophe of Flodden deprived Louis of his only royal ally, and left Scotland with an infant king. For all that Margaret, Queen of Scots (sister of Henry VIII of England), succeeded to the regency under her husband's will, the French party in Scotland, as we have seen, at once wrote to John Stuart, Duke of Albany, the nearest male of the blood royal, urging him to come over from France and govern Scotland.

Albany had lived all his life in France where he held, besides large fiefs of his wife, the high office of Admiral. He was reluctant to leave and Henry VIII did all he could to prevent him. But Albany was no less reluctant to abandon his chance of the Scottish Crown, from which only the life of a single infant separated him. So, at first, Albany took a middle course, sending to Scotland as his representative the Knight of Dauphiné, who was already so well known there. De La Bastie, like the soldier that he was, started on a moment's notice, arriving at Dumbarton on 3 November, 1513—less than two months after Flodden. In the following January he was sent on a mission to Christian II, King of Denmark, where he met with a magnificent reception. He landed again at Dumbarton on 16 May, 1514. On 19

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November he was given the Castle of Dunbar in the name of Albany, whose father had held it as part of the earldom of March.

During the following year the *Exchequer Accounts* show that both Albany and de La Bastie were allowed considerable sums for the furnishing and provisioning of the Castle of Dunbar. Albany himself visited the castle soon after his arrival in Scotland in 1515. Though the Duke remained in that country but two years, for he returned to France at the end of May, 1517, he managed to secure possession of the person of the young King, force the Queen-mother to flee to England, quelled two risings under Arran, and execute Lord Hume and his brother.

Before his return to France, Albany appointed his lieutenant, de La Bastie, Warden of the Marches, who "was admitted on all hands the same activity as the Regent himself in the first term of his regency. He put down the freebooters of the Borders, and more than once met Dacre, the English Warden, at the days of truce, during which the Scottish and English Wardens forgot for a time their own hostilities to administer common justice." (Mackay.) In 1516 or 1517 David Meldrum of Cleish was assaulted as he rode from Edinburgh to Leith by Stirling of Keir, his rival in the affections of a young lady. A poem by Sir David Lindsay gives an account of it and tells how de la Bastie at once avenged the crime:

Be that the Regent of the land
Fra Edinburgh came fast rydand
Sir Anthony Darsie wes his name,
Ane knicht of France and man of fame,
Quhilk had the guiding haillie,
Under Johne Duke of Albanie;
Quhilk wes to our young king tutour,
And of all Scotland Governour.
Our king was bot fyve yeiris of age,
That time quhen done wes the outrage.

It was at this time that the Border "tumult" which ended in the French Warden's death occurred. Not only did all the Humes burn to revenge the murder of their chief, for clan feeling was perhaps more intense on the Borders than even in the Highlands, but there was a grudge against de la Bastie for his own conduct. "He had," says Mackay, "taken old Lady Hume, the mother of the Chamber-

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lain, from her house, and carried her on a trotting horse to Dunbar, where she was kept for six weeks on bread and water." De la Bastie might well expect a warm reception at the hands of the Humes, particularly those of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, the senior member of the house after Lord Hume.

Sir Walter concludes his account of Lord Hume and Wedderburn's revenge thus:

It was in vain that Albany inveigled the Lord Hume to Edinburgh, where he was tried and executed. This example of justice, or severity, only irritated the kinsmen and followers of the deceased baron; for though in other respects not more sanguinary than the rest of a barbarous nation, the Borderers never dismissed from their memory a deadly feud, till blood for blood had been exacted to the uttermost drachm. Of this the fate of Anthony d'Arcey, Seigneur de la Bastie, affords a melancholy example. This gallant French cavalier was appointed Warden of the East Marches by Albany at his first disgraceful retreat to France. Though De la Bastie was an able statesman, and a true son of chivalry, the choice of the regent was nevertheless unhappy. The new warden was a foreigner, placed in the office of Lord Hume, as the delegate of the very man who had brought that baron to the scaffold. A stratagem, contrived by Hume of Wedderburn, who burned to avenge the death of his chief, drew De la Bastie towards Langton in the Merse. Here he found himself surrounded by his enemies. In attempting, by the speed of his horse, to gain the castle of Dunbar, the warden plunged into a morass, where he was overtaken, and cruelly butchered. Wedderburn himself cut off his head; and, in savage triumph, knitted it to his saddle-bow by the long flowing hair, which had been admired by the dames of France (Cf. Pitscottie, *edit.* 1728, p. 130; Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, ii, 169).

This tragedy, or, perhaps, the preceding execution of Lord Hume, must have been the subject of a song, the first two lines of which are preserved in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, *edit.* 1801, p. 100:

"God sen' the Duc hed byddin in France,
And De la Bate had never come hame"

(Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, *edit.* 1833, Vol. I, *intro.*, pp. 107-10.)

Feelings ran high in those days of yore and it is not easy to have a clear understanding of the tragedy. Even long after the events,

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writers were doubtless swayed by prejudice, and attempted to paint the picture only in high lights or shadows, according to their friendship, or the reverse, for the Humes in general, and the Humes of Wedderburn in particular. We have short narratives by Lesley, Pit-scottie and Buchanan, contemporaries, though young at the time. There is also the more lengthy narrative of Godscroft, from which an extract is below quoted. Godscroft agrees substantially with Buchanan, but differs from Leslie, who makes a stratagem on the part of Sir Davy the occasion of the fray, and attributes the murder to a mature plot.

David Hume of Godscroft—The most interesting account of the circumstances surrounding the slaughter of de la Bastie is to be found in the history of the family of Hume of Wedderburn, written in Latin in 1611 by David Hume of Godscroft, second son of Sir David Hume, seventh of the barons of Wedderburn. Godscroft's story of the tragedy is based, he tells us, on statements derived from persons concerned in the deed.

David Hume of Godscroft is best known for his *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*. He was born in 1560 and was incorporated as a student in St. Leonard's College, University of St. Andrews, in 1578. He was distinguished for a taste for elegant literature from his youth, a Latin poem, written when he was but fourteen years of age, being preserved. He was attached to his cousin, the Earl of Angus, and with him was engaged in the Raid of Ruthven, as it is called. His Latin poems, under the title of *Lusus Poetici*, were incorporated into the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotarum* (1637). He wrote an essay advocating the proposed union of Scotland and England, and there are also extant some of his writings in the controversy between Episcopacy and Presbytery. In this last, he had for his opponents, James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, and William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway. He died about 1630. His son and daughter were both distinguished in letters.

Hume of Godscroft's manuscript history of the family of Hume of Wedderburn was not printed until 1839, when it was published in Edinburgh (pp. 87). The title is *Davidis Humii de Familia Humia Wedderburnensi Liber*. The manuscript from which this was printed

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is preserved at Paxton House, in the county of Berwick, seat of the family of Milne-Home (now Home-Robertson) of Wedderburn.

David Hume of Godscroft was the grandson of Sir David Home of Wedderburn, who slew the French Warden, and, as he himself says, knew many of the persons who witnessed the incident. He also had access to the Wedderburn family papers. Throughout his narrative, Godscroft is of course defending his grandfather from the charge of wilful murder which was brought against him by his enemies, but at the same time he was in a position to give facts scarcely available to other writers of his day.

We may not understand the feelings of Scotsmen of four or five hundred years ago without realizing that the clan feeling was nowhere, not even in the Highlands, more intense than on the Borders. The tie of common blood was of the strongest. "With a feeling akin to the Corsican vendetta or the Afghan blood-feud," says Mackay, "it was deemed a sacred duty of clansmen of the Border to avenge the death of one of their near kin." This feeling is precisely that of the Kentucky Mountaineers of today, though, of course, a less primitive attitude is being developed. Perhaps the survival for so long of the de la Bastie ballad was possible because of this spirit in the Cumberland Mountains, a very name which recalls the English Borders.

One may well wonder just what was the relationship between Alexander, third Lord Hume and "his near kinsman," Sir Davy Hume of Wedderburn. What actual ties of blood, in other words, bound Sir Davy to his murdered chief? They were fourth cousins, once removed—not a very near degree according to some standards, but on the Scottish Borders, as in the Kentucky Mountains, that is quite near enough to call forth a response such as that of the fierce Sir Davy.

Godscroft's Account de la Bastie's Death—"David Hume burned with a desire to revenge the death of his kinsman and the indignities which had been cast upon the family. An opportunity of carrying out his wish presented itself in the following manner:

About this time Cockburn of Langton in the Merse, having died, left as guardians to his son, while under age, Cockburn of Clarkington in Lothian, and Chirnside of Nisbet in Merse, thus passing over

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his brother William,* who had married David's sister, the widow of Swinton, who being an irritable man was offended at such exclusion, as contrary to the custom of the country, which conferred that office on the nearest relation. He, therefore, being assisted by the brothers of David, who lived with their widowed mother at Polwart in the neighborhood, besieged the castle of Langton, which the guardians had seized on. This appeared to de la Bastie, who then happened to be holding court at Kelso, to be an improper act, and one which tended to diminish his authority; he therefore sent letters to David requiring him to come to him. David refused to go, unless he received a passport to enable him to return when he pleased; de la Bastie hesitated not; he sent an ample passport, and as he was about to proceed to Dunbar, he recommended that he should meet him on his journey on the following day; so it was; he had scarcely left the town a mile or two when Wedderburn met him. He was courteously received, and the first salutations were apparently peaceful and friendly; by degrees they touched upon this disturbance. De la Bastie recommended that as a relation, he should withdraw his brothers from the undertaking, which was one that set a bad example, and not to be endured: that if they thought William had been treated unjustly, they should refer it to the laws, for by them and not by force they must act; through them a way was open to justice. David in reply eagerly cleared himself, and declared that he had nothing to do with the matter; that William indeed had sustained an injury in being deprived of the management of the estate of his nephew, a minor, contrary to the

*William Cockburn, who figures in the tragedy, was Wedderburn's brother-in-law, having married his sister, Isobel. He was the second son of Sir Alexander Cockburn of Langton. Cockburn and Wedderburn had both been present at the battle of Flodden, where the father and an elder brother of each were slain. William Cockburn and Isobel Home were the great-great-great-grandparents of General Sir James Cockburn, Baronet, quartermaster-general of British troops in America during the War of Independence.

It is not without interest to Americans to know of the services in that war of other descendants of the principals in the de la Bastie tragedy. William Home, Lord Dunglass, eldest son of the ninth Earl of Home, was a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards, and was killed at the battle of Guilford Court House, 1781. He was a descendant of the third Lord Home, whose summary execution led to the death of the unhappy French warden. Captain Alexander Home, R. N., as a lieutenant, was present during the siege of Boston, 1776, being a grandson of Francis Hume of Quixwood, advocate, who was transported to Virginia in 1716 as a Jacobite prisoner; leaving his two sons in Scotland. Captain Francis Hume of the Virginia State Line of the American Revolution, second cousin of Captain Alexander Hume, was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia. Several of his brothers and nephews also served on the American side in that war. Francis Hume was the son of George Hume (1698-1760) of Culpeper County, who came to Virginia as a Jacobite prisoner in 1721, being the son of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet, elder brother of Hume of Quixwood. Wedderburn and Quixwood were lineal descendants of Sir Davie, the fiery nemesis of de la Bastie.

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custom of the country; he asserted that this had taken place not so much from the will of the father, which had become unsteady through the effect of disease, as from a trick of the guardians; all this was, however, nothing to him; neither William nor his brothers were under his control; if they acted otherwise than was proper, let them be called and answer for it themselves. This irritated de la Bastie who insisted that it was all his doing, as they would do whatever he commanded. He [Wedderburn] on the contrary alleged that they were their own masters, that they dwelt with their mother and not with him, nor was he held by any act of theirs, nor required by any law to be bound for them.

After long altercation, it at last came to this, that de la Bastie, unable to restrain his rage, with threatening voice and countenance, said that he laid it upon him as a command to force them to raise the siege, or otherwise he himself would bring both him and them to their duty to their cost. To this David replied that he had come under a safeguard, that he would now return home, and then do whatever he pleased. Thus saying he halted: and remained in thought whilst the whole troop passed, since such threats had been uttered, he feared that should de la Bastie get safe to Dunbar, it would be easy for him to return with a body of men selected from the whole strength of the kingdom, besides he was enraged that a foreigner of unknown descent should so insult him and treat him like a servant. The death of his kinsman, Alexander, came to be remembered, and his place which was now held by himself perhaps unequal to the task, together with the ruin of so illustrious a family and the great dishonour of his country and race incurred by such servile obedience.

All these things being considered, and being inflamed by them rather than by former grief or recent rage, he determined that it was better to try the chance of the present opportunity; for if this were allowed to slip, it would in future be more difficult. They had by this time arrived at the heath which, lying to the north of the village of Fogo, and beyond, the river so named derives its appellation from thence, and is not above a mile and a half distant from the Castle of Langton, which William Cockburn and David's brothers were then closely besieging. Having sent a messenger to them to inform them of the matter, and direct them to join him in good time, he commanded his followers to mount their horses, the choicest of which each had brought with him, and gallop about with much noise and tumult, as if they were about to attack with drawn swords. Such is the custom of the Borderers, by which either terrify their enemies, or put their courage to the proof, and if any advantageous opportunity occur, they make use of it; and while thus delaying and harassing the

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enemy, they were giving warning to their friends to hasten to their assistance. They obeyed orders without delay, leaped from the small horses on which they rode, mounted the more select, drew their swords, and riding as near as possible with loud cries of "*Wedderburn*" endeavoured to strike terror into the enemy. His followers did not amount to more than eighteen horsemen, being those only who had come with him, the matter being as yet unknown to his vassals, but who, he did not doubt, would speedily rush to the tumult.

De la Bastie had five hundred men along with him, partly French, partly Scotch from Teviotdale and the Merse, who were there either attending on their own affairs, or had come to do him honour; some young men from Lothian were also present. The Merse men, on seeing how matters stood, either openly joined Wedderburn, or slipped off home, while those of Teviotdale gradually withdrew themselves. Mark Carr of Litteldean alone hesitated, and having seized David's reins, intreated him to make no attempt on de la Bastie, as this would bring disgrace on him as being one of his attendants. But when he saw that David continued in his purpose, and threatened him with his sword to make him drop the reins, he let go, and without delay joined the party which was setting out for Teviotdale.

When de la Bastie saw this, he courteously called David to him, made excuses for speaking so roughly, blamed his anger, acknowledged that he had hastily and rashly spoken something which he was sorry for, and wished unsaid; still it was not of much consequence, and if David would cease from his wrath, they would agree about the rest. But in vain, for David considered that he had gone too far to retreat with safety, and began to upbraid him on account of the death of his relative. The Frenchman, when he saw that the Scots quitted him; that he was left alone with his French followers, that the number of the enemy increased, and that no other hope remained, took to flight. He rode a very swift horse which had belonged to Alexander Hume, and which had he been saddled in the Scotch manner, it is generally believed would have carried him off, but being overburdened with trappings of great weight, and unaccustomed to French furniture, he was unable to proceed at full speed. He set off, however, and reached the ford, called "*Cornifurd*," half way between Langton and Dunse, before those who came from Langton could arrive to prevent his passage. He then continued his course through the middle of Dunse, the others following at some distance, whilst one Dickson (or as others call him, Trotter), one of David's pages, who had been left at home, but hearing the tumult, had lept upon one of his master's horses, and galloped from Wedderburn, was close upon him, and threatened him at every step with a drawn sword.

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De la Bastie with threats and orders to retire, defended himself actively, until he arrived at the stony ground, which lies between Dunse and the village of Preston. There, whilst more intent upon his pursuer than on the road, his horse striking his foot against a stone, fell; then starting to his feet he defended himself very vigorously from the attacks of the young man, until John and Patrick Hume, the brothers of David, came up and slew him. His head was cut off and publicly exposed for some time in Dunse, from whence it was intended to be carried to the Castle of Hume when it should be recaptured; his body was buried in the place where he fell, which was named after him, and the grave of De la Bastie is still [25th July, 1611] pointed out by the inhabitants. Historians relate that this slaughter took place on the 20th of September, 1517, yet the same writers narrate the death of Alexander on the 12th October of the same year, through carelessness either of the transcribers or of the printers. We have laboured in vain on this and similar points. (From the Manuscript History of the Humes of Wedderburn, dated 25th July, 1611, being a translation of his Latin work *Davidis Humii de Familia Humia Wedderburnensi Liber, Edinburgi, M.DCCC.XXXIX.*)

It has been falsely alleged that this action was perpetrated by fraud, but Wedderburn was more famed for daring than cunning; and I have heard from those who were present at the action, that it was not premeditated, but that the opportunity offered was taken advantage of. David, in the triumph of his barbaric rage, fastened the head of his victim by its long and adorned bow to his saddle bow, and regained his house, breathing contempt against the regency and the laws. The head was placed on a spear on the highest turret, and the hair was long preserved in the charter chest of the family.† When James V., being quite a boy, was asked in 1521, what should be done with some French whom Albany had left behind, he replied, "Oh, give them to David Home's keeping." (Godscroft, *loc. cit.*)

Among Godscroft's Latin poems, there are the following lines about the de la Bastie tragedy:

DAVID, AUUS

Externi iuga seruitii dum Darsius vrget

Exterus; idque sedens plebsque patresque fremunt

†Drummond adds: "The hair of de la Bastie was preserved in the family until the year 1810, when it was thrown into the fire by Miss Jean Home, the then proprietress of the house. It is to be hoped that this was done in repentance of the savage conduct of her progenitor." (*Histories of Noble British Families*, II, 20.)

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Amissum decus imperii, vilescere gentem:
 Virtutem, priscos et cecidisse animos:
 Agmine turgentemque; irasque, minasque vomentem.
 Ingressu paruâ, prælia magna manu:
 Et verti, et fudi, et vici: cædemque piauï
 Cæde illa, et manes, Humie magne, tues
 Patria, quid debes mihi, quid domus Humia, vestri
 Arbitrii est; non est dicere velle meum.

Darsius erat nobilis Gallus ex Prouincia Vulgo De la Basti, dictus: cuius consilliis Prorox Alexandrum Humium familiæ Principem, capite multuerat. Hunc postea Dauid Humius VVedderburnius ad vlscendam Alexandri cædem interfecit, caputque abcissum supra Humium arcem, loco conspicuo, affixit. xii. Kal. Octob. 1517. Post ad xiii Cal. Aug. capita Alexandri et Guilliemi fratrum portæ inferieri Edinburgensi vbi affixa erant, detraxit. Vide Buch, lib. 14. (Davidis Humii Wedderburnensis *Poemata omnia*, Parisiis, 1639.)

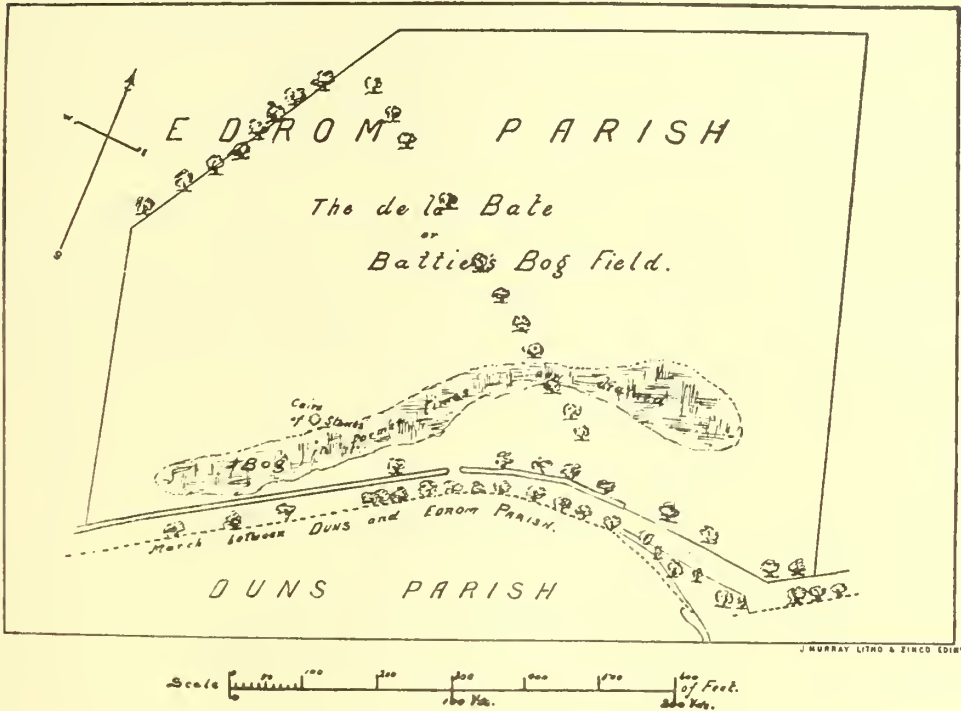
Pitscottie's Account of de la Bastie's Death—The venerable Lindsay of Pitscottie has this to say about the tragedy:

nevertheless the Laird of Wedderburne and his compleces invyit this said Tillabattie for the Duike of Albanie's cause and thocht he was left in his place they waldbe revengit on him (thocht) he was bot a strangerm and chapit [followed] him be the ost ane lyttill, and at ane outsyde wachit him; so that he tuik ane feir that he spurit his horse and tuik the flight and fled towards the Castell of Dunbar thankand to win the samin because his horse was goode. Nochtwithstanding all was for nocht, he was bot ane stranger and knew nocht the gait and rane his horse in ane mose [floating bog] quhair he could nocht gett out quhill his enemies come wpoun him and thair murdreist him, syne [afterwards] cuttit of his head and tuik witht them for signe and taiken [token] of that murther. It was said his hair was lang lyke wemens and plat in ane heir [head] lace, the quhilk [which] Dawid Home of Wadderburne knitt on his saidill bow. . . . This was done in the moneth of november in the zeir of God 1^mv^cxviiij [1518] zeiris. (Pitscottie, ed. 1899, I, 300.) . . . The Duik of Albanie tuik his leif at the King of France and passit to the sie and come to Scotland and landit the sext day in the month of ——— in the zeir of God 1^mv^cxix zeiris [1519—should be 1521]; and after he landit in Scottland maid great and haistie persecutioun wpoun the Homes and spetiall wpoun the Laird of Wadderburne quho was principall slayar of Tillabattie. Bot zeit [yet] on nowayis he could com-

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prehend him to his iustice ffor he fled in Ingland and remanitt thair sa lang as the Duik of Albanie baid in Scotland (*ibid.*, 102).

Upwards of three centuries after the slaughter of the unfortunate French nobleman, there were many traditions regarding his death and burial in the neighborhood. In 1834 the Rev. George Cunningham, in his report on the adjoining parish of Dunse, writes:



MAP OF "BATTIE'S BOG"

Scene of the Slaughter of de la Bastie on September 17, 1517. (From *The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1887, XII, 160, Plate B)

In the turbulent times of 1517, during the minority of King James V and the absence of the Regent Duke of Albany in France, a deed of atrocity was perpetrated on Sir Anthony D'Arcy, also denominated the Chevalier de la Beauté, at a morass called, from the name of the suffered, Batties' Bog, on the line which divides the parish of Dunse from that of Edrom, on the north-east. The Chevalier, in performing the duties of Lord Warden of the Marches, acting with much severity, had incurred the displeasure of the laird of Wedderburn, who was also

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exasperated by the recent murder of his chief, the Earl of Home, though under the protection of an invitation by the Regent Albany to Edinburgh. The warden being worsted by the Home, fled unattended towards Dunbar, pursued by the Laird of Wedderburn. His horse being swamped in the bog, he continued his flight on foot, but was overtaken by his adversary, who cut off his head, and carried it, fastened to his saddle girth by the hair, in triumph to the Castle of Wedderburn. As the bog is on the confines of the parishes of Dunse and Edrom, and the deed is done in Edrom, while the perpetrator was a distinguished person in the parish of Dunse, the discredit of it falls in some measure on both; and it is, perhaps, incumbent on the writers of the statistics of both parishes to record the atrocious fact. (*The Statistical Account of Berwickshire by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes*, 1841, pp. 254-55.)

Scottish Ballads About de la Bastie—That the death of de la Bastie should have made a strong impression on Scottish literature is not surprising. There have doubtless been many ballads based on this event. Here are two, both very different from the one found in the Kentucky mountains. They differ, too, in the degree of blame, if any, placed on Sir Davy Hume:

In Fifteen hundred and seventeen,
After the Incarnation,
Events befell which cast a slur
Upon the Scottish nation.

The belted Home, a Baron bold,
To Edinburgh trysted was;
Tried and condemned by Albany's might,
A might above the laws.

His office of Warden they had given
To Francis Darcy, knight;
The Merse Homes swore to be revenged,
That they should have their right.

To Langton Castle Darcy went,
A tumult there to quell;
When Wedderburn heard of this,
His vassals he did call.

Now, words by blows succeeded were,
And Darcy looked around,
He saw he was no match for Home,
And quickly left the ground.

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By Poulterlaney they fled fast,
And thro' the Corny Sykes,
And by the road that eastward leads,
To Duns' Grueldykes.

Tam Boulibacks did follow quick,
As his good mare could stand,
At Inglis' Walls she fell dead lame,
While Darcy met his end.

Sir David Home, that stern old carle,
Came up, and in a trice,
As Beautie and his horse were bog'd,
Did stab him twice or thrice.

Tam Trotter then cut off his head,
And tied it by the hair,
Upon Sir David's saddle-bow;
To Duns they did repair.

And when they came to that fair town,
The people cried God Speed!
Upon the Tolbuith's highest part,
They placed Sir Darcy's head.

To Castle Hume they've ta'en the head,
And fix't it on the wall,
Where it remained many a day,
Till it in pieces fell.

Sir de la Beautie's headless corpse
They put into a grave,
On Broomhouse banks, without a mass
Or prayer his soul to save!

"The above verses were taken from the recital of William Gillies, skinner in Duns, about 1798. He was nearly eighty when he died, and had had the verses from his grandfather." (*Scottish Journal of Topography*, 1848, Vol. II, page 256, note.)

A few of the references in this ballad require explanation. *The Merse* is an old name for Berwickshire, or sometimes for a part of that county. *Poulterlaney* is a more modern name for a narrow streamlet which divides the parish of Duns from that of Langton. It was more anciently called *Corneyford*, as in the following ballad. The name is corrupted to "Corning Ford" in the Kentucky ballad.

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The *Tolbuith* is, of course, the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the ancient prison, sometimes called "The Heart of Midlothian," which has since been pulled down. Its site is now marked by the figure of a heart in the stones of the street.

The head of de la Bastie was not taken to Hume Castle, as the above version of the ballad has it, for Hume Castle was then in the possession of Albany's faction. Probably it was to Wedderburn Castle, instead, that the head was taken, there to be exposed, in keeping with the ghastly custom of that day.

The other ballad gives an account of de la Bastie's death in which the conduct of Sir Davie of Wedderburn and the other Humes is pictured in a less favorable light:

As Bawtie fled frae the Langton Tower
Wi' his troop alang the way,
By the Corney-Foord ane auld man stood,
And to him did Bawtie say:—

"Pr'ythee tell unto me, thou weird auld man,
Whilk name this foord doth bear,"
"Tis the Corney-Foord," quoth the weird auld man,
"And thou'lt cross it alive nae mair."

"Gin this be the Corney-Foord indeed,
The Lord's grace bide wi' me!
For I'll ne'er get hame to mine ain dear land,
That lies sweet owre the sea.

"For I was tauld by a seer auld,
That when I did cross this foord,
My hours were numbered ilka ane,
And I'd fa' aneath the sword."

"Then ride thee fast, thou knight sae braw,"
The auld man now did say,
"Thou'rt safe gin thou can'st reach Dunbar
Afore the gloamin's grey."

Then Bawtie fled wi' furious speed
Away like the wintry wind;
But the fiery Hume and his savage band,
Hard pressed him on behind.

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'Mang the lang green broom on the Stany-muir
Some fell, and some were slain;
But Bawtie spurred on wi' hot hot speed,
The Lammermuir hills to gain.
Syne doon the hill to the east of Dunse,
He rade right furiouslie,
Till near the house o' auld Cramecrook
Deep lair'd in a bog was he.
Then fiery Hume wi' a shout and yell
Cried, "Bawtie, I'll hae ye now!"
As his steed sunk doon i' the quiverin' marsh
Where the white bog reeds did grow.
And the men o' Merse around him ran
Wi' their land spears glentin' gay;
Grim Wedderburn wi' fury wild
Rushed on to the bluidy fray.
The fray was sharp and soon was past,
And some faces there lay pale,
And the herd-boy stood on the hill aghast
At the slaughterin' in the dale.
Their weapons guid were stained wi' the bluid
O' the wairden and his men;
Grim Hume hewed off young Bawtie's head,
And left his bouk i' the fen!
They stripped the knight o' his broidered vest,
Eke his helmet and his mail;
Syne they shroudless laid him doon to his rest,
Where strife shall nae mair assail.
Then light and gay the Humes returned,
Wi' brave Bawtie's head on a spear!
Whilk their chieftain tied to his saddle bow,
By its lang, lang flowin' hair!
And they've set his head on the towerin' wa's
O' the castle o' Hume sae high,
To moulder there i' the sun and wind,
Till mony lang years gae by!
The leddies o' France may wail and mourn,
May wail and mourn fu' sair,
For the bonnie Bawtie's lang brown locks,
They'll ne'er see waivin' mair.
(Carr's *History of Coldingham Priory*, 199-202.)

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Here again we have the reference to the exposure of de la Bastie's head on Hume Castle. The introduction of the seer to warn the French knight of his doom is interesting, and it is strange that he does not appear in the Kentucky ballad. Supernatural beings are very common in the songs of the mountain folk of Kentucky.

The last lines of the above ballad, containing reference to the sorrow of the ladies at the loss of de la Bastie with his "lang brown locks," would seem to resemble the second Kentucky version of de la Bastie's story, from which we learn that his "lang hair and fair face maked leddies undutiful." Ladies of today may wonder that their predecessors of a few centuries ago were so affected!

Effect of de la Bastie's Death—Perhaps the Sieur in the end got no more than his deserts, or at least no more than he may frequently have dealt out to others. He came of a stock famed in France for cruelty and oppression; and the peasants around Allevard, in the Savoie—where stand the fragments of what was once his ancestral home—still tell of that dreadful night when Messire Satan himself was seen to take his stand on the loftiest battlement of the castle. And they relate how then the walls rocked and swayed and with a hideous crash toppled to the ground. Perhaps it was this very catastrophe which sent the "Bonnie Bawtie" to Scotland. (Lang's *Highways and Byways in the Border*, p. 21.)

The death of de la Bastie created general excitement, not only in Scotland, but throughout Europe generally. Francis I, King of France, dispatched Alan Stewart, who had been captain of Milan under d'Aubigny, and afterwards became keeper of Dumbarton Castle, to demand satisfaction. Even Lord Dacre, though suspected of complicity with the Humes, and whose life was spent in bloodshed, expressed horror—though he informed Cardinal Wolsey in a letter that it was the result of a chance-medley. The Scottish Estates assured Francis that no death since that of James IV had caused more displeasure. Beaton, the Chancellor; Forman, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and the Earl of Arran all wrote to the same purpose.

The impression which the murder of the gallant La Bastie made on the country is reflected to a considerable extent in the [Lord High Treasurer's] Accounts. In the first place there is an entry of his death, fixing the exact date, unconnected with any item of expenditure,

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which is a very unusual occurrence in these Accounts. "The xvij day of September obiit Labastye." The tidings did not take long to reach the capital, and on the 20th September letters were sent out to the prelates, peers, and commissioners of burghs, summoning them to compear in Edinburgh with all diligence. Arran [James Hamilton, second Lord Hamilton, who was created Earl of Arran, 1503] was appointed Warden of the Marches in succession to La Bastie, much to the indignation of Angus [Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl, Wedderburn's brother-in-law] who had expected the office. A council of nobles was called for the sixteenth of October, and on that day letters were sent out summoning Parliament to meet on 18th February. On 26th December Hume of Wedderburn and those who had aided him in the murder of La Bastie were served with summonses of treason, and measures were taken to assure the attendance of witnesses of the deed. When Parliament met, sentence of forfeiture was passed on all who had been concerned in the murder, and Arran prepared to assemble a powerful force for a raid on the Merse. The array was appointed to meet him at Lauder on the 21st March, and messengers were sent through the neighboring counties to requisition oxen for the transport of the artillery. There seem to have been two raids, one lasting nine days and the other seven; probably these mean separate expeditions, starting from Lauder against Hume Castle in the one instance, and Langton and Wedderburn in the other. . . .

The result of the raid is a matter of history. While the Castles and mansions of the Humes were given up to Arran, the principal malefactors themselves fled to England and ultimately recovered their possessions when the party of Angus became dominant in the country. (*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, V, intro. p. 50.)

De la Bastie left a son, Jean Arces de la Bastie, to continue his line, fulfilling the motto of his house: "*Le Buis est vert, mais les feuilles sont arcès*"—"The wood is green but the leaves are burnt." His grandson, inheriting the passion for the duel, killed a German, Schomberg, in single combat in the reign of Henry III, one of the first in which the seconds fought. He himself met the same fate at Blois in 1581 (Mackay).

Arran and the council were perhaps well pleased to get rid of de la Bastie, who acted as a sort of deputy to Albany. Soon after the assassination, the Dowager Queen wrote to Dacre for the return of David Hume. When he expressed his surprise at the request, she said that while de la Bastie lived the Humes could obtain no favour in Scot-

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land. David Hume of Wedderburn had married the sister of the Earl of Angus, the Queen's second husband. (Leslie, 388-89.)

On 21 July, 1521, when Angus had acquired possession of Edinburgh, after having defeated Arran and the other Hamiltons in the fight of "Cleanse the Causeway," a party of the Humes came there headed by George Hume, brother of Alexander, Lord Hume, and David Hume of Wedderburn, and took down the heads of Lord Hume and his brother William, from the Tolbooth where they had stood since their execution in 1516. On 25 July they were buried with solemn obsequies in the graveyard of the Black Friars.

In *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the fourth till the year MDLXXV*, a manuscript in possession of Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Bt., published by the Maitland Club, 1833, there is this entry:

Vpoune the aucht day of October the said Alex^r lord Home chancellars foirsaid, was beheidit in Edinburghe, allegait for na vther caus bot suffering the bigging of Norhame. And the nynt day of the samyne moneth, the said Mr. Williame Home was beheidit in presence of the governour [Albany]

Vpoun the tuantie day of Julij the zeir of God j^mv^e and xxj [1521] zeiris, Archibald erle of Angus came to Edinburghe, and thair causit tak af the tolbuith thairof my lord Homes heid and his broderis, and deliuerit thame to George Home, and Daudid Home of Wedderburne, than at the horn; and within twa dais thereafter he brocht in the said George and Daudid Home in Edinburghe, quhair thaj remainit thre dayis (p. 7).

The Death of Wedderburn—Godscroft thus takes up the threads of the story: "Wedderburn then repaired to the castle of Edrington, on the borders of the lands belonging to the town of Berwick, the Governor of which had married Wedderburn's sister; and he remained there all the time of his banishment, with little less power than he had at home, no one venturing to leave the country without his leave. . . . The Governor, Albany, who was still in France, granted a pardon to David and his brothers and uncle; David repaid the favor by rendering the Governor effective assistance in his expedition into England, and stood by him when all other Scots deserted him, upon

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which occasion the King granted him the reward of an augmentation to his arms" (Godscroft).*

In 1524, two years afterwards, he was killed fighting against the English, for says Godscroft, "He was a staunch hater of the English, and nothing would ever induce him to make friends with them to save his property from plunder."

The "Aristocrat's" Visit to Wedderburn Castle—In a clever but inveterate and at times scurrilous book, *The Memoirs of an Aristocrat*, published in London in 1838, by Lieutenant George Home, R. N., who signed himself "A Midshipman of the Bellerophon," we have an amusing account of his visit to Wedderburn Castle in 1809 to see the martial relics of the family from which he sprang.

On the second day of my visit, we had dined in tolerable comfort, and the factor's son was desired to conduct me to the armory, a room in the old house of Wedderburn, where was deposited the warlike accoutrements of the ancient Barons, with the blood-stained banners which they had borne through many a hard fought field (for this I had been burning), and permission was no sooner granted, than I navigated my way through the long narrow passages, and in a few minutes stood in the hall, surrounded by the armour, swords, pikes and spears, which had covered or been wielded by the warlike race whose blood filled my veins. . . .

The walls of the large low roofed gloomy apartment were hung round with portraits of many of the old family, in whose lineaments I thought I could trace a resemblance to my own. Here hung the coats of mail worn by Sir David and his seven sons at the bloody and disastrous field of Flodden; that generation was designed the Seven Spears of Wedderburn, all the sons having followed the profession of arms, and all of them rushed to that fatal field, where the flower of Scotland was cut down like grass before the mower. Sir David and his heir fell by the King's side, but their bodies were carried off the field by their faithful vassals; and hence their armor adorned the old hall, in the same group with the rest of the Seven Spears: there hung the panoply of the fierce Sir David, the murderer of the Count de Beautie, and the very sword with which he pierced him to the heart; beside which hung the arms of the ill-fated Frenchman, which had

*The augmentation consisted in the assignment of the head of one of the unicorn supporters of the Scottish Royal arms, to Wedderburn as a crest, together with the motto: *Remember*. At the same time the King presented him with a gold chain from his own person. This took place at the siege of the Castle of Wark.

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been carried to Wedderburn after the bloody deed. Wherever I turned my eyes, they encountered objects that recalled to my boyish mind our former power. In a large oaken chest was carefully deposited the banners that had been borne at Flodden, at Pinky and Dunbar, still bearing the blood stains of the dead chieftains who fell at those battles, whose dead bodies had been wrapped in them, after they were carried from the field of strife. (Pp. 109-11.)

In the same book the author recounts a conversation, as they drove along the road in the county of Berwick, with a physician who was familiar with the history of the "Aristocrat's" family and the places of interest in such connection:

"Now, twa or three minutes will bring us to the spot where one of the grimmest of your grim race (for ye are arrent deevils when meddled wi'), achieved a grand exploit; yonder stands the auld tour o' Langton, before the gate of which Sir Andrew Darcey, nicknamed the Count of Beauty, appeared to claim his ward; when, descending from yon rising ground, came your ferocious ancestor, the bloody Sir David, as he is styled in history, wi' a mounted troop o' his vassals, or *deevils* ahint him, for atweel, in thae days, they war as like deevils as men, and a bloody fray soon took place between the Frenchmen and the border lowns. Baith sides fought like heroes; but the puir Frenchmen were soon overpowered wi' numbers, and the brave Count of Beauty betook him to flight, while your savage ancestor pressed upon him (for there was ne'er muckle mercy in the breast o' ane o' ye, when fairly roused), along this very spot, they passed at full gallop, the pursued, and the bloody pursuer, with his sword uplifted, ready to cleave him to the teeth. The flight continued for five miles; and they say the Frenchman would have escaped, but as they flew down the Stany Muir, his horse fell, and in a moment Sir David's sword was in his heart.

Now, what think ye o' that, my young man; I see ye're thinkin' there was nae great ill in't, an' nae doubt it wull hae been instilled into you to admire sic doins; but, thank God, we live in quieter times. . . . Before ye leave the country, laddie, ye maun slip down to the head o' the Stany Moor, and get a look o' the bonny Frenchman's grave; it's no far frae Whiteadder Brig, in the middle o' a bit belt o' plantin, an' weil kent to a' the country fold as 'Batty's Grave'; and there ye'll see a specimen o' your ancestor's handiwork." (Pp. 93-95.)

All this made a deep impression on the youthful mind of George Home, who was then in his early 'teens, so that that night he lived through the stirring times of his stern ancestor, Sir Davy.

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To bed I betook me in the White Swan in the month of April (the fool's month), 1809, and, instead of sleeping like a top, I started and kicked, and dreamed the night through. . . . My mind reverted to the grim Sir David, covered with iron panoply, fiercely pressing upon the Count de Beautie, the blood-stained earth covered with the dead and dying, the clash of arms and savage voices of the warriors of the olden times, the flight and wild halloo as the Baron and his followers darted off, like as many fiends let loose from the slips, after the object of their deadly revenge; the gallant bearing of the Frenchman, even in flight from such fearful odds—"away, away, for life he rides"—but his death is doomed, down goes his horse, and down rolls its noble rider, and, the next instant, I see the murderous weapon of the ferocious Sir David thrust through his heart; "off with his head," cries the Chief of Wedderburn to his henchmen, now come up; the bloody mandate was obeyed, and, ere the life's blood of the unhappy Count de Beautie had time to pour through the ghastly wound of Sir David's sword, his streaming head was suspended by the long fair hair to the saddle-bow of the grim Chief of Wedderburn—"so perish," cries Sir David, "every intruder upon the rights of the House of Hume," "Gloriously done, my noble Chief," shouts I, "so perish"—"Oh Lord, my nose!" cries a female voice, "I believe you've broken the very bain o't." Here I awoke, and found myself in a fighting attitude, with every stitch of the clothes kicked over the bed and a servant girl standing close by with both hands upon her face, from whence the blood was rapidly streaming. Having forgot entirely where I was, I stared wildly round me, and exclaimed, "good God, what means all this!"—"Aye, my certy, ye may ask that, for first briken the brig o' ma nose; ye're surely no right, ye left word to be waukened at seven o'clock, an' a juist cam' to the room door to sae, when I heard ye makin' an awfu' speakin' an' noise, an' rumlin', sae a juist cam' forit to the bed, an' there hae ye al' the claes kickit aff ye, an' yer right hand gaun like a man sawin' corn, sae I thinks, 'deil tak' the daft laddie, he's ather dreamin or crazed, but a'll wauken him'—weil, juist as I pat ma hand on yer shouther to gie ye a bit punch, a gets a thump on the nose that made the fire flee frae ma een like twa caun'les, an' ye roars out, 'gloriously done my noble Chief, sae perish,' an' than begins to stare aboot ye an' asks me what a' this means, as if a had been med-dlin' wi' you an' no you wi' me—'sae perish,' my faith, a think ye've perished ma nose, but ye're a guid like crater after a', an' maybe ye was dreamin', hae, there's the key o' the door, pit it doun ma back, an' that 'll maybe stop the bluidin', an' a'll say nae mair aboot it." (Pp. 97-99).

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Site of de la Bastie's Grave—Naturally in a study of the slaughter of de la Bastie one must fix the date and place. It is strange that this is so difficult. 19 September, 1517, is the date usually given by Scottish historians, but Hume of Godscroft places it on 20 September. In the more authentic source of the *Treasurer's Accounts of Scotland*, as quoted in the appendix to Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, the date is definitely fixed as 17 September (Cf. also, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, XIV, intro., cxlii).

The place of de la Bastie's death is pretty well indicated in the accounts already quoted, but melancholy interest attaches to the place of his burial.

Writing in 1836, Dr. Alexander Allan Carr relates that "The spot where the unfortunate Warden de la Beauté was slain by Sir David Home, is on the farm of Swallowdean, a mile or two east from Dunse, and is still distinguished by a moss-covered stone. It is called by the people in the neighbourhood—'Bawties grave.'" (*History of Coldingham Priory*, 199).

Some sixty years ago George Muirhead, F. R. S. Ed., made a search for the site of de la Bastie's grave. "I found," writes he, "there was a field on the Farm of Swallowdean, called the 'De la Bate,' but I could get no information as to the exact site of the grave, although I carefully examined the ground in the 'De la Bate' field and its vicinity, and made numerous enquiries amongst old residents in the neighbourhood. An old man who lived at Ladywell told me that he remembered of a cairn of stones for repairing the parish roads. Dr. Stuart of Chirnside has told me that he has some recollection of seeing the cairn referred to, shortly after he came to reside in the county in 1848." (*History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1887-89, III.)

Muirhead quotes a letter from the late Major (then Captain) George John Ninian Logan Home of Broomhouse (1855-1936), who was the head of the Homes (now Logan-Homes) of Broomhouse, descendants of Patrick Home of Broomhouse, one of the "Seven Spears of Wedderburn," and therefore a brother of Sir David Home of Wedderburn who slew de la Bastie. It may be added that, according to Godscroft, it was Patrick Home of Broomhouse and John Home of Blackadder (ancestor of the Homes of Blackadder, Bar-

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onets) who actually slew de la Bastie after he had been wounded by Wedderburn's page. Of course, in an affair of that kind it matters little who struck the fatal blow. Wedderburn must receive whatever blame attaches to the deed.

Captain Logan-Home's letter is:

21 THE AVENUE, COLCHESTER, 17th May, 1886

My dear Sir:

I have not any old family papers here with me, all I have being locked up at Broomhouse or in Edinburgh. I have written to my mother regarding any old diaries or notes of which she may remember, and also about de la Beauté's grave. I inclose a copy of an inscription evidently intended to be placed on a pillar marking his grave. This memorandum I found in my granduncle, General Home's handwriting. There is no pillar in "De la Bat's" field. The only one is the one at the top of the avenue at the top of the banks, at Broomhouse. This pillar, I have always heard, marks General Home's favourite spot, and here he wished to be buried, I believe, and as far as I know it has nothing to do with de la Beauté. At the end of De la Bat's field, there was a morass in which his horse stuck fast. I remember the last bit of it being drained 18 or 20 years ago. I also remember, though not distinctly, a heap of stones near a tree standing about the middle of the field. This may have been the Cairn. The only person I know who would remember the Cairn, is Mr. Brown, who was tenant of Swallowdean, the farm on which "De la Bat's" field is situate. He now lives at Auchencraw, and is a very old man, but would no doubt be able to tell you the exact spot.

I remain, yours truly,

G. Logan Home

(COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION)

The Pillar above marks the grave of D'Arcie, sieur de la Beauté, who had marched from Dunbar with some French troops to quell disputes on the Border having been appointed Warden (though a foreigner), to the great disgust of the Borderers. He found Home of Wedderburn, with his clan and other friends, in arms before Langton Castle, in arrangement of a quarrel between the Laird of Langton and his Uncle. Wedderburn accused D'Arcie of having been accessory to the false charges against his chief, Lord Home; angry words produced blows—a battle ensued—those Mersemen who had joined D'Arcie on his march, came over to their countrymen. The French were defeated. D'Arcie flying towards Dunbar, bogged his horse in this morass; being unable to extricate him, he dismounted and fled on foot, of course, was soon overtaken, and fell by the hand of John

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Home, Wedderburn's brother. Wedderburn ordered his head to be struck off, which, attached to his saddle, he carried to Home Castle and fixed on the battlements.

Patrick Home, the Laird of Broomhouse, who was present, ordered the body to be buried, and a Cairn to be raised over the grave. This transaction occurred in the year 1517. The inditer of this testimonial, to the patriotic spirit of his brave countrymen, has, during his boyhood, laid many a stone on "De la Bat's" grave.

R. I. P

On 14 June, 1887, Captain Logan-Home wrote to Mr. Muirhead:

I hope you will succeed in finding out from old Mr. Brown, at Auchencraw, the exact spot where De La Beauté's cairn was. If the spot can be found, I will be very glad to mark it, by placing a stone or pillar there. Stone coffins with skeletons were found in the field to the N.W. of "De la Bat's," but the skeletons all had heads on them. Several skeletons were also found under the old oak tree at Broomhouse.

Having occasion to visit the farm of Sunnyside, near Auchencraw, on the 9th of February, 1887 [continues Muirhead], I met there Mr. Walter Brown, the former tenant of Swallowdean, and his brother, the late Mr. John Brown. They informed me that when they became tenants of Swallowdean, in 1834, a very deep bog extended along the lower part of the "De la Bate," or "Battie's Bog" field, and that, on the northern edge of the morass, there stood a cairn of stones until about 1850, when the bog was drained and the cairn removed. At my request they marked upon the 25 inch Ordnance plan of the parish of Edrom, the site of the cairn.

John Williamson, bookseller, Duns, who had long been interested in the story of De la Bastie's death, confirmed the site marked on the map by Walter and John Brown, saying that he remembered the cairn, and was sure of the spot where it had stood.

A stone column was erected to mark the site, by order of Major Logan-Home, as a result of Mr. Muirhead's investigations. I visited it in April, 1937, in company with Mrs. Home-Robertson of Wedderburn, and made the following copy of the inscription, which is somewhat different from that above quoted:

In Memory of
ANTOINE DARCIE
Seigneur de la Bastie
A French knight who had been
appointed Warden of the Marches

THE SLAUGHTER OF DE LA BASTIE

Instead of Lord Home treacherously
beheaded in Edinburgh.
De la Bastie and his troops met
Home of Wedderburn and his clan
near Langton and Home accused
him of being accessory to the
slaughter of his chief. A fight
ensued the French being defeated
and de la Bastie slain and buried
at this spot and a cairn raised
over the grave by order of
Patrick Home of Broomhouse A D 1517
R. I. P.

Godscroft, whose Latin verse won the praise of Buchanan, the *facile princeps* of modern Scottish Latin poets, concludes his story of his grandfather's deed of violence in the following lines:

Externi juga servitii dum Bautius urget
Exterus; idque sedens plebsque patresque fremunt
Amissum decus imperii, vilesce gentem,
Virtutem priscos et cecidisse animos;
Agmine turgentemque, irasque minasque vometem
(Ingressu parva, praelia magna manu)
Et verti, et vici, et fudi; cædemque piavi
Cæde illa, et manes, Humie magne, tuos;
Patria, quid debes mihi, quid domus Humia, vestri
Arbitrii; non est dicere velle meum.

What are we to think of the de la Bastie tragedy viewed from the magnificent vantage point of four and a quarter centuries? Are we to believe that a *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* was done to death by a party of half-civilized Scottish Borderers through a deep-laid plot? Or was Sir Davy a sort of national hero, avenging with blood the blood of his chief and near kinsman, and ridding the country of an unwanted foreign petty tyrant? The truth doubtless lies somewhere between these two extremes. Whatever we may conclude must be in the light, as nearly as we are given to see it, of the stern days of old. Doubtless the knight of Dauphiné was a brave man, but he played a game in which life was the forfeit. *Le Mort a tort et le battu paye l'amende.*

So in ballads the story passes on to singers yet unborn, on the western, as well as the eastern, shores of the ocean.

Some Eighteenth Century Portrait Painters in the Southern Colonies

BY MARGARET GALLAWAY, LIBRARY ASSISTANT,
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EVERYONE knows that "Rhett" is a distinguished South Carolina name, but perhaps few are aware that "Scarlett" was an early artist of Charleston, who made portraits of the noted Lynch family.

The initial portrait painted in the North American Colonies is said to be a likeness of Richard Bellingham, a colonial governor of Massachusetts, done by William Reed at Boston in the year 1614. However, several decades previous to that time, the first English artist to set foot on our soil was painting down at Roanoke. I refer to John White, who came with Raleigh's second expedition, was appointed governor of the Roanoke settlement in 1587, and fathered the famous "Lost Colony." This artist made, in all, five trips to America. The water-color sketches of the terrain, the colonials, and the natives that John White painted are very interesting items still preserved in the British Museum.

The colonial nucleus of the Southern Colonies being essentially an English population, these provincials derived their artistic standards from the Mother Country. Since the sixteenth century, oil portraiture had been the favorite form of creative art in England, and the first pictures brought to the South Atlantic Colonies, as well as the first ones painted in those regions, were portraits in oil.

Two or three generations of southern colonists crossed the ocean to sit for the master artists of England before portrait painters became available nearer home. Ralph Izard patronized Sir Joshua Reynolds (who asked twenty-five guineas for a bust portrait or one hundred guineas for a full-length picture). Peter Manigault posed to Ramsey, the London court painter. Sir Godfrey Kneller's lovely representation of fair Evelyn Byrd adorned both "Westover" and "Brandon."



COL. WILLIAM BYRD, 2d, AS PORTRAYED
BY CHARLES BRIDGES IN 1735.



JOHN (JACK) AND MARTHA (PATSY)
PARKE CUSTIS, CHILDREN OF MRS.
MARTHA DANDRIDGE CUSTIS, LATER
MRS. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Portrait painted by John Woolaston.



SUZANNA FITZHUGH, WIFE OF COL. WIL-
LIAM KNOX. THIS PORTRAIT IS AT-
TRIBUTED TO JOHN DURAND.

SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PORTRAIT PAINTERS

Charles Knowles Bolton asserts that Huguenot families of South Carolina "preserved more portraits in proportion to their number than any other race." Henrietta Johnson—or "Johnston"—did her part in delineating this class and other elements of Carolina society. She made portraits of the Ravenel and Prioleau families that are extant. Another specimen of her quaint, rather drab painting is a likeness of "Captain Bolling," often called "an unidentified emigrant," who was in all probability Edward Bolling, born in 1687. Miss Johnson's portrait of Colonel William Rhett hangs in the Gibbes Memorial Museum, Charleston. Although her medium was not oil but pastel, Henrietta Johnson merits mention here because she was the first southern artist of consequence. Her work dated from 1709.

As the South Atlantic colonials prospered portrait painters of varying ability and training began to migrate south, while foreign and native artists also offered their services as effigy makers. In the year 1738 the *South Carolina Gazette* carried the following announcement: "Portrait painting & Engraving, Heraldry & House Painting are undertaken and performed expeditiously in good manner at the lowest rates by B. Roberts." In the same periodical under date of May 29, 1767, we read that there died at Charleston one "Mr. Warnell, Sr., a noted limner," who is said to have painted portraits.

Inasmuch as the first art of any new region is of necessity utilitarian, these early makers of effigies could not rely altogether upon painting portraits for a living, but had to combine the æsthetic with the practical.

More fortunate, or perhaps more persistent, than some of his competitors was Jeremiah Theüs, a Swiss, who arrived at Charleston in 1739. This gentleman soon commanded a good livelihood from portraiture. He maintained a "painting room" on Market Square, "where all gentlemen and ladies might have their pictures drawn." He was, further, "willing to wait on them at their respective plantations," a practice, made necessary by the difficulties and weariness of travel, that continued from colonial times through the *ante-bellum* period.

A few of the many individuals whom Theüs painted were Mrs. Thomas Cordes, the former Ann Ravenel; Gabriel Manigault and his wife, *née* Ann Ashby (her diary showing that she sat for her por-

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trait April 14 and April 22, 1757); Jacobe Motte. An old receipt reads:

Mar. 15th 1756

Received then of Mr. Richard Baker y^e Sum of Thirty pounds it being in full for painting a his Picture

P^d. JER^H. THEÜS.

This artist drew well and his coloring was excellent. He was very successful in the treatment of fabrics—scarcely second in this respect to Sully. As contrasted with contemporary portraitists, Theüs paid slight heed to *hands*, presumably because he lacked confidence in his ability to portray these members. He possessed the knack of satisfying a sitter without flattering him or her; yet he was not particularly skillful in characterization. An array of Theüs' portraits, some critics have declared, would give the impression that all Carolinians of his day resembled one another.

In the *South Carolina Gazette* of Monday, May 16, 1774, we read: "On Wednesday last died, a very ingenious and honest man, Mr. Jeremiah Theüs, who had followed the business of Portrait painter here upwards of thirty years."

Meanwhile, in the 1730's, a portraitist named Charles Bridges appeared in Virginia. Records of Caroline County for October, 1740, show that the county ordered the sale of one thousand six hundred pounds of tobacco that the proceeds might be employed to remunerate this artist for "drawing the King's Arms," which were framed and hung in the court room.

Of this painter Bridges, Colonel William Byrd wrote to his friend, Governor Alexander Spotswood, December 30, 1735, as follows: "The person who has the honour to wait upon you, with this letter, is a man of good Family, but either by the Frowns of Fortune, or his own mismanagement, is obliged to seek his Bread, a little of the latest in a Strange Land. His name is Bridges, & his Profession is Painting, and if you have Employment for him in that way, he will be proud of obeying your commands. He has drawn my children & several others in the neighborhood, & tho he have not the Modeling Hand of a Llily or a Kneller, yet, had he lived so long ago as when places were given to the most Deserving, he might have pretended to be the serjeant painter of Virginia." Byrd was a connoisseur of art, who when a young man had sat to Kneller.

SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PORTRAIT PAINTERS

Many canvases that Bridges painted have been attributed to that English artist, under whom he probably studied. It is believed that Charles Bridges painted the portrait of "Mr. Walthoe," about which there is this interesting tradition: Nathaniel Walthoe, Clerk of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1744, had himself pictured in his three-cornered hat, and he gave Colonel Byrd a diamond ring on condition that Byrd would hang the painting at his home in the same room with the portraits of Byrd's several English noblemen friends so that he, Walthoe, "might show his republican contempt by wearing his hat in their presence." Some portraits identified as the work of Bridges are those of Mann Page, 2d, and his first wife Alice Grymes Page, of "Rosewell"; President Lewis Burwell of the Virginia Council; Colonel Matthew Page; the children of Phillip Grymes; Colonel Edward Hill, 3d, of "Shirley."

An attractive specimen of Bridges' portraiture is a picture of Evelyn Taylor Byrd acquired in recent years by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This bears a certain earmark of the artist that is rarely wanting in his portraits of women . . . a lock of hair posed on or about the shoulder. To quote a bulletin of the museum, this picture reveals "hands carefully drawn with a definite attempt to express bony structure and modeling by means of light and shadow. . . . "The painting, as such, presents smoothness of texture where most Virginia portraits of the time are dry and crumbly, while the rendering of silks and satins in Bridges' portraits is easy and accomplished with large folds well arranged." A comely painting of Mary Bolling, wife of Colonel John Fleming, Sr., posed with a long curl on her right shoulder, we surmise to be another example of the feminine portrayals of Charles Bridges.

With the mid 1700s portraiture in the Southern Colonies began to flourish, and its popularity lasted for a hundred years—well into *ante-bellum* times. Charleston was an important center of portrait painting, resident and visiting artists making it their headquarters. Baltimore, Richmond, and Savannah were likewise cultural points where portraitists plied their art, journeying in season farther south and west. Simultaneously, New Orleans was a well defined center of Creole painting activity, with a few Spanish and several French artists engaged in portraiture.

SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PORTRAIT PAINTERS

The honor of establishing the art of painting in the American Colonies belongs perhaps to Gustavus Hesselius, a Swede, who arrived in Delaware in the year 1711. The art annals of colonial and early republic times comprise three outstanding families of painters; namely, Hesselius, Earle, and Peale. The Hesselius clan were noted for their intellectuality and piety as well as for their artistic aptitudes. Gustavus Hesselius followed portrait painting in Maryland during his residence there from 1720 to 1733. His was the distinction of producing the first group picture painted in the Colonies, an altar piece depicting the Saviour and the Apostles, which he made for the Church of St. Barnabas, Queen Anne's Parish, Maryland. To cite merely one specimen of his portraiture, his painting of Anne Galloway, daughter of the celebrated loyalist, later Mrs. Joseph Pendleton, affords proof that Gustavus Hesselius had a pronounced talent for painting personality.

When the elder Hesselius turned to organ building his son John succeeded him in portrait painting. The younger Hesselius was born in Maryland (in 1728). He married a lady of wealth and high social prestige, and resided at her home "Bellefield," near Annapolis. Even after acquiring financial ease John Hesselius pursued his painting career with commendable diligence and much success. Although less gifted than his father, he was a careful craftsman. His portraits are easily identified because he wrote on the back of each canvas in large clear letters his name, that of the subject, and the date of the sitting.

Among the paintings of John Hesselius may be mentioned a likeness of Captain Henry Fitzhugh, "son of the emigrant," and one of his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Captain Francis Conway. This artist painted likenesses of George Mason, "of Stafford Co., Va.," and his wife, Anne Eilbeck, "of Charles Co., Md.," soon after this couple were married in the year 1750. The twenty-five-year-old groom appears a personable gentleman in a white wig and with ruffles falling over a well-shaped hand thrust through an opening in his embroidered waistcoat. The dainty sixteen-year-old bride is auburn-haired and fair of skin, with small, delicate features. These Mason portraits were painted on bedticking woven at the Mason home "Dogue's Neck." The likeness of George Mason, who is known to us as the author of important documents in colonial history, was burned, but

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a copy of it is to be seen in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society.

John Hesselius tended to paint ladies as "almond eyed," and this trait is noticeable also in the London-born John Woolaston, who painted at Philadelphia, in Maryland, and in Virginia. One of Woolaston's first commissions after he came to America was to make a portrait of Mrs. Martha Dandridge Custis in 1757. This painting represents the future First Lady as a matron of twenty-five years. It is probable that Woolaston made another portrait of Mrs. Custis at the same time that he painted an excellent likeness of her husband, Daniel Parke Custis, shortly before the latter's death. A few other Virginians whom this artist portrayed were Peyton Randolph, the first president of the Continental Congress, and his wife, Elizabeth ("Bettie") Harrison Randolph; Mr. and Mrs. Warner Lewis and their children; Mrs. Page Mann (*née* Judith Carter); "Speaker" John Robinson; Thomas Mann Randolph.

When Woolaston was living at Annapolis he gave art instruction to Charles Wilson Peale, for which he received—a saddle. C. W. Peale, we are told, "did for Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia what Copley did for Massachusetts." During the absence abroad of West and Copley, or from about 1775 to 1794, Peale was the principal portaitist in the Colonies. (Critics have said that he overcame a fault that he learned from the master Copley; namely, painting a deep shadow on one side of the face to accent the features.)

C. W. Peale's pictures of George Washington are well known and among the most lifelike ones of Washington ever painted. The quality of naturalness in portraiture comes easier to a painter if he knows his sitter personally. Charles Peale was often closely associated with his commander-in-chief, particularly during the Trenton campaign. Peale took his brushes and easel along with his musket and powder into the ranks of the patriot army, and as another soldier put it, "he fit and painted and painted and fit." During the tedious inactive days at Valley Forge, it is said, he made many miniatures of his associates.

Besides Washington, other notable southerners whom Charles Peale portrayed were Richard Henry Lee, Peyton Randolph, Benjamin Harrison (the Governor), and John Cropper. One of the most engaging paintings made by this artist is that of Selim, a Moslem who

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was befriended by several Virginia families. Governor John Page took this Oriental with him when he went to Congress at Philadelphia in 1790, and there he had C. W. Peale paint Selim's portrait. This picturesque canvas hung for years at "Rosewell" alongside the likenesses of "stately dames, warriors, and courtiers."

Peale "had a theory—drawn no doubt from his own experience—that anyone could learn to paint, in pursuance of which he strove to make painters of his relatives and succeeded rather well with several of them." He encouraged his brother James to leave off saddle making for portrait painting. Although more celebrated for his oil likenesses, James Peale left some very good portraits on canvas. It is likely that he studied not only under his brother Charles, but also under his father-in-law, James Claypole, the artist.

One August morning James Peale arrived at Mt. Vernon, where he was to begin a portrait of Mrs. Washington. He was late. Martha Washington greeted him with this comment: "Mr. Peale, I have been in the kitchen to give my orders for the day; I have read the newspapers and have heard my niece give her lesson on the harp; yet have I waited for you twenty minutes." The confused artist sought excuse with words to the effect that he had supposed a lady would need more time than the hour set for the appointment would have allowed his patron, but Mrs. Washington made quick reply, "Sir, I am as punctual as the General."

Charles Peale's son Rembrandt was only seventeen when he painted a portrait of President Washington at Philadelphia in 1795. Here is what the youthful artist wrote about this occasion: "Washington sat to my father and me together for the portrait desired by M. de Saussure (Henry William de Saussure, of Charleston). He gave us three sittings from 7 to 10 in the morning and by that means I had the opportunity of seeing him with his hair arranged in a more natural manner than after the barber had arranged it in fashion later in the day. Washington shaved himself before coming to me, and when the powder was brushed from his whiskers and in front of his ears, the dark brown showed beneath." Rembrandt Peale made two paintings of these sittings: the first was destroyed during the War of 1812; the second is displayed today in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

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Toward the close of the century Rembrandt Peale was joined in his portrait work by his brother Raphael Peale. These two artists painted at Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah.

Previously, between 1770 and 1783, John Durand did considerable portrait painting in Virginia. His extant canvases remain today comparatively uncracked, due in part at least to good workmanship. The critic Frederick Fairchild remarks of this artist Durand: "The variety and definiteness of character in his faces constitute the chief claim of his portraits to our consideration." One notes in Durand's paintings a naturalness of pose, also fine portrayal of flesh tints. Durand seems to have favored for his women sitters a corsage bouquet caressed by the right hand, or a necklace of pearls. As a fair specimen of his portraiture may be mentioned the likeness of Marianna Mayo, who became Mrs. Nathan Anderson Sherman. She was the granddaughter of Major William Mayo, a founder, so to speak, of Richmond and Petersburg.

At the turn of the eighteenth century there was not in all America an artist who was better trained than Henry Benbridge. He had studied in Italy and Germany as well as at London. The influence of the Italian school is quite evident in his early portraits, with their brownish tones and opaque shadows. There is good reason to believe that Benbridge was either a pupil or an admirer of Woolaston's. "An ingenious artist and agreeable companion whose merit in the art must have great encouragement and much esteem," wrote Benjamin West, of Benbridge, who was, by the way, a cousin of Mrs. West. Benbridge came to Charleston from his native Philadelphia about 1772 in search of relief from asthma. During his residence in Carolina he gained ready recognition as the master portraitist of that section, thus fulfilling the prediction of the kindly West.

Another meritorious portrait painter at Charleston in the 1790's was James Earle, brother of the gifted New Englander, Ralph Earle, and uncle of another artist, R. E. W. Earl, the nineteenth century portrait painter. Among prominent persons who sat for their portraits to James Earle were the Rev. Robert Smith, Bishop of South Carolina; Edward Rutledge; Major Coatesworth Pinckney; Nellie Custis Lewis; and her husband, Lawrence Lewis. James Earle had an individual manner of painting and a rare ability in character por-

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trayal. His brilliant career was most lamentably cut off by death of yellow fever as he was on the eve of bringing his family from England to reside at Charleston.

In some respects the work of this artist resembles the photographs of a later era rather than the stereotyped oil portraits of his contemporaries. Most of these eighteenth century painters produced pictures done more or less "in the grand manner" with emphasis upon formality. Their portraits were, as a rule, traditional in both composition and pose. The customary setting for a figure was against a background—often detailed—of draperies or landscape. A man usually posed in front of bookcases or before a massive table on which lay a voluminous book or an open scroll—a token of impressive intellectuality. (Here I am reminded that when James Henry Beard, of Ohio, an artist of a later age, began painting portraits, he charged only five dollars for a head, but asked fifteen dollars for any figure with the hand holding a book. Indeed *Horace* or *Plato* came high on canvas!) The decorative was admired—a bright bird or posy. Children were shown with their pets introduced as attractive objects. Some artists charged double for the portrait of a child. If "Rhett Butler" had resided in Charleston one hundred years before he lived in Atlanta he would have had to pay a handsome sum for a painting of "Bonnie" and her pony.

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The Frontier Intrigues of Citizen Genet

BY WILLIAM F. KELLER, LITT. M., M. A., ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA

I

N April, 1793, Edmond Charles Genet,¹ the new envoy from republican France, arrived in the United States. He carried with him an amazing set of instructions from his government. He was not merely to be a minister commissioned from France to the United States, but also a representative exchanged between the two peoples. He thus became an agent for propagating revolutionary ideas. His duties were unlimited, but he must prosecute them zealously. The Americans, of course, would coöperate heartily with him. He must secure the support of the Francophiles—especially their leaders like Thomas Jefferson. Surprisingly, the American Secretary of State had an inkling of Genet's orders. Colonel W. S. Smith, who had left Paris on November 9, 1792, informed him of the Girondist plans. They were sending a new minister to replace M. Jean de Ternant and giving him full powers to offer the United States many commercial privileges in France and particularly in the West Indies. Jefferson made a memorandum that these islands “. . . they even contemplate to set . . . free the next summer; that they propose to emancipate South America, and will send forty-five ships of the line there next spring, and Miranda at the head of the expedition; that they desire our debt to be paid them in provisions, and have authorized him to negotiate this.”² But the scope of Genet's instructions would have astonished him.

Actually, as one writer notes, “All America was” to be “his province.”³ The document bearing Genet's instructions opened with this declaration:

1. The general story of Genet's exploits in America is well known to even school children. This article, however, concerns one of his projects which has received but little attention from the historian.

2. Thomas Jefferson, *The Complete Anas of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Franklin B. Sawvel (New York, 1903), p. 106.

3. Carl Russell Fish, *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1915), p. 96.

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*Le Civisme avec lequel le Citoyen Genet a rempli les différentes missions qui lui ont été confiées et son dévouement connu pour la cause de la liberté et de l'égalité ont déterminé le Conseil exécutif à le nommer Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la République française près le Congrès des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Cette marque de confiance est d'autant plus flatteuse pour le Citoyen Genet que la Nation Française attache un grand prix aux liens qui l'unissent au Peuple Américain. . . .*⁴

He was to disseminate propaganda throughout the United States to strengthen democracy there and to enforce the existing treaties between that country and his own. Two explicit duties—he must stop any arming of privateers in American ports except those destined to aid the French and he must also prevent the reception of all prizes into these ports except the ones captured by France—were to conflict unfortunately with Jefferson's policy of neutrality; but they were logically based on the treaties of 1778.⁵ Genet was ordered, furthermore, to obtain a new treaty which would bind the two democratic countries even closer together than before, seeking

*. . . à affranchir l'Amérique Espagnole, à ouvrir aux habitants du Kentucky la navigation du Mississippi, à délivrer nos anciens frères de la Louisiane du joug tyrannique de l'Espagne, et à réunir peut être à la Constellation Américaine la belle étoile du Canada.*⁶

This scheme was indeed ambitious and, in French opinion, very generous. A supply of blank military and naval commissions were given him to initiate this vast project. If these instructions were followed sincerely by Genet, he chanced involving the United States in serious controversies with both Spain and England. Truly, such orders, as one considers them today, were overly optimistic, for the possibility of ultimate success was slim; and they were exceedingly dangerous, especially when given to a young, impetuous diplomat. Genet was to try to obtain aid from Congress in carrying out this plan; if the American Legislature was slow in acting, he was to prepare the way with intrigues of his own devising. The French foreign minister handed him other instructions, not so startling in their aim, but still quite significant: he was to secure, if possible, a more rapid

4. H. E. Bourne, "Correspondence of George Rogers Clark and Genet, 1793-1794," *American Historical Association, Report*, I (1896), 958.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 964-65.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 960.

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liquidation of the American debt to France; to learn whether the establishment of a line of communication between the two oceans by way of Lake Nicaragua was practical; to use regular diplomatic methods in his official contacts with the American government—with prudence and moderation; to explain the anti-republican attitude of Gouverneur Morris, Minister of the United States to the French; and to assure America that France approved the free navigation of the Mississippi. Such were his formal instructions. His superiors gave him additional advice and furnished him with secret dossiers on influential Americans.⁷

II

Genet landed at Charleston. The populace accorded him a riotous welcome, with the exception of English-minded aristocrats and merchants. He was taken to see the Governor and other dignitaries; they returned his call. For ten days, the citizens feted him—processions, deputations, and banquets. The din made by the bells and guns was terrific. This handsome emissary captured the fancy of America. Toasts to him were unceasing.

Naturally, he was supremely confident; he wasted no time in carrying out his instructions. "He thought of himself as a Roman Proconsul."⁸ He talked first with the Governor of South Carolina, General William Moultrie. A complete confidence, Genet reported to the Foreign Office, was established between "*ce vénérable vétéran, ami sincère de notre révolution*," and himself.⁹ Moultrie gave him encouragement and furnished him with useful information. The Minister immediately dispatched ships with supplies to Santo Domingo; he had timber cut for the French navy, and he armed privateers. Four such ships, the *Republican*, the *Anti-George*, the *Sans Culotte*, and the *Patriot Genet*, were quickly rigged, manned, and put to sea.¹⁰ Charleston was to serve as a base for privateering activities; the French consul, Michael Angelo Mangourit, was to supervise them and to make

7. Meade Minnigerode, *Jefferson, Friend of France, 1793: The Career of Edmond Charles Genet, 1763-1834* (New York, 1928), pp. 150-55.

8. Bernard Fay, *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America: A Study of Moral and Intellectual Relations between France and the United States at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, trans. by Ramon Guthrie (New York, 1927), p. 323.

9. Frederick J. Turner, "Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797," *American Historical Association, Report*, II (1903), 212.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

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plans for an expedition against New Orleans. He knew the country well and was a real patriot.¹¹ "Charleston," in one authority's opinion, "became for some time a sort of revolutionary capital in the southern United States. Men were proud to wear the tri-color cockade and call each other citizen and even don the red liberty caps at banquets."¹²

By now Genet was ready to start north—to Philadelphia. The American government was becoming increasingly irritated by his undiplomatic conduct. He had engaged in a number of enterprises before being officially received by the President. Genet heard rumors of this from his friends, and he learned also that there was considerable doubt whether the treaties would be respected and whether he would even be received with all the *éclat* befitting his rank. For that reason, he decided to make an overland journey to Philadelphia so as "to work up public opinion on the way."¹³ On April 19, he left Charleston.¹⁴

It was a triumphal journey. Genet chose the route north which traversed the region of small farmers who disliked the government's policy of levying an excise. They delighted in displaying their republican sentiments. He crossed South Carolina, North Carolina, and entered Virginia. Messengers preceded his carriage, brought the enthusiastic citizenry out to welcome him. It rained during much of the trip, but it did not lessen their ardor. "*Les bons fermiers Américains*," Genet described them in a report to M. Lebrun, the foreign minister.¹⁵ He stayed under their "*modeste*" roofs and accepted offers of more than six hundred thousand barrels of grain. In a number of persons, he aroused a most fervid enthusiasm for the French cause. "Last night," Edmund Randolph advised Washington from Richmond, "I was informed that an inhabitant of this place expatriated himself, while Mr. Genet was here, and immediately took the oath of a French citizen before him. I shall inquire into this business

11. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

12. Fay, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-34. Cf. (Mrs.) St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, the Place and the People* (New York, 1912), p. 367. The latter is incorrect.

13. Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 213.

14. Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Cf. John Spencer Bassett, *The Federalist System, 1789-1801* (New York, 1906), p. 90. He gives the date of departure as April 18.

15. Genet to Lebrun, May 18, 1793, in Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 215.

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more accurately, but I have little doubt of its truth."¹⁶ This was serious business, but Genet felt sure that the American people backed him. "My plans are a success," he must have thought as his carriage splashed through the red mud of Virginia. Only one discordant note marred the reception he was receiving. News came to him of the Proclamation of Neutrality, announced on April 22. Everybody seemed to damn it, and so he continued on his way happy.

In Philadelphia, partisans of Hamilton and Jefferson awaited him with mixed feelings. The reports of Genet's ovations filtered slowly into the city and alarmed the Federalists. They were disgusted that the masses were showing their republicanism and exerting a powerful influence in public affairs.¹⁷ Jefferson was delighted. "We expect Mr. Genet here within a few days," he wrote Madison. "It seems as if his arrival would furnish occasion for the *people* to testify their affections without respect to the cold caution of their government."¹⁸ There was a rekindling of the spirit of 1776. It would not encourage the Hamiltonians—that was certain. Madison, who was out-of-town, echoed his friend's hope: "I anxiously wish that the reception of Genet may testify what I believe to be the real affections of the people. It is the more desirable as a seasonable plum after the bitter pills which it seems must be administered."¹⁹ He noted with great interest Genet's progress. The Minister passed through Fredericksburg so rapidly that a public dinner intended for him could not be held and "the compliment miscarried"; he dined in George Town; but in Alexandria, he met a cooler reception, for the "fiscal party" proved an "over match" for the more democratic elements.²⁰ Genet, Madison advised Jefferson, must not take ". . . either the fashionable cant of the Cities or the cold caution of the Gov't. for the sense of the public"; and indicated that he was ". . . equally persuaded that nothing but the habit of implicit respect will save the Executive from

16. Randolph to Washington, June 24, 1793, in Moncure Daniel Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph* (New York, 1888), p. 153.

17. Claude Gernade Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton: The Struggle for Democracy in America* (Boston, 1925), p. 218.

18. Jefferson to Madison, April 28, 1793, in Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1892-99), VI, 232.

19. Madison to Jefferson, May 8, 1793, in James Madison, *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. by Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), VI, 127.

20. Madison to Jefferson, May 27, 1793, in *ibid.*, VI, 130.

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blame if thro' the mask of Neutrality, a secret Anglomania should betray itself."²¹ Madison and Jefferson realized the cool reception in store for Genet. Hamilton, in the cabinet meetings, had left no doubt as to his position concerning the French question; and Washington, by his very nature, was inclined to side with him. The Secretary of State hoped the popular clamor would modify the President's attitude.

The capital city was in an uproar, astir with preparations. A rumor made the rounds of Philadelphia: the Count de Noailles, commissioned as a minister by the royal exiles of France, had arrived on May 3 and held a secret conference, lasting most of the night, with Washington. Was this the reason the government discouraged an elaborate reception to Genet?²² Knowledge of the nobleman's presence caused the leading republicans to work still harder in arranging an inspiring welcome. They decided to meet the Minister outside of town and to escort him in triumph to the expectant throngs. "Arrangements were taken for meeting him at Gray's Ferry in a great body," wrote Jefferson to Madison. "He escaped that by arriving in town with the letters which brought information that he was on the road."²³ Excitement was intense; all Philadelphia knew the affair would be like a wonderful pageant. Had not the *Embuscade's* arrival on May 2 thrilled hundreds?²⁴ It had come slowly up the river, saluting the crowds with fifteen guns; and from her masts floated pennants bearing such admonitions as "Enemies of equality, reform or tremble." She was a "fit precursor" of the Minister.²⁵

Genet was there, with them, at last. A deputation had met him at Baltimore, told of the gigantic procession that was planned to accompany him the rest of the journey. This he rejected—no ceremony for him. He would enter Philadelphia democratically, without pomp. Unnoticed, he took a seat in a public coach, ignoring the dramatic qualities of this act.²⁶ All morning of May 16, the people watched

21. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

22. Bowers, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, June 19, 1793, in Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 218.

23. Jefferson to Madison, May 19, 1793, in Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh (Washington, 1903-04), IX, 96.

24. The *Embuscade* was a French frigate commanded by Captain Bompard.

25. Rufus Wilmot Griswold, *The Republican Court; or, American Society in the Days of Washington* (New York, 1855), p. 292.

26. Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.

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and waited. Then, to everyone's surprise, the regular stagecoach from Baltimore appeared at the usual time and out stepped the Minister. The city went into a prolonged delirium. "*Mon voyage a été une succession de fetes civiques non interrompuës at mon entrée à Philadelphie un triomphe pour la liberté. Les vrais Americains sont au comble de la joie.*"²⁷ He wasn't overstating it a bit. About the City Tavern milled the people for several days trying to catch a glimpse of the Frenchman. He stood out on the balcony to listen to their frenzied huzzaing and to speak briefly. Because the merchants were to present an address on the neutrality proclamation to Washington, the Jeffersonians decided to do the same with Genet: "Rittenhouse, Hutcheson, Dallas, Sergeant, etc., were at the head of it. Though a select body of only thirty was appointed to present it, yet a vast concourse of people attended him. I have not seen it; but it is understood to be the counter address."²⁸ The public was taking politics seriously.

The new Minister, however, was also concerned with official business. On May 18, M. de Ternant visited the President to announce his recall.²⁹ The same day, Genet presented his letters of credence. He talked with Jefferson and was impressed by "*Ses principes, son experience, ses talents, son dévouement à la cause que nous deffendons.* . . ."³⁰ The Secretary of State liked this young man from their first meeting. His mission, Jefferson thought, could not be "more affectionate, more magnanimous." He summarized it for Madison's benefit:

We know that under present circumstances we have a right to call upon you for the guarantee of our islands. But we do not desire it. We wish you to do nothing but what is for your own good, and we will do all in our power to promote it. Cherish your own peace and prosperity. You have expressed a willingness to enter into a more liberal treaty of commerce with us; I bring full powers (and he produced them) to form such a treaty, and a preliminary decree of the

27. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 18, 1793, in Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 214-15.

28. Jefferson to Madison, May 19, 1793, in Jefferson, *Writings* (Lipscomb and Bergh ed.), IX, 96.

29. Ternant to Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 19, 1793, in Turner, *Correspondence* pp. 199-200.

30. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 18, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 215.

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National Convention to lay open our country and its colonies to you for every purpose of utility, without your participating the burdens of maintaining and defending them. We see in you the only person on earth who can love us sincerely, and merit to be so loved. In short, he offers everything, and asks nothing.³¹

Jefferson rejoiced in the turn of events, for now he had a definite talking point which could be used to press for closer coöperation with France. Exultant, he took Genet to see the Chief Executive. The reception, on this Saturday in 1793, was formal and cold—most unsatisfactory to the exuberant Minister. Washington was sober and undemonstrative. But that was his temperament, and Genet should not have been offended. Portraits of Louis XVI and his Queen on the wall annoyed him. The conversation was frank enough; he assured the President that France had no intention of dragging the United States into the war. His country offered America the most liberal trading privileges; their relations must be of the friendliest kind. His statements were as amicable and sincere as Jefferson reported to Madison. The President and the Minister instantly disliked each other; Genet later described him as "*le vieux Washington qui differe beaucoup de celui dont l'histoire a gravé le nom.*"³²

That night, and for many days to come, the Minister continued to be acclaimed by the people. The French colony in Philadelphia gave a dinner in his honor at Oeller's Tavern. He momentarily forgot the frigidity of the official reception; the American people showed a true love for France by the warmth of their welcome. This magnificent affair at Oeller's was followed by many others. For a long time, the public's enthusiasm was not to abate. The more zealous of the Francophiles organized democratic societies modeled after the Jacobin clubs. They denounced aristocratic mannerisms and resorted to the lowest forms of humor.³³ The city—and the country also—lost all sense of propriety. The rabble jostled intentionally the influential men as they walked down the street; they destroyed all souvenirs of royalty that remained in view. "Men were equal. The people's day

31. Jefferson to Madison, May 19, 1793, in Jefferson, *Writings* (Lipscomb and Bergh ed.), IX, 97.

32. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, June 19, 1793, in Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 217.

33. Griswold, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-95.

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had dawned."³⁴ And all the time, the mobs damned the Proclamation of Neutrality, frequently shouting for war against England.

The time was truly propitious for Genet to launch his numerous enterprises. He had begun already in Charleston. He continued his activities with feverish haste after he was in Philadelphia: "*En attendant j'approvisionne les Antilles, J'excite les Canadiens à s'affranchir du joug de l'Angleterre; j'arme les Kentukoïs, et je prépare par mer une expédition qui secondera leur descente dans la nouvelle Orleans.*"³⁵

III

Citizen Genet, during his brief ministry, fathered two coördinated schemes for wresting the Floridas and Louisiana from Spain. This was fully in accord with his official instructions; he interpreted them literally and wasted no time in getting his projects under way. Enthusiastically, the Minister and his lieutenants made their preparations—success seemed quite possible. They could not predict what disappointments the future would bring: how a lack of money was to hinder progress, how the Girondists were to fall so quickly from power, and how Genet himself was to become entangled in the sticky web of diplomacy. In time the enterprises failed. Historical students have unjustly accused Genet of prosecuting an unauthorized expedition, of overstepping the limits of his orders. "The essential features of the plan he attempted to carry out were those of the government and its advisers," states one authority. "His mistakes were of method rather than of object."³⁶

In the summer of 1792, the Girondists controlled French policy. They were visionaries undoubtedly, wishing to extend their revolutionary gospel throughout the world. War was the proper means. Within a year, republican France faced a coalition of powers which feared the democratic doctrines and conspiratorial attitude of her leaders. Ever since the American Revolution, the French had cast covetous eyes on the Spanish Colonies. Perhaps it would be well to seize them and win the everlasting gratitude of the American frontiers-

34. Bowers, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

35. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, June 19, 1793, in Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 217-18.

36. Frederick J. Turner, "The Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas," in *The American Historical Review*, III (1898), 660.

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men. The men of the Revolution—Brissot, Paine, Dumouriez, and all the rest—considered such a scheme as part of the crusade for liberty, the liberation of their fraternal brothers from the tyrannical yoke of Spain. Brissot de Warville, an important man in French politics, had traveled in the United States in 1788 and later wrote a book about his experiences.³⁷ This volume brought to the notice of Frenchmen the enmity between Spain and the westerners of America over the right of navigation on the Mississippi. By 1792 the French were ready to act. The Foreign Minister, Lebrun, decided that Genet must go to America, there to instigate the revolt against Spain.³⁸ Less than a week after this decision, Colonel W. S. Smith left Paris well informed concerning the Girondist activities. On his arrival in the United States, he immediately apprised Jefferson of them. The French ministers intended “. . . to begin the attack at the mouth of the Mississippi, and to sweep along the Bay of Mexico southwardly, and that they would have no objection to our incorporating into our government the two Floridas.”³⁹ Then, in March, 1793, several French patriots presented to Citizen Dumouriez a plan for conquering Louisiana.⁴⁰ They foresaw the coming war with Spain and pictured the Americans as eager to side with France. The plan was ignored officially, but it indicates along what line the Girondist plotters were thinking at the time. About them gathered a curious group of Americans: Paine and Joel Barlow, the poet, had become naturalized Frenchmen; and Gilbert Imlay, a soldier of fortune, had also entered the little coterie of ardent revolutionists. The latter person advised Lebrun that New Orleans could easily be taken.⁴¹ Pierre Lyonnet, a French resident of the city, was sure that many Americans would heartily coöperate.⁴²

Such confident assertions were justified. Two problems in foreign affairs had troubled Washington's administration from its inception. Great Britain stubbornly held the posts on the northern and northwestern frontier, and Spain refused the Americans the privilege of sailing in or out of the Mississippi. The western settlers com-

37. *Nouveau voyage dans les Etats-Unis*, published in Paris in 1791.

38. Turner, "Origin," p. 655.

39. Jefferson, *Anas*, p. 108.

40. Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 954-57.

41. Frederick J. Turner, "Documents on the Relations of France to Louisiana, 1792-1795," in *The American Historical Review*, III (1898), 491-94.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 496-500.

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plained bitterly of the situation. They were sympathetic, naturally, with any movement designed to injure either country. When Great Britain and Spain joined the allies against France, the westerners clamored insistently for war. A conflict with England, however, was impossible, for the Hamiltonians were too powerful. The Spanish question was a different matter. No group had any really close ties with her, and popular sentiment for strong measures was quickly aroused. Only New England appeared cool to the idea.⁴³ The French in Louisiana were restless, and their friends in American territory were disposed to help them. In addition to these circumstances, Spain had injudiciously fomented Indian raids on our southwestern border. War against her appeared inevitable by the summer of 1793.⁴⁴ Another consideration, which encouraged the French intriguers, enters the picture. They realized how weak were the bonds uniting the West to the eastern states. The economic interests of the two sections clashed, and their social backgrounds were dissimilar. Conspiracies were constantly being engineered in the outlying regions and these received some support. After 1787, the infamous James Wilkinson acted as a spy for Spain and tried to detach Kentucky from the Union. George Rogers Clark, a hero of the Revolution and dissatisfied because he didn't receive sufficient reward, had flirted with the Spanish in 1788. France, in contemplating the proposed ventures, took these facts into account. The directors of her foreign policy sent Genet to America with complete instructions. It was his duty to work out the details.

IV

The new Minister inaugurated the first phase of the enterprise as soon as he landed at Charleston, April 8. He entered into a cordial relationship with General Moultrie. The Governor believed the United States should aid the French, thus indirectly checking the Indian menace.⁴⁵ Genet placed Mangourit, the French consul, in charge of the expedition planned to invade East and West Florida. This capable representative had received his consular appointment in March, 1792; he helped found the *Société des Antiquaires de France*

43. Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark, His Life and Public Services* (Boston, 1926), p. 346.

44. Turner, "Origin," pp. 664-65.

45. Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 987.

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and organized the *Héraut de la Nation*.⁴⁶ Genet felt he could be trusted to push the project vigorously. The plan was to be the eastern counterpart of the descent on New Orleans. Wisdom dictated that the weak Spanish forces be engaged in two widely separated sectors at the same time. Genet intended to set in motion the western venture when he arrived in Philadelphia. With this in mind, he left Charleston.

Mangourit, at the outset, arranged two expeditions. One, led by Colonel Samuel Hammond, was to assault St. Augustine; the other, under William Tate, a South Carolinian, was to descend the Tennessee River to coöperate with the force attacking Louisiana.⁴⁷ Mangourit communicated the plan to Moultrie, who found it acceptable. The Governor gave him letters of recommendation, but already he could report to Genet that he had secured some agents: "I have . . . Gen. Mackintosh, John Lay, a lawyer."⁴⁸ On April 28, the consul had more information to send his superior. A captain of the Federal troops stationed on the Georgia frontier told him that the American army officers were unquestionably in sympathy with the French, and promised to find him a map of the interior. That wasn't all Mangourit learned. This captain asserted that the Creek chief, Alexander McGillivray, was in New Orleans and that his influence on the Indians never decreased.⁴⁹ The Spaniards, moreover, were buying American scalps from the red men: "*Il n'est que trop certain que ce Gouvernement achète des Indiens Les cheveux des Americains libres.*"⁵⁰ Moultrie retained his interest in the project, consulting the consul frequently. On one occasion, he suggested that Genet send traders to deal with the savages; they should sell at a low price and so win the Indians' allegiance to the cause. But Mangourit thought the idea was insignificant ("*petit*"), impracticable, and even dangerous.⁵¹ He added charitably, however, that Moultrie's military quality was due to his valor.⁵²

46. Frederick J. Turner, "The Mangourit Correspondence in Respect to Genet's Projected Attack upon the Floridas, 1793-94," *American Historical Association, Report* (1897), pp. 569-70.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 571.

48. Mangourit to Genet, April 24, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 575.

49. McGillivray had died on February 17, 1793.

50. Mangourit to Genet, April 28, 1793, in Turner, *Mangourit*, p. 578.

51. Mangourit to Genet, June 11, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 579.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

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Mangourit's assistants, meanwhile, were busy. Samuel Hammond, who commanded the Revolutionary Legion of the Floridas, was a Georgian and a respectable, influential citizen. He was born in Virginia in 1757, had participated in Dunmore's War and in the Revolution as a colonel of cavalry. About this time, 1793, he served as surveyor-general at Savannah. The historian, Turner, notes that his brother Abner was a member of the trading firm of Hammond and Fowler; possibly, the hope of replacing the Florida house of Pantou, Leslie & Co. in the Creek trade was one reason why the Hammonds joined the movement.⁵³ With a body of three hundred to five hundred men, Hammond could take St. Augustine, Mangourit figured. Second in command was a Major Bert, an old officer in the American army. The consul considered him a patriotic, prudent, and valiant man.⁵⁴ While waiting to begin operations against the Spanish, Hammond received instructions to make treaties with the Creeks, the proposed provisions of which are worthy of notice. Mangourit drew up a model with twelve significant articles.⁵⁵ An alliance between the French republic and the Creeks must be based on friendship, fraternity, and the reciprocity of services. If the Indian nation persisted in its acts of hostility against the United States, the treaty would be voided. Any Americans held captive at the Creek headquarters were to be freed and their property, or the equivalent in money, restored to them. The French government promised to use its influence in the American Congress in order that reciprocity be accorded to Indian prisoners. If either signatory were attacked by a third power, the aggression would be considered common to both; they would unite their efforts to repulse it. The Creeks were not to make any more pacts, except with the United States. France guaranteed to protect the Creek lands. Citizens of the contracting parties were to enjoy on each other's territory the natural rights of men who believe in liberty, equality, security, and property. Criminals and those who disturbed the peace and harmony of society were to be returned to their country for punishment according to the law. At her own expense, France would keep in Indian villages some agents to give lessons in the principles of virtue, humanity, and morality. An agreement, sanc-

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 571-72.

54. Mangourit to Genet, June 19, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 584-85.

55. For text, see *ibid.*, pp. 591-93.

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tioned by the National Convention, would determine the commercial relations between the two nations. This model treaty is a good indication of the French idealism so characteristic of the period. It also shows that the French did not hesitate to negotiate with Indian tribes resident in American territory. William Tate, in command of the other legion, was ordered to conclude treaties with the Cherokees. Stephen Drayton, Governor Moultrie's secretary, was one of Tate's subordinates.

During the summer, Mangourit continued his preparations. He spent much time in dispatching orders to his various aides, reading reports from them, enlisting new recruits, and informing Genet about the state of affairs. He wrote the minister, for example, with regard to the recruiting activities of a certain Major Tintiniac; he asked what steps he should take concerning the payments to be given each of the men furnished by M. Tintiniac and the means of arranging for their passage to France. They were to serve in the European armies of the French.⁵⁶ A more definite scheme he outlined in a letter several days later. A merchant, Pelletier by name, had put into port. He traded regularly with the people of New Orleans and planned to return there in five weeks. He told the consul that two thousand men could take the Spanish city with little trouble. Mangourit wanted an address printed for the citizens of New Orleans; he would draw it up if Genet could not send one before Pelletier's departure. This intelligent fellow wished to become captain of a frigate to attack the enemy port, knowing that the pass of Barataria was practically unguarded.⁵⁷ To further enlistment, Mangourit offered money and high rank: "*J'ai promis des grades à ceux qui aiment les grades, de l'argent à ceux qui préfèrent l'argent.*"⁵⁸ He talked with Captain William Gates about the project of moving against Louisiana by way of Kentucky with one thousand four hundred men. By midsummer, his preparations were hampered by a lack of funds. He complained to his superior in Philadelphia that there was nothing to distribute in order to begin the project under Tate. His one thousand five hundred men were needed to destroy the interior forts on the Mississippi and to

56. Mangourit to Genet, June 14, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 580.

57. Mangourit to Genet, June 17, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 583-84.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 584.

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form a garrison at New Orleans.⁵⁹ Was Genet losing interest in the southern expedition? Mangourit reminded him of the great value of a body of men organizing in North Carolina to descend the Mississippi and conquer Louisiana. By such an expedition, France would win the allegiance of the inhabitants of North and South Carolina and their leaders. Worst of all, he had again to underwrite for ten pounds what he had borrowed.⁶⁰

In the autumn, he secured the coöperation of a prominent Georgian, Elijah Clarke. Two reasons impelled him to side with the French. He was a strong Anglophobe and therefore was not adverse to helping England's enemy. He looked with disfavor upon the practice of the American government in making agreements with the Creeks and Cherokees which excluded, seemingly, large tracts of valuable land from white settlement. The French promised attractive bounties in land in the Floridas and Louisiana as a reward for military service. Why not take advantage of such a tempting offer?⁶¹ Clarke, being very popular, had the backing of a number of Federal army officers. During the summer, he collected a group of adventurers; in the fall, he joined the French as a major-general with a yearly salary of \$10,000. He immediately began recruiting Georgians and as many Indians as possible; with the tribes, he cultivated good relations. Genet later pointed to Clarke's work as proof that he did not plot his Spanish enterprise on American soil, maintaining that certain individuals merely enlisted the aid of independent Indian nations, which were "ancient friends and allies of France."⁶² The desertion of soldiers from the Federal army to sign up with Clarke's expedition complicated matters for him. He feared the government would intervene. His paymaster, Major M. Williamson, accordingly assured the American authorities that this situation would not be tolerated: "General Clarke requested me to urge the necessity of not interfering with Government, particularly in that of persuading the troops of the United States to desert and join them; and that, if he could find out that any officer or soldier had acted in that manner, contrary to the

59. Mangourit to Genet, August 2, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 586.

60. Mangourit to Genet, August 6, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 588-89.

61. E. Merton Coulter, "Elijah Clarke's Foreign Intrigues and the Trans-Oconee Republic," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, X (1918-21), 261-62.

62. Genet to Jefferson, December 25, 1793, in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations* (Washington, 1832), I, 311. Hereafter cited as *A.S.P.*

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interests of the United States, should be given into the hands of the law, and be punished as the law directs."⁶³ Clarke designated different posts in Georgia for points of rendezvous. He prudently selected them in regions to which the United States had no undisputed claim. The troops assembled under his direction on both sides of the Oconee River. From there, they were to proceed to the St. Mary's, where the forces from Georgia and South Carolina could unite.⁶⁴ Thus, with Elijah Clarke actively engaged in his behalf, Mangourit must have faced the future with confidence.

But somehow the whole project remained uncoördinated. Genet himself visited Charleston in November and there tried to unify the scattered efforts of his lieutenants. He instilled new vigor into the campaign, for, within a few months, everything seemed in readiness to launch the attack. Clarke hurried from one place to another: he was reported as commanding troops along the Florida border; then news came that he was busy in the Oconee River region.⁶⁵ He was to lead eventually a force to reduce East and West Florida—so it was intended! Tate, by January, 1794, optimistically declared he had two thousand men collected; he even talked about French conquests in South America.⁶⁶ In the same month, Mangourit advised the Minister that soon he expected to obtain the necessary arms and ammunition—guns, cannon, bayonets, sabers, and bullets.⁶⁷ Early in March, he discussed his plans in another letter and mentioned the necessity of fixing a date for the rendezvous.⁶⁸ Tate and Hammond received their latest instructions;⁶⁹ they were to mobilize their troops. Hammond, with his contingent, would probably reinforce Clarke. In April, the latter returned to the Oconee posts to command the expedition which was to get under way on April 10. The descent on St. Augustine would be assisted by a French fleet.⁷⁰ At last the move against Spain appeared a certainty.

It petered out before actual operations could begin. Trouble arose first in South Carolina. The legislature, in December, 1794, decided

63. Williamson to Captain Thomas Martin, April 9, 1794, in *ibid.*, I, 459.

64. Constant Freeman, agent in Georgia for the Department of War, to Secretary of War, April 18, 1794, in *ibid.*, I, 459.

65. Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

66. Turner, *Mangourit*, p. 571.

67. Mangourit to Genet, January 31, 1794, in *ibid.*, p. 610.

68. Mangourit to Genet, March 5, 1794, in *ibid.*, pp. 625-28.

69. Turner, *ibid.*, pp. 623-25.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 573.

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to investigate Genet's activity. It demanded the prosecution of all South Carolinians who were in the French service.⁷¹ Governor Moultrie issued a proclamation condemning the expedition. In the Carolinas, the knowledge of Brissot's friendship for the Negroes was used to hurt the French cause.⁷² In Georgia, next, another obstacle was provided. On March 5, the Governor ordered that all persons violating American neutrality be brought to justice. He was prompted to take such an action after being warned a few times by the Spanish Governor of East Florida. In spite of this proclamation, it is "safe to infer, . . . , that Clarke was not convinced of any serious opposition from the governor."⁷³ The hardest blow came the following day. Mangourit, however, was not taken by surprise, for, in January, a commissioner from the National Convention had arrived in Charleston to announce the recall of Genet.⁷⁴ On March 6, his successor, Citizen Joseph Fauchet, published a proclamation in the Philadelphia gazettes forbidding Frenchmen to violate the neutrality of the United States. All commissions tending to infringe on that neutrality were thereupon revoked.⁷⁵ Notice of this shortly reached South Carolina. Mangourit was determined to ignore it. At his consulate assembled some of the southern leaders, Tate, Drayton, Bert, and their associates. They reported reading in one of the papers an extract from a Philadelphia journal which gave Fauchet's notice. These men wondered if preparations for the expedition should continue. The consul had no doubts about the matter. Hadn't he received positive orders for conducting it? He could not stop the venture without a definite notification, even supposing the proclamation really was published. His friends advised the continuation of the project.⁷⁶ Mangourit questioned the authenticity of Fauchet's announcement; the new Minister, he contended, should have communicated directly with him. The leaders then unanimously resolved to push their expedition with diligence and secrecy.⁷⁷ In several letters to Fauchet, the consul begged him not to destroy the movement.⁷⁸ On May 6, a report circulated

71. *A.S.P.*, I, 309.

72. Turner, *Mangourit*, p. 573.

73. Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

74. Mangourit to Genet, January 31, 1794, in Turner, *Mangourit*, pp. 610-11.

75. Turner, *ibid.*, p. 629.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 629.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 631.

78. Mangourit to Fauchet, March 30, 1794, in *ibid.*, pp. 645-47; March 31, pp. 648-50.

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that Clarke had from 150 to 300 men on the Georgian boundary. Eventually, he took them to the Oconee to intrigue with the Indians. By the end of May, the Florida enterprise had slowly collapsed.

V

The western phase of Genet's undertaking originated in the mind of an American. George Rogers Clark was disgusted because Virginia neglected his claims for heroic revolutionary service. In December, 1792, he and his brother-in-law, Doctor James O'Fallon, planned an attack on Louisiana. They desired French support; accordingly, the latter informed Paine, a member of the French Convention, of the scheme. This proposition might have reached France before Genet sailed for America.⁷⁹ It was received, of course, by a group actively plotting an American uprising against Spain. They accurately sensed the ill will which existed between the Kentuckians and the Spaniards. Clark, besides having a personal grievance, wanted to capitalize on the feeling of his neighbors. O'Fallon joined him without hesitation. This Irish adventurer had served as a captain of cavalry and later as a senior surgeon in the Revolution. "In 1783 and 1784," notes one writer, "he was a fanatical anti-loyalist; in 1788 he sought the privilege of colonizing Irish Catholics in Spanish East Florida; in the early nineties he was the central figure in the western intrigues over the Yazoo lands. . . ."⁸⁰ The two men took definite action on February 2, when Clark wrote the new Minister, outlining plans for the venture and stating that he would require about £3,000 sterling to execute it. Genet found this letter on his arrival and made a certified extract.⁸¹ In three days, Clark again proposed such a project in a second letter, which was in O'Fallon's handwriting. The General told how concerned he was for France in her struggle against "almost all the Despots of Europe." The citizens of America hoped for a French victory. Clark offered to aid the cause:

. . . if you and the free nation you represent will but concur in the project—by sanctioning my proceedings, duely commissioning me to that end, supplying me with some *small* resources by Letters of credit or cash, and suffering me to raise my own men in this Country,

79. Turner, "Origin," p. 653.

80. John Carl Parish, "The Intrigues of Doctor James O'Fallon," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVII (1930), 230.

81. Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 971-72.

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and to appoint them such officers as, I am sure, will execute the business with promptitude, secrecy and decision. I say secrecy; for until the blow is struck, the design of the expedition, or the expedition itself ought, by no means, to transpire.⁸²

He recounted his past exploits. If Genet approved the proposal, Clark and his followers promised to expatriate themselves instantly in order to become French citizens. He had already formed a definite plan: he would quickly raise three thousand men; with one thousand five hundred of them, he could easily take the whole of Louisiana for France. "I would begin with St. Louis," he confidently asserted, "a rich, large and populous town—and by placing only two or three Frigates within the Mississippi's mouth, (to guard against Spanish succours) I would engage to subdue New Orleans, and the rest of Louisiana. If farther aided, I would capture Pensacola; and if Santa Feè and the rest of New Mexico were objects—I know their strength and every avenue leading to them, for conquest."⁸³ All he needed was money to procure provisions and ammunition. The act of expatriation was necessary in order not to embroil the United States in a conflict with Spain on their account. He closed the letter with a reference to America's ingratitude for his patriotic efforts: "My country has proved notoriously ungrateful, for my Services, and so forgetful of those succesful and almost unexampled enterprizes which gave it the whole of its territory on this side of the great mountains, as in this my very prime of life, to have neglected me."⁸⁴

The French Minister accepted the proposition. Genet realized that Clark's scheme would nicely complement the venture entrusted to Mangourit. In May, Genet arrived in Philadelphia; there he found an agent in the person of a French botanist, André Michaux. This scientist contemplated a trip to the West as a representative of the American Philosophical Society. He had received instructions for exploring "the country along the Missouri, and thence westwardly to the Pacific Ocean" from Jefferson in January, 1793.⁸⁵ The chief objects of Michaux's journey were to find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the eastern states and the

82. Clark to Genet, February 5, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 968-69.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 969.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 970.

85. For text, see Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), VI, 158-59.

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Pacific Ocean and to observe the character of the regions through which he passed. Genet speedily made the arrangements for his agent and secured letters of recommendation for him. Kentucky's representative to Congress wrote Clark that the bearer of the letter, Michaux, was "a worthy Character and a man of Science."⁸⁶ On June 28, Jefferson himself addressed a similar communication to Isaac Shelby, governor of Kentucky. The Secretary of State did not know the Kentuckian personally, but took the liberty of recommending Michaux to him.⁸⁷ Genet had an unofficial interview with Jefferson early in July, for, on the fifth of that month, the Secretary made a memorandum of it.⁸⁸ The Minister read to Jefferson "very rapidly" the instructions he had prepared for the botanist, an address to the people of Louisiana, and also one to the Canadians. "In these papers," Jefferson indicated, "it appears that, besides encouraging those inhabitants to insurrection, he speaks of two generals in Kentucky who have proposed to him to go and take New Orleans, if he will furnish the expense, about 3,000 pounds sterling." Genet refused to advance that amount right out, but promised it ultimately for their expenses. Jefferson recounted the intended project in his minutes of the conversation. Genet proposed to commission officers in Kentucky and Louisiana; they would rendezvous "*out of the territories of the United States.*" Inhabitants of both regions, including Indians, would be given the chance to enlist. The expedition, when formed, would attack New Orleans, with Louisiana being established as an independent state. Commercial ties would put it under the domination of France and her sister republic. Two frigates were to enter the Mississippi to coöperate in the descent on the Spanish city. The address to Canada was designed to encourage a revolt against the English. Jefferson now made an important statement in his account:

He said he communicated these things to me, not as Secretary of State, but as Mr. Jefferson. I told him that his enticing officers and soldiers from Kentucky to go against Spain, was really putting a halter about their necks; for that they would assuredly be hung if they commenced hostilities against a nation at peace with the United States.

86. J. Brown to Clark, June 24, 1793, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 982-83.

87. Jefferson to Shelby, June 28, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 984.

88. For text, see Jefferson, *Anas*, pp. 130-31.

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That leaving out that article I did not care what insurrections should be excited in Louisiana.

He also gives still more enlightening information. Late in June, Genet requested Jefferson to issue an exequatur to Michaux as a French consul in Kentucky. The Secretary told him that France was entitled to keep such representatives only in the ports of the United States; and if his request were granted, England and Spain would soon demand the same privilege. It would not be wise to have the interior country filled with foreign agents. Genet accepted the explanation and asked Jefferson to give Michaux a letter of introduction to Governor Shelby: "I sent him one a day or two after. He now observes to me that in that letter I speak of him only as a person of botanical and natural pursuits, but that he wished the Governor to view him as something more, as a French citizen possessing his confidence. I took back the letter and wrote another." Jefferson thus cautioned Genet in no uncertain terms, but, as his friend and a friend of France, helped him. The Secretary of State wanted formally to preserve American neutrality, but, considering war with Spain almost inevitable, decided to watch closely the Minister's project. It was good diplomacy on Jefferson's part—not duplicity.

Genet probably thought that the Secretary of State privately agreed to his plans. The Minister informed his government that Jefferson seemed to be quickly sensible of the utility of the venture. The United States, however, was negotiating with Spain concerning the demand that the Americans be given an entrepôt below New Orleans; the delicacy of these negotiations did not permit the United States to participate in the French enterprise. Jefferson, nevertheless, made the Minister to understand "*qu'il pensait qu'une petite irruption spontanée des habitants de Kentukey dans la nouvelle Orleans pouvait avancer les choses, il me mit en relation avec plusieurs députés du Kentukey et notamment avec Mr. Brown. . . .*"⁸⁹ Genet adds that Michaux left two weeks ago for the West with two officers of artillery.⁹⁰

Clark, in the meantime, was actively engaged in beginning his preparation. There were men to enlist, supplies to procure, and a

89. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 25, 1793, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 988.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 989.

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definite plan of attack to outline. A number of Kentucky and Tennessee men joined him, including Colonels Benjamin Logan and John Montgomery. The French minister himself had finally acquiesced in his proposal: "*J'ai adopté toute les propositions renfermées dans la lettre que vous m'avez écrite le 2. février. . . .*"⁹¹ Clark was making real progress, for the Spanish in New Orleans were quite worried about the turn of affairs. The Governor of Louisiana and West Florida, Baron de Carondelet, wrote his superior in Spain that certain French residents of New Orleans were carrying a gift to the National Convention. This was but one sign of unrest. Some Frenchmen, Carondelet had learned, were trying to induce their compatriots to sign a representation against him.⁹² They accused him of fortifying the city because he doubted their loyalty. Merchants, especially, were connected with the movement. His precautionary measures, however, were responsible for "the peace and security enjoyed by the province, both as regards the Americans who were threatening it with an army assembled on the Ohio, and as regards the ill-disposed and fanatical citizens in this Capital, whose intercourse with France fills it incessantly with restless and turbulent men infatuated with Liberty and Equality, and who are increased and renewed with every vessel that comes from the ports of France."⁹³ The situation would surely favor the force under Clark if they attacked. New Madrid was the first post below the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi; less than forty soldiers with ten cannon were garrisoned there. No fort protected Chickasaw Bluffs, which was lower down; Walnut Hills (now Vicksburg) had about one hundred men who were mostly French. If the attacking force passed this point safely, nothing would prevent it from reaching the capital of Louisiana.⁹⁴ The Spanish were in a serious position indeed.

This occasioned much diplomatic activity on their part. Carondelet, on July 31, advised his government that he needed to be reinforced by at least three hundred men to complete his regiment. He included a note of warning: "It is whispered by some that within a few months the French will be here"; and "To these important rea-

91. Genet to Clark, July 12, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 986.

92. Carondelet to the Duke de la Alcudia, April 23, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 974-75.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 976.

94. Frederick J. Turner, "Carondelet on the Defense of Louisiana, 1794," in *The American Historical Review*, II (1897), 482.

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sons must be added the fears inspired in us by the very disquieting movements of the Americans, settled in the West, against whom I cannot oppose sufficient forces in case of any hostility from them.”⁹⁵ The Spanish commissioners at Philadelphia, Joseph Jaudenes and Joseph Ignacio de Viar, sent a dispatch to the Governor of Louisiana three weeks later, telling him to fortify the province. They reported that the French minister was busily “seducing and recruiting” troops to form an expedition supported by a French fleet.⁹⁶ The two Spanish agents then informed Jefferson of the project on August 27, 1793. He replied by letter, assuring them that he had conferred with the President about the matter. Washington had authorized him to say that “. . . the President will employ all his power to restrain the citizens of the United States from an enterprise of the sort proposed in the paper mentioned, by preventing in general their sharing in any hostility by land or sea against the subjects of Spain or its dominions.”⁹⁷ The “printed matter” which the commissioners had submitted to substantiate their claim, the President sent to the Governor of Kentucky, with instructions to prevent, if possible, all attempts to incite citizens of that State against the Spanish.⁹⁸ A Frenchman, who signed his name as Pis-Gignouse, addressed a letter to “the Ambassador of Spain” in which he listed three persons connected with Genet’s expedition and revealed their secret plans.⁹⁹ Viar and Jaudenes, of course, received this communication. They immediately dispatched the information to Don Luis de las Casas, the captain-general of Cuba, and stated that the United States need not be feared as a participant in some plot.¹⁰⁰ By October 24, Carondelet had received the letter written by the Spanish commissioners and dated August 21. He declared himself ready to defend his province against a threatened invasion. He had learned that the French squadron at Philadelphia planned to set sail on September 7, presumably bound for New Orleans.¹⁰¹ Carondelet also sent to his superior in Spain a translation of a printed address directed by the Jacobin Society of Philadel-

95. Carondelet to Alcudia, July 31, 1793, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 998-99.

96. Viar and Jaudenes to Carondelet, August 21, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 999-1000.

97. Jefferson to Viar and Jaudenes, August 29, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1005.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 1005.

99. Pis-Gignouse to Spanish Ambassador, October 1, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 1002-03.

100. Viar and Jaudenes to Las Casas, October 1, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 1004-07.

101. Carondelet to Alcudia, October 24, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1015.

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phia to their French brothers in Louisiana. He was taking "stringent measures . . . to ward off the contagion of the pernicious ideas contained" in it.¹⁰² On October 29, he ordered the Governor of Natchez to send him three hundred carabineers at once and to stay on guard for possible attacks in the region of his post.¹⁰³

Carondelet correctly estimated the danger menacing his territory, for Genet had taken formal steps to speed the preparations for an invasion. The Minister, by August, had concluded that Jefferson was a man endowed with some good qualities but weak enough to sign certain things which he didn't approve and to defend officially measures which he condemned in conversation and in anonymous writings.¹⁰⁴ Genet realized that delay in getting his project under way might jeopardize its success. Already it was meeting vigorous opposition. Clark wrote Genet early in October, noting that he had ". . . adopted all my propositions and also . . . appointed Citizen Michaux Political Agent for the intended Expedition."¹⁰⁵ Before receiving this letter, the Minister had given an official authorization to his leader in the West; it styled Clark a major-general in command of the Independent and Revolutionary Legion of the Mississippi. He was empowered to recruit soldiers, to arm them, and to organize and direct the corps as he thought best.¹⁰⁶ Michaux, in the same manner, had gotten an appointment as a political agent of France to treat with the French of Louisiana and the Indians of the Mississippi area. The scientist, in addition, was to coöperate with Clark and Logan in their work in Kentucky.¹⁰⁷ In his instructions to this agent, Genet stressed the point that the Kentuckians themselves must necessarily contribute something toward the expenses of the expedition.¹⁰⁸ In October, Michaux was in touch with Clark; at this time, the Minister was in New York, from where he dispatched a letter to his government. He complained bitterly of the administration's coolness with respect to his enterprise: "*J'ai entrepris et j'Executerai Seul ce vaste Projet, car je n'ai trouvé dans le Cabinet de Washington que des*

102. Carondelet to Alcudia, October 25, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1017.

103. Carondelet to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, October 29, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1020.

104. Genet to Lebrun, August 15, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 984n.

105. Clark to Genet, October 3, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1008.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 996.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 995-96.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 993.

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hommes froids et Incapables de saisir une aussi grande Idée."¹⁰⁹ A new Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris was reading such communications with disapproval—the Girondists had fallen from power. But Genet, undaunted, carried on.

Out in Kentucky, Clark was busy perfecting plans for the venture. His relations with Michaux were most straightforward and sincere. "The inclosed is a Letter to Mr Jennet I send it open to you for your perusal that our Letters may be common you will pleased to seal it and inclose it with yours to the Minister."¹¹⁰ Clark also informed the botanist that they could get as many men as desirable, but they could not keep their design a secret. The first thing which should be done, in the Kentuckian's opinion, was to secure boats and provisions; this task he delegated to a Captain I. Sullivan. Money was absolutely necessary: "I hope you can get what money you want in Lexington without it our Scheams may be Ruined and for so fair a prospect to meet with any difficulty of that nature would be lamentable."¹¹¹ Michaux was at Danville. He sent a message to Clark by a "boy bearer," telling of the financial arrangements. He wondered if Congressman Brown had spoken for him to the Lexington merchants. Anyhow, they promised to advance to him as much money as possible; but, for the moment, it would not be a large sum. Consequently, he would have to depend on Genet's help primarily.¹¹² Clark felt confident of success and advised Michaux that ". . . the soner we get about the buseness the better."¹¹³ He was happy to learn that the Frenchman would get some money soon from Lexington and stated that several hundred dollars would be sufficient to start building boats. "Money is an object of the greatest Importance," Clark reiterated; "it will almost in sure our suckess no doubt but Mr Genet will be anctious to Honour your Draughts on him as he knows the necessity." He mentioned the need for two brass field pieces, one or two small mortars, balls, shells, and other matériel. Some person, having their confidence, could bring them secretly from the East, possibly in large trunks of goods.¹¹⁴ On October 17, he ordered Sullivan to lose no

109. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs, October 7, 1793, in *ibid.*, pp. 1010-11.

110. Clark to Michaux, October 3, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1009.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 1009.

112. Michaux to Clark, October 10, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1012.

113. Clark to Michaux, October 15, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1013.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 1013.

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time in constructing the boats required and to keep his expenses low. The captain was to receive funds occasionally from either Clark or Michaux. Clark then gave him specifications for a few hulls which could be put under construction at once.¹¹⁵ Financial matters were also discussed in a letter to the French Minister. This question was to plague Clark for many months to come. He wrote that the first objective of the expedition would be New Madrid; after its reduction, they would proceed to St. Louis, the capital of upper Louisiana. The troops would descend the Mississippi to take Natchez; and when it fell into their hands, the command would determine how to invest New Orleans.¹¹⁶ His project was becoming well known throughout the Ohio River region. John Montgomery, for example, offered to serve under him and to bring with him a number of his friends.¹¹⁷

This situation in the West caused Washington's administration to intervene in the affair. In Kentucky, especially, public enthusiasm for the French cause was strong. The ardent Francophiles of Lexington established a democratic society in August. Similar organizations appeared in other towns in the State. These societies desired that the Mississippi be opened to navigation by the westerners; they actually demanded that the Federal government should secure this right without hesitation.¹¹⁸ Naturally, they looked with favor upon Clark's enterprise. After being warned by the Spanish commissioners of the threatened invasion of Louisiana, Jefferson wrote Governor Shelby on August 29, requesting him to take legal measures to stop all acts of hostility against Spain.¹¹⁹ Shelby, in his reply, confessed ignorance regarding such ventures; but he promised to prevent any attempts of which he received information.¹²⁰ The Governor felt sure that no project of the sort was contemplated in his State. But early in November, the Secretary of State advised him that four French agents, whom he named, were conspiring against the Spanish; he urged Shelby to suppress the expedition, either by legal means or, if necessary, by the militia. "I hope," Jefferson added, "that the citizens of Kentucky

115. Clark to Sullivan, October 17, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1014.

116. Clark to Genet, October 25, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1016.

117. Montgomery to Clark, October 26, 1793, in *ibid.*, p. 1018.

118. Archibald Henderson, "Isaac Shelby and the Genet Mission," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI (1920), 452-53.

119. Jefferson to Shelby, August 29, 1793, in *Kentucky Gazette*, July 19, 1794.

120. Shelby to Jefferson, October 5, 1793, in *ibid.*

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will not be decoyed into any participation in these illegal enterprises against the peace of their country, by any effect from them on the navigation of the Mississippi."¹²¹

Genet's agents decided to find out exactly what position the Governor would take on the issue. Accordingly, Charles Depeau mentioned the expedition to him in a letter: "As some strange reports has reached my ears that your excellence has positive orders to arrest all citizens inclining to our assistance, and as my remembrance know by your conduct, in justice you will satisfy me in this uncommon request." The Frenchman even asked Shelby to distribute some democratic handbills.¹²² In answer, the Kentuckian referred to Jefferson's instructions without definitely saying he would enforce them, yet intimating that he would do so.¹²³ On December 7, Arthur St. Clair, Governor of Northwest Territory, issued a proclamation which warned the inhabitants of that vast region not to compromise American neutrality by hostile actions directed at Spain.¹²⁴ Shelby, however, did not act so decisively, for he knew that ". . . the temper of the people at this time was very inflammable; and he preferred to adopt a Fabian policy of 'watchful waiting,' rather than to employ an aggressive policy of military suppression."¹²⁵ A communication from Robert Breckinridge, who was at Beargrass near Louisville, must have made Shelby a bit indifferent about using force to halt Clark's work. He told the Governor that he sincerely wished ". . . the French Republic success, but if that nation have any hopes, or our General Government any fears from this interprize, both will be disappointed, in my opinion."¹²⁶

By the middle of January, 1794, Shelby's attitude was no longer that of the cautious official. He informed the Secretary of State that he sympathized with the movement led by George Rogers Clark. The Governor doubted whether there was any legal authority to restrain the conspirators. Then he vehemently asserted that he would also ". . . feel but little inclination to take an active part in punishing or restraining any of my fellow citizens for a supposed intention, only

121. Jefferson to Shelby, November 9, 1793, in *ibid.*

122. See Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 458; Shelby to Depeau, November 28, 1793, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 1023.

124. See *Kentucky Gazette*, February 8, 1794.

125. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

126. Breckinridge to Shelby, January 10, 1794, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 1033.

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to gratify or remove the fears of the ministers of a foreign prince who openly withholds from us an invaluable right, and who secretly instigates against us a most savage and cruel enemy."¹²⁷ If the President commanded him, under the constitution, to suppress the expedition forcibly, he would do so. Kentucky's Secretary of State, James Brown, agreed with Shelby that the enterprise lacked enough money to succeed, and it would be "*impolitic*" to exercise questionable powers if "*unnecessary*."¹²⁸ Finally, on March 24, President Washington issued a proclamation forbidding the enlistment of recruits in Kentucky for projects organized to invade Spanish territory.¹²⁹ Five days later, Edmund Randolph reminded the Governor of a Federal statute of May 2, 1792, which allowed the President to subdue by State militia "any combination against the laws which may be too powerful for ordinary judicial proceedings."¹³⁰ This letter failed to impress Shelby.

By now, however, Clark's enterprise no longer endangered the American neutrality policy. O'Fallon, because of family trouble, had already deserted the expedition in 1793.¹³¹ In December, Genet informed Clark through Michaux that he persisted steadfastly in the proposed plan; but the operations must be postponed until spring, when the navy could be used.¹³² The General continued his preparations. On January 11, he commissioned a certain Henry Lindsay as captain. The next day, John Montgomery sent Clark a statement of the military stores collected, which were purchased on credit. He added: "I am ruened if neglected."¹³³ Clark, at this time, was circulating his "Proposals" for raising volunteers. The public received them favorably.¹³⁴

In Louisiana, Carondelet learned that the expedition by sea was broken up, but that the French agents in the Ohio River country were still active.¹³⁵ Clark's representative, Samuel Fulton, gave him some

127. Shelby to Jefferson, January 13, 1794, in *Kentucky Gazette*, July 19, 1794; Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-62.

128. Brown to Shelby, February 16, 1794, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, pp. 1040-41.

129. James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1911), I, 149-50.

130. Randolph to Shelby, March 29, 1794, in *Kentucky Gazette*, July 26, 1794.

131. Parish, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

132. Michaux to Clark, December 27, 1793, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 1024.

133. Montgomery to Clark, January 12, 1794, in *ibid.*, p. 1034.

134. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

135. Carondelet to Alcudia, March 20, 1794, in Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 1046.

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hope in a letter of March 21, written from Danville: "This Comes to Inform you that I Find things have a much better face here Since My arevle than they have this two months past."¹³⁶ On March 6, Fauchet had published his proclamation ordering French citizens not to violate the neutrality of the United States. News of it reached Clark in April. Mangourit had at first doubted its authenticity; in similar fashion, the friends of Clark were now dubious. Disheartened, the General wrote Genet how miserable the people would be over the failure of the whole venture. "But if it is real," he pleaded, "I hope Sir you will use eavry means In your power to have the expences we have been at Refunded."¹³⁷ The proclamations of Fauchet and Washington and the lack of financial support by Genet terminated the enterprise. Clark ceased recruiting and immediately tried to liquidate his accounts with the French. His agent, Fulton, went to Philadelphia and then to Paris to seek an adjustment. The French government, admitting the justice of the claims, never paid them, for they were improperly certified.¹³⁸

Thus the western and southern enterprises failed for two reasons. Proclamations issued by American officials made the enlistment of recruits in American territory illegal. This did not apply to French citizens engaged in either project. Fauchet, with his emphatic pronouncement, destroyed their hopes *d'un seul coup*. Both of these ventures were nearly successful, but the uprising in Canada, which Genet planned, never seriously endangered the English. French agents, it is true, spread their revolutionary ideas among the Canadians and proposed an invasion from Vermont.¹³⁹ As late as September, 1793, the Minister sent an emissary to crystallize the unrest in Canada and to stir the people into actual revolt.¹⁴⁰ His efforts in this direction, too, were a failure. Genet was unable to give adequate financial support to any of the undertakings mentioned. Without money or sufficient credit, they could not succeed.

136. Fulton to Clark, March 21, 1794, in *ibid.*, p. 1051.

137. Clark to Genet, April 28, 1794, in Edmund C. Burnett, "George Rogers Clark to Genet, 1794," *The American Historical Review*, XVIII (1913), 782.

138. Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 934.

139. Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

The Fenian Brotherhood

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THE middle decades of the nineteenth century were marked by the widespread emigration of the Irish to the United States. This migration, resulting from the severe potato famine of 1846 and the rebellion of 1848,¹ amounted to 1,300,000 persons in 1850, one-half of whom were so destitute their way had to be paid by friends. By 1860 the number had increased to 1,611,304 and by 1870 to 1,855,827, of whom 1,217,496 were in the six New England States.² Indeed, most of the Irish congregated in the eastern cities, where they maintained their distinctively Irish character largely because they were an ostracized group. Looked down upon by most Americans, they did the most menial labor and were most poorly paid, occupying a social position comparable to the economic.

All of the Irish in America had an ingrained hatred of England—her whom they considered almost solely responsible for all their vexations. That their dislike of the English was returned in full measure is reflected in English press opinion at the time of widespread Irish emigration. The *Times* gave thanks to Heaven that they were leaving: "*Deus nobis haec otio fecit.*" Another paper characterized them as the "parting demons of assassination." Another reference was to "The rush of departing marauders whose lives were profitably occupied in shooting Protestants from behind a hedge." Again, "Ireland is boiling over, and the scum flows across the Atlantic."³

This hatred of Britain (which could only be assuaged by an Americanization impossible at the time) by such a large and unified group furnished a likely background for the building of an organization purporting to free Ireland from English rule and to set up a republic

1. Wrong, *The Canadians*, 369.

2. King, "The Fenian Movement," *Univ. of Colorado Studies*, VI, No. 3, April, 1909, 187.

3. Bagenal, *The American Irish and Their Influence on Irish Politics*, 126-27.

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by force of arms. Such an organization was accomplished in the formation of the Fenian Brotherhood.

James Stephens, leader of the independence movement in Ireland and leader of an organization which came to be known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood, despatched John O'Mahony to the United States in 1853 to organize an American unit to supply its Irish counterpart with supplies, military aid and money. By 1857 O'Mahony had established the Fenian Brotherhood, the name chosen from his reading of the *Fianna*, a militia of ancient Ireland.⁴ Members of the Brotherhood took an oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic "now virtually established," and swore obedience to commands of superior officers to take up arms against Great Britain when ordered. Condemned by the Pope, the organization nevertheless flourished in Ireland and America,⁵ although the Protestant Irish and the Irish gentry were antagonistic. The movement failed to attract the best thinkers, drawing its membership largely from the day laborer and servant girl class.⁶

With the complications in Anglo-American relations engendered by the Civil War, the Fenians found their opportunity. They could secure independence either through stirring up a British-American War⁷ or through taking Canada and using it as a base of attack against British commerce. In preparation for the requisite military action required in either case many Fenians enlisted in both the Union and Confederate armies.⁸ It was said that there were over 500,000 Irish in the Northern ranks alone. Upon at least one occasion when troops from either side met in battle, they passed by each other with the cry, "God save Ireland!"

The fact that so many Irish were aiding the North meant that they could obtain a receptive ear at Washington. (O'Mahony in a conversation with a New York banker hinted that "prominent parties" in the government were encouraging the movement.)⁹ Also, the Irish were the most important single voting group, the support of

4. Hayden and Moonan, *Short History of the Irish People*, 509.

5. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States*, 145.

6. King, *op. cit.*, 189.

7. Morrow, "Negotiation of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1870," *American Historical Review*, July, 1934, 665.

8. The Irish Brigade under General T. F. Meagher was said to have supplied nearly all the adventurers to Ireland, 1865-67.

9. Morrow, *op. cit.*, 665.

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which all parties attempted to secure. The Fenians were encouraged, too, by the growing bitterness between the British and Americans¹⁰ as illustrated in the cancellation of the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, the abrogation of the disarmament agreement of 1817 on the Great Lakes by the United States (but renewed in 1865), the call of the United States Secretary of the Navy for more ships to patrol the international waterways between Canada and the United States, and his demanding passports from Canadian immigrants,¹¹ in British recognition of Southern belligerency, in the *Trent* affair, in the building of ships like the *Alabama*, and in despatching troops to Canada. Sumner seemingly had the approval of most of Congress when he favored the purchase of Alaska in 1867 to "set a watchful Yankee on each side of John Bull in his far-western Canadian possessions."¹²

The termination of the war, with thousands of Fenians set adrift without occupation, gave great impetus¹³ to their activities.¹⁴ A convention held in 1865 made definite plans for the Irish rebellion. Money and men were sent across the Atlantic, but the insurrection was quelled with the seizure of the *Irish People*, the Fenian newspaper, and the arrest of Stephens, the chief leader.¹⁵

Defeat in Ireland aroused the Americans to action; another convention was held in October, 1865, where General T. W. Sweeney presented a plan for an invasion of Canada.¹⁶ O'Mahony and his party remained convinced of the desirability of another attempt in Ireland, and the continuing strife of these factions greatly weakened the whole organization. O'Mahony, however, feeling that the party furnishing the first opportunity for a fight would obtain the men and money, allowed a raid to be hastily organized against New Brunswick on St. Patrick's Day, 1866.¹⁷ The British and American authori-

10. Macdonald, *Canadian Public Opinion on the American Civil War*.

11. Wittke, *History of Canada*, 174.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Morris, *Ireland*, 349.

14. Fenian Marching Song:

"We are the Fenian Brotherhood, skilled in the art of war,
And we're going to fight for Ireland, the land that we adore.
Many battles we have won along with the boys in blue,
And we'll go and capture Canada, for we've nothing else to do."

15. King, *op. cit.*, 195.

16. Pieper, *The Fenian Movement*, 4.

17. *Ibid.*, 5.

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ties made the attempt meaningless, and the Irish returned to the States to celebrate their lack of victory in a "drink feast."

Continuing with its plans for a Canadian invasion the Sweeney party in the spring of 1866 collected arms and ammunition along the border, trained troops in Fenian uniforms, and in Cincinnati openly solicited funds for rifles¹⁸—all under the eyes of United States officials. Places of meeting were to be Malone and Potsdam in New York, St. Albans in Vermont, but chiefly Buffalo. Irish came from all large cities, the Cleveland troops starting on foot with green flags and uniforms and telling the curious they were going to California to work on the railroad!¹⁹

On June 1, 1866, the proposed raid was enacted when between nine hundred and one thousand five hundred men crossed from Buffalo into the Niagara district of Upper Canada and won a temporary success near Ridgeway, tearing up railroad tracks, cutting telegraph wires, setting fire to bridges²⁰ and taking possession of the ruins of Fort Erie and the railway depot.²¹ The Fenians issued a proclamation inviting the Canadians to join in the venture, but to their surprise none coöperated.²² On June 2, one thousand four hundred Toronto volunteers,²³ including the "Queen's Own" regiment of students, attacked them, and as other Canadian forces arrived, the Fenians retreated and by nightfall took to their waiting barges.²⁴

With this failure a simultaneous outbreak in England and Ireland was planned. The Frenchman, Cluseret, was to command the English forces, supposedly ten thousand strong. On the day appointed for the outbreak in January, 1867, Cluseret found only seven hundred of the ten thousand assembled and refused to lead the revolt.²⁵

In Ireland an outbreak was planned for March 6 and once again the Irish-Americans emigrated to participate in it. Some three thousand insurgents attacked isolated stations of Irish constabulary²⁶ in a half-hearted attempt, resulting in the wholesale arrest of the revolutionaries and the quelling of the revolt.

18. Keenleyside, *op. cit.*, 147.

19. King, *op. cit.*, 200.

20. Collins, *Sir John A. Macdonald*, 271.

21. Greswell, *History of the Dominion of Canada*, 266.

22. Pieper, *op. cit.*, 6.

23. By June 3 Canada had more than 20,000 men under arms.

24. King, *op. cit.*, 201.

25. *Ibid.*, 202.

26. *Ibid.*, 203.

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The cause of all of the Fenian failures is largely explained in the overweening confidence each branch of the movement placed in the other. Each expected greater support than it could reasonably expect. The Irish people had been deluded in the belief that the American-Irish had infinite money, power and influence with the United States government.²⁷ The Irish leaders were unfitted for their tasks: Stephens was dictatorial and high-handed, and other leaders drawn from the poorer classes were not competent.²⁸

Minor outbreaks occurred from time to time, as for example when the Manchester police arrested two important Fenians, Colonel T. J. Kelley and Captain Deasy, who as prisoners were removed from court to county jail in a van, with a guard of twelve policemen, on September 18. Some brothers stopped the van to release the prisoners, killing a Sergeant Brett by accident;²⁹ for the offense three were hanged, although such men as Bright, Mill and Swinburne made appeals for clemency, the latter through poetry.³⁰ In December there was again an abortive revolt in Ireland as a consequence of renewed Irish-American efforts. In England a party of Fenians blew up the wall of Clerkenwell Prison, December 13, in an attempt to free two of their members.

Two death-knell Canadian invasions occurred May 25, 1870, and October 5, 1871. The former, from St. Albans, was quickly terminated through the action of American and Canadian officials.³¹ The 1871 raid was one made by forty men from Minnesota, who captured the Hudson Bay Company's fort at Pembina. They were followed by American troops, arrested and brought back to the United States.³²

27. Bagenal, *op. cit.*, 147.

28. P. L., "The Fenian Brotherhood," *Blackwoods Mag.*, Sept., 1911, 380.

29. McCarthy, *Ireland Since the Union*, 191.

30. "Freeman he is not, but slave
Whoso in fear of the State,
Asks for council of blood,
Help of gibbet or grave;
Neither is any land great
Whom in her fear-stricken mood
These things only can save."

31. Keenleyside, *op. cit.*, 152; Bourinot, *Can. Under Br. Rule*, 230-31.

32. Another anger-arousing incident was the killing of Thomas McGee, an Irish immigrant who had broken with the Fenians and become instrumental in the Federation movement, joining the Conservative party in 1864 and speaking in Ireland against the Fenians in 1865. On April 6, 1868, after he had spoken in the Commons at Ottawa on the need for brotherly love in making a nation, he was killed at the doorway of his lodgings by Fenians. (Wrong, *op. cit.*, 376.)

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When at its flood-tide, strangely the United States government gave little active opposition to the Fenian Brotherhood. Small precautions were taken to prevent the raids, and when arrests were made later the leaders and members were usually released. On July 23, 1866, the house passed a resolution requesting the President to discontinue any prosecutions against those engaged in previous raids. This suggestion was subsequently carried out and not one Fenian was ever brought to trial; President Johnson's annual message, December, 1866, declared the organization to be "purely political."³³ The government even returned some seized arms and ammunition in October, 1866, which might have been used in subsequent raids. It also employed counsel to defend Fenians captured in Canada,³⁴ and succeeded in having death sentences changed to penal servitude.

Specific acts demonstrate clearly the attitude of the House of Representatives: On June 11, 1866, it referred to committee a proposal to repeal the neutrality laws to allow Fenians a free hand. On July 23, 1866, the house passed a resolution "requesting the Committee on Foreign Affairs to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill applying the same regulations toward Fenian belligerents that the government of Great Britain had applied to the Confederacy." In March, 1867, when Ireland was in chaos, the house in passing three resolutions gave moral support to the Fenian conspiracy. These declared (1) that the Canadian Confederation being considered was dangerous to the interests of the United States, (2) that claims of foreign states or citizens for loss of property during the Civil War should be submitted to Congress before being allowed by the President, and (3) that the sympathy of the house was extended to the people of Ireland in their attempt to "maintain their independence."³⁵

Seward seemingly gave an explanation for American clemency in his despatch to Minister Adams in England, December 9, 1867, wherein he declared that capital executions of persons engaged in revolutionary movements "carried on by large masses, and which appeal to popular sympathy," were unwise and often unjust, and "when practiced upon a citizen of a foreign state excites a new sympathy by enlisting feelings of nationality and patriotism." When the

33. King, *op. cit.*, 210.

34. *Ibid.*, 205.

35. *Ibid.*, 205-06.

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President dismissed the Fenian cases in the United States Courts and through Governor-General Sir Frederick Bruce, of Canada, obtained mitigation of the capital punishments against those held in Canada, Seward continued, "the President adopted proceedings which have practically assured the continuance of peace upon the Canadian border."³⁶

The actual reasons for this governmental attitude undoubtedly are partially explained in the sense of obligation felt toward the Fenians for their participation in the Civil War, in the importance of the Irish vote, and in the fact that the Fenians provided an instrument to force England to settlement of issues raised during the Civil War and after. Great Britain could know no peace in Ireland until the American branch of the brotherhood should cease its support of the Irish organization. This event could hardly transpire while the United States, in attempting to force Great Britain to certain negotiations, gave quasi-approval to the movement.

By 1870 the possibility of a European war made the English desirous of having neutrality defined through disposal of the *Alabama* claims. The United States, however, would not consider these claims, nor any negotiation of the San Juan boundary dispute, until the British and American opinions concerning the naturalization problem should be reconciled. This latter problem was thrust into the public eye by the action of Parliament, February 17, 1866, suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in Ireland because of the imminence of rebellion. The use of this law placed many naturalized Americans in Irish jails³⁷ and furnished the American government with a working basis for the settlement of this long-continuing controversy which had figured so prominently among the supposed causes of the War of 1812.³⁸ The British maintained that a person born British remained British, although he should emigrate, but the United States claimed that a

36. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, VI, 329.

37. Morrow, *op. cit.*, 663.

38. In the House, Representative Banks introduced a bill which provided in its original form "that when a naturalized American was arrested by a foreign government upon the allegation that naturalization in the U. S. did not operate to dissolve his allegiance to his native sovereign, or if any citizen should have been so arrested and detained whose release upon demand should have been unreasonably delayed or refused, the President should be empowered to order the arrest and to detain in custody any subject or citizen of such foreign government who might be found within the jurisdiction of the U. S." (*Ibid.*, 666.)

THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD

naturalized citizen had the same rights and privileges as those native-born. According to Seward, England should recognize

the right of every human being, who is neither convicted nor accused of crime, to renounce his home and native allegiance, and seek a new home and transfer his allegiance to any other nation that he may choose; and that having made and perfected that choice in good faith . . . he should be entitled, from his new sovereign, to the same protection under the laws of nations that that sovereign lawfully extends to his native subjects or citizens.³⁹

After various delays this right was, in fact, recognized by the British government with the signing of a draft treaty between the two nations, May 13, 1870. The way was thus paved for the consideration of other disputed questions (negotiation of which was begun concurrently), resulting in the Treaty of Washington, 1871. By this set of circumstances the destructive actions of the Fenians promoted constructive international agreements.⁴⁰

The Anglo-American treaty of 1870 and the Geneva arbitration removed the last props supporting the brotherhood. There seemed, however, to be a brief flicker of interest in the dying movement when the English government pardoned the last of the Irish-Americans jailed in Ireland, January, 1871, and gave them passage to the United States. But the division among the Fenians (which had operated so strongly to make their efforts unfruitful), demonstrated in their having three different reception committees in New York City on three different steamers to meet the returning brothers, precluded the possibility of any further ambitious projects.

39. *Ibid.*, 676-77.

40. The Canadians felt they were entitled to damages and the expense of driving the Fenians from the country because of the "negligence and want of due diligence" (Hopkins, *Story of the Dominion*, 303) on the part of the United States. This question was brought up for the consideration of the Commission meeting to draw up the Treaty of Washington, 1871, but at the request of England the claims were not put forward. Rather, Great Britain promised a loan to Canada for certain internal improvements. The question was distasteful to the Americans because of the Irish vote and would have delayed settlement.

In addition to furthering the Anglo-American settlements, the Fenian movement had two other results: (1) the renewing of Canadian hostility toward the United States and (2) the supporting of the cause of Canadian federation.

Dow, Ball and Allied Families

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



OW, as a surname, is of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of David," from the nicknames Daw or Dow. In England the name is found as early as 1200 in a Parliamentary writ directed to a Nicholas le Duv and a Richard le Duv. After a lapse of time the form of the name altered in different counties. In Norfolk the usual variation was Dowe, while, in Hants, Doue was found. The earliest record of the form Dow was in 1505. The name is found more commonly in Scotland, the form being Dhu, than in England.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Robert P. Dow: "The Book of Dow," pp. 18, 19, 23.)

Dow Arms—Sable, a fesse dancettée ermine between three doves argent.
(Arms in possession of the family.)

(The Family in England)

I. John Dow, earliest known member of the family, was of Great Yarmouth, County Norfolk, England, on July 1, 1544, when he made his will. It indicates that he owned a home and made bequests to charity. By trade he was a joiner. He married Johan Coop. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Christopher. 3. Katherine.

(Robert P. Dow: "The Book of Dow," pp. 24, 26.)

II. Thomas Dow, son of John and Johan (Coop) Dow, was sixteen years of age when his father died. He kept an inn in Runham Parish for years, and probably also farmed some of his land. He was buried May 10, 1591.

Thomas Dow married, October 5, 1549, Margaret England. Children: 1. Henry (1), of whom further. 2. Thomas. 3. Katherine. 4. Christopher. 5. John. 6. Edmond.

(Robert P. Dow: "The Book of Dow," pp. 24, 26. Joseph Dow: "History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 675.)



DOW

Arms—Sable, a fesse dancettée ermine between three doves argent.
(Arms in possession of the family.)

BUNNELL

Arms—Gules, three increscents argent.
Crest—On a ducal coronet a Cornish chough rising proper.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

PLUMB

Arms—Ermine, a bend vair or and gules cottised vert.
Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a plume of ostrich feathers, argent.
(H. B. Plumb: "The Plumbs.")

FRENCH

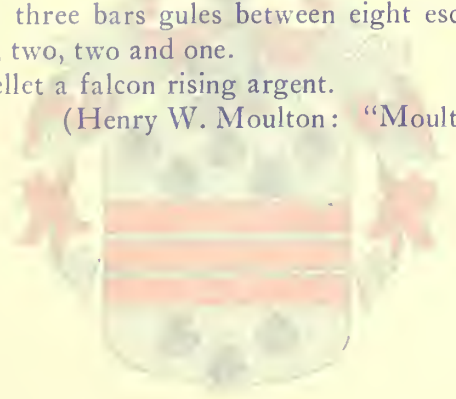
Arms—Argent, a chevron between three boars' heads erased azure.
Crest—A fleur-de-lis.
Motto—*Nec timeo, nec sperno.*
(Crozier: "General Armory." Vermont: "America Heraldica.")

THAYER

Arms—Per pale ermine and gules, three talbots' heads erased counterchanged.
Crest—A talbot's head erased or.
Motto—*Fæcundi calices.*
(Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

MOULTON

Arms—Argent, three bars gules between eight escallop shells sable; three, two, two and one.
Crest—On a pellet a falcon rising argent.
(Henry W. Moulton: "Moulton Annals.")



Dow, Ball and Allied Families

Arms—Sable, three dancette ermine between three doves argent.
(Arms in possession of the family.)

BUNNELL

Arms—Gules, three increscents argent.
Crest—On a gual coronet a Cornish chough rising proper.
(Barks: "General Armory.")

PLUMB

Arms—Ermine, a bend vair or and gules cottised vert.
Crest—Out of a duck coronet or, a plume of ostrich feathers, argent.
(H.B. Plumb: "The Plumbs.")

FRENCH

Arms—Argent, a chevron between three boars, heads erased azure.
Crest—A bear-de-lis.
Motto—Vive l'union, vive l'honneur.
(Crest: "General Armory," Vermont: "America."
Heraldica.)

THAYER

Arms—Per pale ermine and gules, three talbots, heads erased counterchanged.
Crest—A talbot's head erased or.
Motto—Fecundus calices.
(Matthews: "American Armory and Blue Book.")

MOULTON

Arms—Argent, three bars gules between eight escallop shells sable; three, two and one.
Crest—On a pellet a falcon rising argent.
(Henry W. Moulton: "Moulton Armory.")



Dow



Bunnell



Plumb



French



Chayer



Moulton

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Henry (1) Dow, son of Thomas and Margaret (England) Dow, was born in 1550 and died April 21, 1613. He was the parish clerk at Runham, and his name occurs as church warden for four years.

Henry (1) Dow married, May 12, 1594, Elizabeth March. Children: 1. Mary. 2. Thomas, died young. 3. Thomas (again). 4. Henry (2), of whom further. 5. Edward. 6. William.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. Henry (2) Dow, the American progenitor of this family, son of Henry (1) and Elizabeth (March) Dow, was born in Runham Parish, County Norfolk, England, and baptized October 5, 1605. He died April 21, 1659. He was engaged in farming at Ormsby, near Runham, when he was twenty-five years old. Although he and his wife were of the Established Church in 1630, they were evidently influenced by the religious and political dissatisfaction which later caused seven families to embark for the New World. On April 15, 1637, Henry Dow gave the following statement before the commission which received the application of persons intending to emigrate:

Henry Dowe, aged twenty nine, husbandman of Ormsby, wife Joanne, children and servant Ann Manning.

Instead of going directly to Hampton, New Hampshire, as many of the other families did, Henry Dow decided to settle in Watertown, where he remained seven years. He was admitted a freeman, May 2, 1638, but held no public office. In 1644, he removed to Hampton, New Hampshire, selling his homestead and land at Watertown and purchasing a house lot from John Sanders. In 1649, he secured the homestead of William Wakefield. In Hampton, Henry Dow became a man of influence; selectman in 1651; Deputy to the General Court of Massachusetts, 1655-56; and was one of the dozen men of the town styled "Gentleman" and "Mr." He was always interested in real estate and added to his property at intervals. In 1650 he signed his name Doue. The inventory of his estate was taken April 25, 1659.

Henry (2) Dow married (first), February 11, 1630-31, Joan Nudd, who died in Watertown, 20 (4) 1640, widow of Roger Nudd, who had died in Ormsby in 1629. Henry (2) Dow married (second), in 1641, Mary or Margaret Cole, who had known him in Orms-

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

by and who had come to America with the Metcalfe family, who settled in Dedham, Massachusetts. She survived her husband and married (second) Richard Kimball.

Children of first marriage: 1. Thomas, baptized at Ormsby, England, December 27, 1631, died in Watertown, Massachusetts, July 10, 1642. 2. Henry (3), of whom further. 3. Child, born in England, perhaps died on the voyage. 4. Joseph, born in Watertown, Massachusetts, March 20, 1639, and died April 4, 1703. Children of second marriage: 5. Daniel, born September 2 or 22, 1641, died March 7, 1718; married Elizabeth Lamprey. 6. Mary, born September 14, 1643, died unmarried in 1731. 7. Hannah, born in Hampton, New Hampshire, died there August 6, 1704; married Jonas Gregorie, of Ipswich, Massachusetts. 8. Thomas, born April 28, 1653, or a little earlier, died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1728. 9. Jeremiah, born September 6, 1657, or a little earlier, died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1723.

(Robert P. Dow: "The Book of Dow," pp. 26, 33. "Records of Hampton, New Hampshire, Deaths." J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 63. Henry Bond: "Family Memorials, Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 201-02. Joseph Dow: "History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 678.)

II. Captain Henry (3) Dow, son of Henry (2) and Joan (Nudd) Dow, was born in Ormsby, England, about 1634, and died in Hampton, New Hampshire, May 6, 1707.

He came to America with his father and was a freeman in Hampton in 1666. He became one of the most important men of the town. Henry Dow was a land surveyor, selectman and town clerk. He was deputy to the General Assembly, clerk of the House and served as Speaker, *pro tem*. He was marshal of Norfolk County from 1673 until the close of the Massachusetts government in New Hampshire, was deputy marshal under royal government and in 1680 was appointed marshal. In 1686 he was "admitted and sworn in as an attorney and paid his fee." He was ensign of the Hampton company of militia in 1689, and captain in 1692, his commission having been signed by Sir William Phipps, then Governor of Massachusetts, with which Colony the New Hampshire towns were temporarily connected. From 1692

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

he was always called Captain Henry Dow. In 1699 he was justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and was reappointed to this office in 1697. He was senior justice in 1699, holding this office until his death. His business interests were many and varied; including shipping, a store and his large farm, all of which were flourishing businesses.

Henry (3) Dow married (first), in Hampton, New Hampshire, June 17, 1659, Hannah Page, born in Hampton, in 1641, and died August 6, 1704, daughter of Robert and Lucy Page, who came from England on the same ship as the Dows. Henry Dow married (second) the widow Mary Hussey Greene, daughter of Captain Christopher Hussey. Children, all of the first marriage: 1. Joseph, died at the age of twenty. 2. Samuel (1), of whom further. 3. Simon, lived in Hampton. 4. Jabez, lived in Hampton.

("Records of Hampton, New Hampshire, Marriages, Deaths." J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 63. Family records.)

III. Deacon Samuel (1) Dow, son of Henry (3) and Hannah (Page) Dow, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, November 4, 1662, and died there, June 20, 1714, aged fifty-two. He was town clerk for eight years, selectman for five and deacon of the church for many years.

Samuel (1) Dow married (first), in Hampton, New Hampshire, December 12, 1683, Abigail Hobbs, born July 29, 1669, died May 12, 1700, daughter of Morris and Sarah (Eastow) Hobbs. He married (second), in Hampton, February 13, 1708, the Widow Sarah Garland. Child of first marriage: 1. Samuel (2), of whom further.

("Records of Hampton, New Hampshire, Births, Deaths, and Marriages.")

IV. Samuel (2) Dow, son of Samuel (1) and Abigail (Hobbs) Dow, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, May 25, 1693, and died there March 29, 1755. He was baptized March 28, 1697. He was the only son of his parents who lived to grow up, so he inherited the homestead. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was deacon of the church and town clerk of Hampton, as well as selectman and first town treasurer.

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Samuel (2) Dow married, in Hampton, New Hampshire, September 12, 1717, Mary Page, born in Hampton, December 13, 1695, and died March 10, 1760, daughter of Christopher and Abigail (Tilton) Page. Child: 1. Joseph, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Joseph Dow*, also known as Squire Dow, son of Samuel (2) and Mary (Page) Dow, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, December 21, 1729, and died there, December 16, 1806. For twenty-five years he was town clerk, as his father and grandfather had been.

Joseph Dow married, at Hampton, December 6, 1759, Dorothy Blake, born in Hampton, May 30, 1734, and died November 9, 1815, daughter of Nathan and Judith (Batchelder) Blake. Child: 1. Josiah, of whom further.

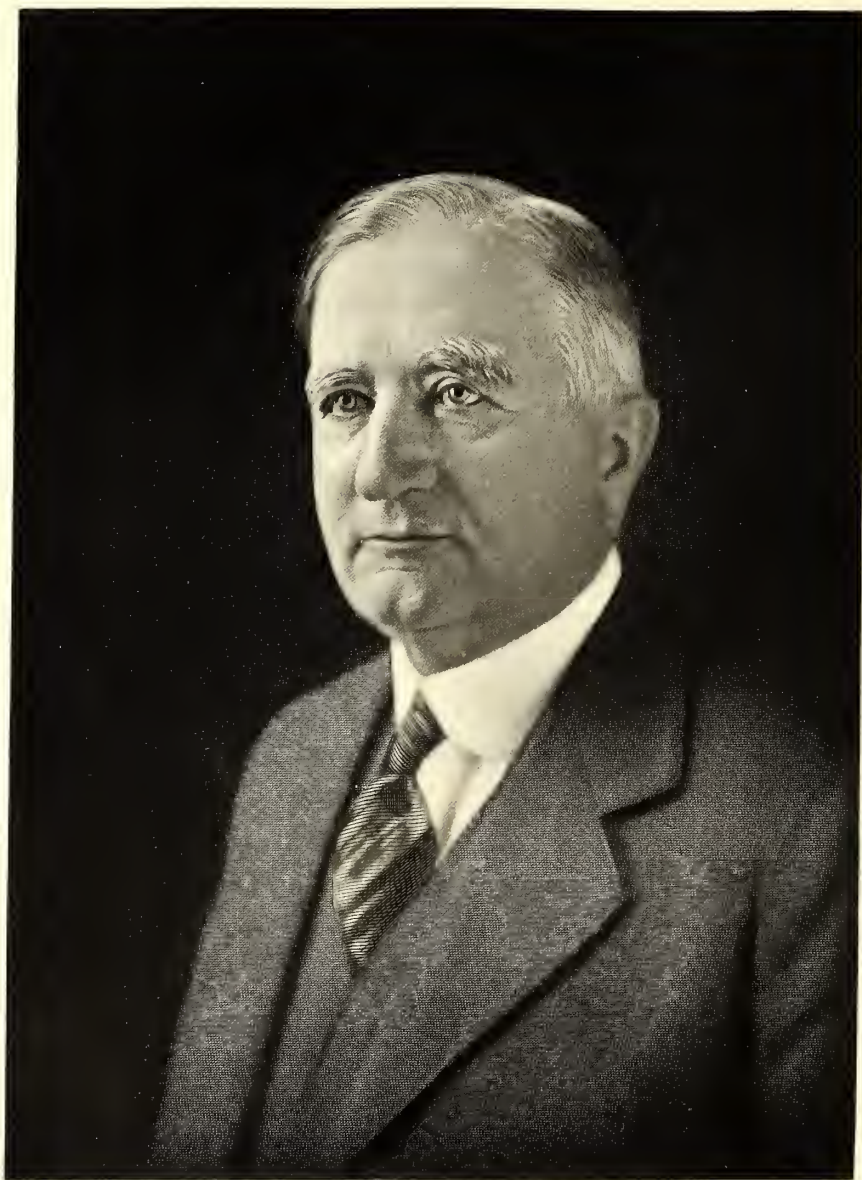
(*Ibid.*)

VI. *Josiah Dow*, son of Joseph and Dorothy (Blake) Dow, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, December 26, 1764, and died there October 11, 1840. For twenty years he served as town clerk of Hampton.

Josiah Dow married, in Hampton, New Hampshire, October 1, 1801, Hannah Moulton. (Moulton V.) Child: 1. Joseph, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. *Joseph Dow*, son of Josiah and Hannah (Moulton) Dow, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, April 12, 1807, and died there December 16, 1889. He graduated from Dartmouth in 1833 with the degree of Master of Arts, being salutatorian of his class. For four years he was principal of Pembroke Academy, and subsequently was in charge of the Lyceum in Gardiner, Maine. For several years he was engaged in teaching in East Machias, Maine, and in Pompey, New York. Returning to Hampton in 1862, he made a survey of the town. From 1862 until his death he was engaged in writing a "History of Hampton," for which work he was well qualified as several of his ancestors had held the office of town clerk of Hampton, in direct succession. The history was not quite finished at his death, and his daughter completed it and published it in two vol-



Engel, Finley & Long

Hubert H. Dow,

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umes. It is now a rare book and is considered a fine example of town history and genealogical information.

Joseph Dow married, April 14, 1835, Abigail French. (French VI.) Child: 1. Joseph Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Family records.)

VIII. Joseph Henry Dow, son of Joseph and Abigail (French) Dow, was born in Pembroke, New Hampshire, April 22, 1836, and died in Midland, Michigan, January 12, 1902. He was the eldest child. Joseph Henry Dow was an inventor along mechanical lines and for many years served as master mechanic for the Chisholm Steel Shovel Works, Cleveland, Ohio. He invented the first turbine in the United States. At various times his work required that he should reside in Canada and eastern Connecticut. For several years before his death, and after he had retired, he lived in Midland, Michigan.

Joseph Henry Dow married, November 24, 1863, Sarah Jane Bunnell. (Bunnell VIII.) Children: 1. Herbert Henry, of whom further. 2. Mary Edith, born in Derby, Connecticut, August 19, 1868. 3. Abby French, born in Derby, Connecticut, June 20, 1870, died in infancy. 4. Helen Josephine, born in Derby, Connecticut, May 30, 1876, died in Midland, Michigan, April 19, 1918.

(*Ibid.* Family record.)

IX. Dr. Herbert Henry Dow, son of Joseph Henry and Sarah Jane (Bunnell) Dow, was born in Belleville, Ontario, February 26, 1866, and died in Rochester, Minnesota, October 15, 1930.

He first attended the public schools of Derby, Connecticut, then completed his elementary education in Cleveland, Ohio, to which city his family had removed when he was twelve years of age. Even in his early school days his originality of spirit was evident in his avoidance of routine work and his aptitude for seizing upon unusual and creative ideas. Entering the Case School of Applied Science, in Cleveland, he was graduated there with the class of 1888. In 1888 and 1889 he was professor of chemistry and toxicology at the Huron Street Hospital College in Cleveland. In his last year's connection with that institution he experimented with bromine extraction and became deeply interested in the manufacture of chemicals in Canton. This interest led to the organization, in 1890, of the Midland Chemi-

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cal Company, in Midland, Michigan, from which developed the internationally known industry of the Dow Chemical Company. Mr. Dow chose Midland as the best place of operation because of the amount of bromine contained in the brine of the salt wells that were already drilled in that vicinity.

From the very beginning Dr. Herbert H. Dow was in complete charge of all operations of the Dow Chemical Company, whose first president and general manager he was, continuing to hold those offices for the rest of his life. His exceptional business ability and his mastery of chemistry carried the Dow Chemical Company from comparatively small beginnings forward to a foremost position in its line. Giving attention to every aspect of the enterprise and practicing always the originality that he so early revealed in childhood, he built this company into one of the world's largest and most important chemical manufacturing companies. His inspiration, work and organizing genius were, moreover, fully responsible from the very outset for the creation and growth of this great enterprise.

His talents included a special gift for dealing with the firm's employees, whose welfare he had ever at heart. Many thousands labored in the Midland plant and at the company's other plants and the factories of subsidiary organizations. His thought for them was reciprocated in their loyalty to him and in the affection with which they continuously regarded him. Another of Doctor Dow's special talents was for the development of new chemical and mechanical processes. More than one hundred patents were granted him, and he rendered invaluable service in the development of many other patents and improvements. The first manufacture of chemicals in an electrolytic cell took place under his direction, and was, indeed, one of the outstanding contributions of Doctor Dow to chemistry. As the many new processes were perfected, new machinery had to be designed and manufacturers had to be induced to make the newly designed machinery. Doctor Dow's will and courage was an incentive to others as he successfully pushed forward his plans. Among all his own inventive achievements, many of them patented and used in the world of manufacturing to great advantage, his discovery of a process for the manufacture of bromides was particularly valuable. His abilities were recognized beyond the bounds of the chemical industry, moreover, and for years he was retained by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

as a consulting engineer. That work also brought him national recognition. He made numerous trips abroad and kept in touch with world conditions through direct contact, not relying upon newspapers and indirect reports. An interesting chapter in his industrial career was his battle with the German bromine trust.

When the World War began, Doctor Dow was already known as an industrial leader, and he was named a member of the advisory committee of the Council of National Defense. His aid was sought in the solution of many problems that arose, and his contributions to that end were an aid in bringing the war to a successful conclusion. His company was one of the first to make carbolic acid on a large scale, and at the close of the war it was turning out thirty tons a day. Mustard gas was also made in large quantities, and the Dow Chemical Company was the first organization to ship this product overseas.

Highly esteemed and honored by members of his profession, he received, in 1924, from the Case School of Applied Science, the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering, and later he received a similar degree from the University of Michigan. He maintained always a close connection with the Case School, many graduates of which afterward became associated with him. In 1930, Doctor Dow was selected by vote of the committee of the different national chemical societies to receive the Perkins medal, the highest honor awarded in industrial chemistry in the United States. Presentation of this medal was made by Professor Marston T. Bogert, of Columbia University, at a meeting of the American section of the Society of Chemical Industry, the American Chemical Society, the Société de Chimie Industrielle, and the American Electrochemical Society, held at Rumford Hall, in the Chemists' Club, New York City, January 10, 1930.

Doctor Dow had many professional affiliations. He belonged to the Chemical Alliance, Inc., the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Electrochemical Society, the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, and the Society of Chemical Industry of Great Britain. He was connected with the National Museum of Engineering and Industry, and Franklin Institute, and was a trustee of the Case School of Applied Science. Other groups with which he was associated were the Midland Country Club, the Saginaw Country Club, the Detroit Athletic Club, the Union League Club of Detroit, the Union Club of Cleveland, the Chemists' Club of New

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

York, the Sigma Xi and Phi Kappa Psi fraternities, and the Free and Accepted Masons. In the Masonic Order he was one of the few elected to the thirty-third degree. For years he was a thirty-second degree Mason, and he was elected to receive the thirty-third degree in October, 1930. Politically, he was a Republican. He was much interested in the work of the Presbyterian Church, which he attended, and was a generous contributor to charities and other good works, both in and out of the church circle.

His own home community of Midland, Michigan, was a source of special satisfaction to him. Particularly did he strive to beautify the city. From his boyhood days in Connecticut he enjoyed gardening as a hobby. The grounds about his home in Midland were among the most beautiful garden spots in the State of Michigan, and Doctor Dow was never so happy as when working among his flowers. His interests along these lines were responsible, not only for bringing into being his own beautiful gardens and grounds, but for much that was done to improve the appearance of Midland. Despite the great demands on his time, Doctor Dow was ready and willing to help his community with both his time and his material resources. He was a member of the city council and the school board. His service as superintendent of parks was of exceptional value to the city. He was in charge of the city's park system, maintaining this department at his own expense. He donated to the city a portion of Emerson Park, furnished an airport for Midland, supplied materials and engaged an artist for decoration of the courthouse, and aided directly and indirectly in making this courthouse the most unusual in America. He furnished funds for building wading pools for children, whom he always loved. He helped support the Welfare Association and the Flower Show, and liberally contributed to the new club house of the Midland Country Club. In the interest of recreation he sponsored and personally worked for establishment of the Midland Community Center, to which he made generous contributions. He belonged to the New York State Horticultural Society, as well as to the Michigan State Horticultural Society, and was a life member of the University of Michigan Union.

Many glowing tributes were paid Doctor Dow at the time of his passing. The Midland "Republican," in an editorial entitled "Midland's Greatest Friend," on October 15, 1930, wrote as follows:

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

The great benefactor of Midland is gone.

The passing of Dr. Herbert H. Dow leaves our community at once shocked and crushed.

In no other one personage could the affection and well-being of the entire city and county be so completely centered. No other than Dr. Dow could have earned the genuine admiration and the deep, ever increasing respect and gratitude universally felt in Midland.

Lacking the opportunity of a personal acquaintance with Midland's great chemical genius seems to have lessened not a bit the great regard hundreds of persons have cherished for this big man whom they knew by reputation as the exponent of everything that was honorable, uplifting and at the same time a step ahead. And for those who were privileged to know his every day dynamic, convincing, yet kindly personality—the reverence with which they grew to honor him approached the idealistic.

It was forty years ago that Herbert H. Dow brought his first chemical idea to Midland and the great development and progress that changed the first crude experimental laboratory into the mammoth chemical industry that marks the present prosperous city, have been largely continued application of the new and novel ideas which emanated from this same fertile brain.

Dr. Dow's ideas have not been confined to the chemical field. For years he was retained by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company as a consulting engineer on power matters—simply more notions that had to be expressed. His friends and associates marveled at the ingenuity of his ideas. And the latest one of which the company and the community are bound to profit, is the monster new power house which should be placed in initial operation by the middle of next month after a year of building. This great power unit employing for the first time modern use of his own invention, would have proved of especial satisfaction to the inventor could he have lived to witness its first successful use.

The keen foresight of this chemical wizard in surrounding himself with other good men to share the management and production of his growing corporation proved another bit of wise business acumen, in that it now will be able to carry on to a brilliant future in the hands of a well-trained and efficient organization, as a worthy monument to the memory of its beloved founder and a permanent heritage for the city which he builded.

The Hon. John Whitman, mayor of Midland, spoke as follows of Doctor Dow :

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

The City of Midland is today mourning the greatest loss in its history. Through the boundless energy and marvelous civic spirit of this great man has been built this beautiful city. No request for the betterment of Midland was ever refused by him. Perhaps a great many of us do not realize that we have had in our midst one of the greatest men in America. A very modest individual, he was always pleased to converse with our most humble citizens—just one man in a million. The City of Midland will never again have as good a friend as our beloved Dr. Herbert H. Dow, and I earnestly suggest that the people here set aside February 26th, his birthday, as a future memorial to the memory of this great man.

Dr. Herbert Henry Dow married, November 16, 1892, Grace Ann Ball. (First Ball Line X.) Children: 1. Helen, born March 16, 1894, died October 16, 1918; married, February 2, 1917, Dr. William J. Hale; child, surnamed Hale: i. Ruth Elizabeth, born February 22, 1918. 2. Ruth Alden, born November 16, 1895; married, April 7, 1917, Leland I. Doan; children, surnamed Doan: i. Leland Alden, born January 28, 1918. ii. Dorothy Margaret, born September 5, 1921. iii. Herbert Dow, born September 5, 1922. 3. Willard Henry, born in Midland, Michigan, January 4, 1897; was graduated from the University of Michigan in 1919 with a degree of Bachelor of Science. His business association with the Dow Chemical Company began in 1919, when he became a chemical engineer, and afterward he became a director in 1922, assistant general manager in 1926 (continuing until 1930), and president and general manager in 1930. He is also president of other chemical companies: Cliffs Dow; Dowell, Inc.; Ethyl-Dow; and the Midland Ammonia Company. He held membership on the advisory board of the Chicago Chemical Procurement District of Chemical Warfare Service, United States Army. He also belongs to the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, the Deutsche Chemische Gesellschaft, the Torch Club, the Chemists' Club, the Rockefeller Center Club of New York, the Midland Country Club, the Theta Delta Chi and Alpha Chi Sigma fraternities, the Presbyterian Church, and the Free and Accepted Masons, in which he holds the thirty-second degree and is an initiate in the Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Willard Henry Dow married, in Midland, Michigan, September 3, 1921, Martha L. Pratt; children: i. Helen Adeline, born August 13, 1924.



Grace A. Dow.

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ii. Herbert Henry, born August 6, 1927. 4. Osborne Curtis, born November 20, 1899, died October 3, 1902. 5. Alden Ball, born April 10, 1904; attended the University of Michigan Engineering College; was graduated in architecture from Columbia University in 1931; received a fellowship in Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin Foundation at Spring Green, Wisconsin, in 1933. Serving as an architect at Midland, Michigan, he designed, among other structures, the Midland Country Club, the Dow administration offices and many private homes. He won the Grand Prix in residence designing at the 1937 Paris Exposition. He is connected officially with the Dow Chemical Company. Alden Ball Dow married, September 16, 1931, Vada Bennett; children, surnamed Dow: i. Michael Lloyd, born February 14, 1935. ii. Mary Lloyd, born August 9, 1937. 6. Margaret Grace, born January 3, 1906; married, September 14, 1932, Harry A. Towsley; children, surnamed Towsley: i. Margaret Ann, born November 9, 1933. ii. Janis Elizabeth, born February 13, 1936. iii. Judith Dow, born December 13, 1937. 7. Dorothy Darling, born January 2, 1908; married, June 21, 1933, Anderson Arbury; children, surnamed Arbury: i. Kriss Anderson, born May 28, 1935. ii. Robin Anderson, born December 19, 1938.

("Herbert Henry Dow—A Memorial," Dow Company. "Dow Diamond." Tombstone records, Midland Cemetery, Midland, Michigan. Records in possession of the family.)

(First Ball Line)

Arms—Argent, a lion passant sable, on a chief of the second three mullets of the first.
Crest—Out of clouds proper, a demi-lion rampant sable powdered with estoiles argent, holding a globe or.
(Arms in possession of the family.)

Ball is of nickname origin from the baptismal name Baldwin, popular among English surnames for generations. In the west of England the word ball is a provincialism for bald, and thus the surname Ball has another derivation.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. *John (1) Ball*, from Wiltshire, England, earliest known progenitor of this branch of the family in America, was a resident of Watertown and made a freeman in 1650. He is said to have been one of six sons of William Ball, of Wiltshire, England, all six of whom emi-

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grated to New England in 1635 on the ship "Planter." He died November 1, 1655.

In the town records is the original "inventory of estate of John ball lately decesed barued the first of the 3mo 1655" £30-6-10, taken by William Hunt, Robert Fletcher and John Smedly. Endorsed "this belonged to Ruth Ball," and in another place "Ruth Bals inventory Entered and Recorded 25-10mo 1655." "Of his family nothing is known except that he had two sons."

John (1) Ball married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. John (2), of whom further. 2. Nathaniel (1). (See Generation II of the Second Ball Line.)

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 107. Middlesex Probate Files, Docket No. 895. Ruthena F. Warren: "Descendants of John Ball, of Watertown.")

II. John (2) Ball, son of John (1) Ball, was born in England about 1620, and came to America with his parents, where he lived first in Watertown, moving to Lancaster, Massachusetts, between 1670 and 1675. On February 20, 1675-76, John (2) Ball, his wife and one of their sons were slain by the Indians, and two of their children taken into captivity.

John (2) Ball married (first) Elizabeth Pierce, born in England, died before October 3, 1665, daughter of John and Elizabeth Pierce. He married (second), October 3, 1665, Elizabeth Fox. (Fox I, Child 2.) However, Henry Bond in his "History of Watertown," states that Elizabeth Pierce, widow of John (2) Ball, made her will in 1667, therein naming granddaughters Mary and Esther Ball. Children of first marriage: 1. John (3), of whom further. 2. Mary. 3. Esther. 4. Sarah, born 1655. 5. Abigail, born April 20, 1658. Child of second marriage: 6. Joseph, born March 12, 1669-1670, slain by Indians with his parents.

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 107. Henry Bond: "History of Watertown," pp. 11, 393, 676. Ruthena F. Warren: "Descendants of John Ball of Watertown.")

III. John (3) Ball, son of John (2) and Elizabeth (Pierce) Ball, was born about 1644 and died in Watertown, Massachusetts, May 8, 1722, "an aged man."

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John (3) Ball married, in Watertown, Massachusetts, October 17, 1665, Sarah Bullard, daughter of George and Beatrice (Hall) Bullard, of Watertown, and granddaughter of Benjamin Bullard, also of Watertown. Her mother, Beatrice (Hall) Bullard, was of Boston. Children: 1. Sarah, born July 11, 1666; married, at Watertown, March 13, 1684-85, Allen Flagg. 2. John, born June 29, 1668, died at Waltham, October 24, 1752; married (first), September 27, 1689, Bethia Mattup; (second), in Newton, Massachusetts, November 12, 1730, Mary Clark. 3. James, born March 7, 1670; died at Watertown, February 22, 1729-30; married there, January 16, 1693-94, Elizabeth Fiske. 4. Joseph, born May 4, 1674, died in 1730; married, in Watertown, December 31, 1701, Elizabeth Parkhurst. 5. Benjamin (1), of whom further. 6. Jonathan, born March 29, 1680, died about 1727; married, at Watertown, January 5, 1709-10, Sarah Whitney. 7. Daniel, born August 2, 1683, died at Watertown, March 1, 1717-18; married there, November 10, 1708, Marle Earle. 8. Abigail, born October 5, 1686.

("Watertown Vital Records," Vol. II, p. 69. J. H. Temple: "History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts.")

IV. Benjamin (1) Ball, listed in Rev. Temple's "History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts," as "son of John of Watertown," became a resident of Framingham, Massachusetts, in 1703. He leased from Colonel Joseph Buckminster, forty-four acres on both sides of Stoneybrook, and took a deed for it January 31, 1734. March 7, 1751, he sold this tract to his nephew, Allen Flagg.

Benjamin (1) Ball married, in Framingham, Massachusetts, March 29, 1704, Mary Brewer. (Brewer III.) Children: 1. Benjamin, born December 17, 1704. 2. John, born July 16, 1706; married, in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, March 29, 1734, Margaret Hem-enway. 3. Abraham, born December 29, 1707; married, at Framingham, June 13, 1732, Martha Bridges. 4. Isaac, born about 1710; married, in 1738, Rachel How, of Marlborough. 5. Jacob, born May 28, 1712; married, at Sudbury, Massachusetts, January 9, 1749, Deborah Belknap. 6. Thomas, of whom further. 7. Mary, born February 11, 1717; married, at Framingham, Massachusetts, January 22, 1737-38, William Wright. (Wright III, Child 4.) 8. Abigail, born February 16, 1719-20; married, in Framingham, April 27,

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1742, Simon Mellen, Jr. 9. Daniel, born December 29, 1722; married, in Framingham, August 25, 1748, Patience Gleason.

(J. H. Temple: "History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts." "Middlesex Deeds," Vol. XXXVI, p. 569; Vol. L, p. 361.)

V. Thomas Ball, son of Benjamin (1) and Mary (Brewer) Ball, was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, August 16, 1714, and died in Brookfield, Massachusetts, in 1760, after being run over by a team coming down the Shrewsbury Hill.

He built a saw and gristmill and carried these on until his death, at which time his widow sold them to Isaac Johnson, of Southborough, in 1761.

Thomas Ball married, in Framingham, February 17, 1739-40, Hannah Wright. (Wright IV.) Children, the first born at Framingham, the rest at Brookfield: 1. Hannah, born March 19, 1740-41, died young. 2. Zerubabel, born May 18, 1742; married, intentions filed at Brookfield, March, 1765, Mary Bruce. 3. Hannah, born April 29, 1744, died at Colrain, December 28, 1828; married Moses Ranger, of Brookfield, who died in Colrain, January 1, 1829, at the age of eighty-four. 4. Thomas, born April 20, 1748, died at Brookfield, Massachusetts, November 29, 1811; married there, February 20, 1774, Sarah Woodbury. They had no children. 5. Sarah, born August 30, 1749. 6. Abraham, born April 26, 1750. 7. Benjamin (2), of whom further. 8. Silas, born April 23, 1754, died at Leverett, July 15, 1807, a physician; married, at Leverett, April, 1775, Rhoda Griffin, of Tewksbury. 8. Eli, born August 20, 1756.

(Rice: "Vital Records of Brookfield, Massachusetts," pp. 25, 241, 259, 443, 457. J. H. Temple: "History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts," p. 503. Barry: "History of Framingham," p. 449. John Montague Smith: "History of Sunderland.")

VI. Benjamin (2) Ball, son of Thomas and Hannah (Wright) Ball, was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts, February 12, 1752, and died in Leverett, Massachusetts.

He served as corporal in Captain Moses Harvey's company, Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, of the Massachusetts troops, in the American Revolution.

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Benjamin (2) Ball married, intentions filed at Brookfield, Massachusetts, October 18, 1774, Jerusha Woodbury. (Woodbury V, Child 4.) Child: 1. Benjamin, of whom further.

(D. A. R. Records, No. 133,929, No. 133,930. Rice: "Vital Records of Brookfield, Massachusetts," pp. 25, 241, 259, 443, 457.)

VII. Benjamin (3) Ball, son of Benjamin (2) and Jerusha (Woodbury) Ball, was born in Leverett, Massachusetts, in 1780 and died in 1816. He was a physician, and lived in Leverett and Montague, Massachusetts.

Benjamin (3) Ball married, May 28, 1805, Charlotte Ewers. (Ewers IV.) Child: 1. George Fordyce, of whom further.

(D. A. R. Records, Nos. 133,929, 133,930. Cemetery Records, Midland, Michigan.)

VIII. George Fordyce Ball, son of Benjamin (3) and Charlotte (Ewers) Ball, was born in Montague, Massachusetts, February 4, 1815, and died in Midland, Michigan, September 9, 1907.

As a young man he went from Montague, Massachusetts, to Lapeer, Michigan, but later returned to Montague and married there. As their wedding trip he and his wife first went to Schenectady, New York, then went on to Albany in order to ride part of their way on the first railroad train, making part of their journey by that train, part by the Erie Canal, part by boat on Lake Erie, and from Detroit to Lapeer, Michigan, they traveled by stagecoach.

George Fordyce Ball married, in Montague, Massachusetts, July 5, 1837, Julia Ann Bancroft. (Bancroft VIII.) Child: 1. George Willard, of whom further.

(D. A. R. Record, No. 133,930. Tombstone Records, Midland Cemetery, Midland, Michigan.)

IX. George Willard Ball, son of George Fordyce and Julia Ann (Bancroft) Ball, was born in Lapeer, Michigan, August 21, 1845, and died in Midland, Michigan, August 31, 1928.

He moved to Saginaw with his parents and thence to Midland in 1861. In 1876, he opened and owned the first bank in Midland. Later he opened a hardware store which he ran, as one of the city's prominent merchants until 1914, at which time he retired. As his

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wife had died in 1910, he lived at the home of his son until his death in 1928.

George Willard Ball married, in 1866, Amelia Eaton. (First Eaton Line III.) Children: 1. Helen, born February 21, 1867, died July 26, 1867. 2. Grace Ann, of whom further. 3. Ralph Hamilton, born August 3, 1872, died September 27, 1872. 4. Charles Edward, born August 23, 1874, died September 8, 1874. 5. Ray Abbey, born in 1876, died in 1915; married Beulah Gordon. 6. Leila Charlotte, born August 16, 1880, died April 6, 1893. 7. Harry Willard, died December 17, 1936.

(Cemetery Records, Midland, Michigan. Family records.)

X. Grace Ann Ball, daughter of George Willard and Amelia (Eaton) Ball, was born in Midland, Michigan, January 26, 1869. She married Dr. Herbert Henry Dow. (Dow—American Line—IX.)

(Family records.)

(First Eaton Line)

Arms—Or, a fret azure.

Crest—An eagle's head erased sable in the beak a sprig vert.

Motto—*Vincit omnia veritas.* (Truth conquers all things.)

(Burke: "General Armory." Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

Eaton is a surname denoting locality, "of Eaton." There are parishes so termed in Counties Bedford, Derby, Notts, Salop, Hereford, Stafford, and Berks. Towns by this name are located in Counties Berks, Cheshire, Derby, and Salop.

Earliest written record was of the following in 1273:

Peter de Eton, County Hunts.

Brian de Eton, County Wilts.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Anson Eaton, earliest known ancestor of this branch of the family, was born before 1794. In 1817 he resided in Schenectady County, New York. The Federal Census of 1820 includes Anson Eaton in the town of Duanesburg, Schenectady County, New York, his family then consisting of one male between twenty-five and forty-five years of age (himself), one male between sixteen and twenty-six, two males under ten, one female between ten and sixteen, and one female under ten. From this it may be seen that he was then a widower and the father of three sons and two daughters.

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In "Military Minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York, 1783-1821," is found the record of Anson Eaton's appointment as "cornet" in an Albany County military company to succeed Christopher Vought, who had been made a major.

Shortly after 1824, Anson Eaton, with his children, removed to Orleans County, New York. Anson Eaton married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children, probably others: 1. Daniel Lovejoy Cady, born in Schenectady County, New York, May 30, 1817; removed, with his father, to Orleans County, New York, as a small boy. In 1848 he located in Saginaw, Michigan, engaging first in the mercantile business. He later became prominent as a lawyer and as an insurance man, with offices in the Bernhard Block. He was a leader in the lumber industry, identified with the firms of Rust, Eaton & Company, of Saginaw, and Eaton, Potter & Company, of East Saginaw. He was vice-president of the Saginaw Bridge Company; was engaged in salt manufacturing; and was a member of the boot and shoe firm of Eaton, Smith & Company. He was postmaster of Saginaw in 1853-54, and was one of the organizers of the Saginaw Board of Trade in 1863. His daughter, Maria Eaton, married, March 3, 1869, Dallas M. Pendleton. 2. Hamilton Lovejoy, of whom further. 3. Betsey Lorena, died in 1831, and was buried at Esperance, Schoharie County, New York.

(J. H. French: "Gazetteer of the State of New York," pp. 320, 512. M. A. Leeson: "History of Saginaw County, Michigan," p. 658. "United States Census, 1820, Duaneburg, Schenectady County, New York," pp. 601-02. Hugh Hastings: "Military Minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York, 1783-1821," Vol. III, p. 2223. James Cooke Mills: "History of Saginaw County, Michigan," Vol. I, pp. 169, 244, 263, 278, 500, 664. Cemetery Inscriptions, Esperance, Schoharie County, New York: copy at State Library, Albany. Collections and Researches made by The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XXII, pp. 157-58. Family records.)

II. Hamilton Lovejoy Eaton, son of Anson Eaton, was born in Schenectady County, New York, about 1819, and died on his farm in Clinton County, Michigan, about 1861, his daughter, Amelia, being then about eighteen years of age. As a small boy he removed, with his father, to Orleans County, New York, and later he located

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in Newfane, Niagara County, New York, where for many years he was engaged in the milling business. In both the Federal Census of 1850, which ordinarily gives only the State and not the county of birth, and in the State Census of 1855, his birthplace is given as Schenectady County, New York. He is listed in the town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, in the State Census of 1855, as follows:

Hamilton Eaton,	age	36,	born	in	Schenectady County,	N. Y.
Abigail A. wife	"	32,	"	"	Ontario County,	N. Y.
Charles H. son	"	12,	"	"	Niagara County,	N. Y.
Amelia, dau.	"	11,	"	"	"	"

The family had been residents of Niagara County since 1842, and shortly after 1855 Hamilton Lovejoy Eaton removed, with his family, to Michigan, locating on a farm in Clinton County, between St. Johns and Lansing.

Hamilton Lovejoy Eaton married, about 1841, Abigail Ewing. (Ewing II.) Children: 1. Charles H., born 1842. 2. Amelia, of whom further.

("Census Records of the Town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, 1850-55." Family records.)

III. Amelia Eaton, daughter of Hamilton Lovejoy and Abigail (Ewing) Eaton, was born in Niagara County, New York, August 7, 1843, and died in Harbor Springs, Emmet County, Michigan, July 31, 1910. Her father being a man of means, he sent her to boarding schools in Lockport and she was well educated for a girl of her time.

Amelia Eaton married George Willard Ball. (First Ball Line IX.)

(Family records.)

(The Ewing Line)

Ewing, as a surname, with its variants Ewen, Ewan, Ewings and Ewins, is of baptismal origin, signifying "son of Ewan." It is similar to the Welsh Evan, popular in North England, but often Scotch. Earliest records of the name were: Ewanus Byrches, Ewanus Burye, Ewanus Berwick, Ewanus Dilworth, and Ewanus Kellett, all listed on the Preston Guild Rolls in 1562.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

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I. Thomas Ewing, earliest known ancestor of the Ewings of the town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, was born in Pennsylvania in or about 1782. He was living in the town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, in 1850, "age 68," and was living there also in 1855.

There is on record in Ontario County, New York, a deed evidently recorded in the 1820s, by which "Thomas Ewing and wife Rebecca, of the town of Gorham, Ontario County," conveyed land to Nezur Sutherland; deed recorded in Book 41, p. 218. He, with his wife and family, are listed in the Federal Census of 1820 as residents of the town of Gorham, Ontario County, New York. Sometime between 1820 and 1830, Thomas Ewing and family removed to the town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, they being listed in the 1830 census from Newfane. Recorded on the same page with Thomas Ewing, in the 1830 census, were Alexander and Francis Ewing, each being aged between twenty and thirty in 1830, each being head of a family. They may have been sons of Thomas and Rebecca Ewing. Thomas Ewing, wife and family again are listed in the census record of 1840, of Newfane. The Federal Census of 1850, the first which names persons other than the heads of families, has this record, still in the town of Newfane:

Thomas Ewing,	aged	68,	born	in	Pennsylvania.
Rebecca	"	"	70,	"	" Maryland.
Elijah	"	"	33,	"	" New York.
Ann	"	"	24,	"	" " "
Sarah	"	"	9,	"	" " "

The 1855 local census record of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, reads thus:

Thomas Ewing, in family of Hamilton Tice, Father-in-law.

Hamilton Tice, age 38, born in New Jersey.

Sarah Tice, age 37, born in Ontario Co., New York.

James W. Tice, son, age 5, born in Newfane, N. Y.

Tamer W. Tice, dau., age 7 months, born in Newfane, N. Y.

Thomas Ewing married Rebecca, surname not known, who was born in Maryland about 1780, and was living in Newfane, Niagara County, New York, in 1850, "age 70." As she did not appear in the 1855 census, at which time her husband, Thomas Ewing, was living with his son-in-law, Hamilton Tice, it is assumed that Rebecca Ewing

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died sometime between 1850 and 1855. Children, as indicated from census and family records: 1. Alexander, born between 1800 and 1810; resided near Thomas Ewing in 1830; evidently married and was head of a family. 2. Francis, born between 1800 and 1810; resided near Thomas Ewing in 1830; evidently married and was head of a family. 3. Elijah, born in New York State about 1817; resided in Thomas Ewing's family in 1850. 4. Sarah, born in Ontario County, New York, about 1818; married Hamilton Tice, born in New Jersey; children, born in Newfane, surnamed Tice: i. James W., age five years in 1855. ii. Tamer W., age seven months in 1855. 5. Abigail, of whom further.

("Ontario County, New York Deeds," Book 41, p. 218. "United States Census, 1820, Town of Gorham, Ontario County, New York," Part 23, p. 238. "United States Census, Newfane, Niagara County, New York, 1830," p. 341; "1840," p. 67; "1850," p. 405. "New York State Census, 1855, Town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York." Family records.)

II. *Abigail Ewing*, daughter of Thomas and Rebecca Ewing, was born in Ontario County, New York, about 1822 or 1823. The Federal Census of Newfane, Niagara County, New York, in 1850 calls her Abigail Eaton, age twenty-eight, born in New York, and indicates that she was then wife of Hamilton Eaton, miller. The State Census of the same town, 1855, called her Abigail A. Eaton, age thirty-two, born in Ontario County, New York, and calls her wife of Hamilton Eaton, age thirty-six, born in Schenectady County, New York.

Abigail Ewing married Hamilton Lovejoy Eaton. (First Eaton Line II.)

("United States Census, 1850, Town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York." "New York State Census, Town of Newfane, Niagara County, New York." Family records.)

(The Bancroft Line)

Arms—Or, on a bend between six crosses crosslet azure, three garbs or.

Crest—A garb between two wings, expanded or.

Motto—*Dat Deus incrementum.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Bancroft is a surname of locality origin, meaning "of the bank-croft," *i. e.*, the enclosure on the slope. It is an East Cheshire name, earliest records being of:

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1570—Buried—Jone Bancrofte of Butley: Prestbury Church (County Church).

1595—John Bancroft, of Macclesfield. Wills at Chester (1545-1620).

(Bardsley: "A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John Bancroft, progenitor of this family in America, arrived in Salem, Massachusetts, on the "James," which left London, April, 1632, and arrived in Salem, June, 1632. With him were his wife Jane and their children Thomas and John.

John Bancroft died in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1637, and his widow was granted one hundred acres of land in Lynn, the part now called Lynnfield.

John Bancroft married, before coming to America, Jane, whose surname is not known, and who survived her husband. Children: 1. Thomas (1), of whom further. 2. John.

(L. Eaton: "History of Reading." "Essex Antiquarian," Vol. II, p. 94. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England.")

II. Thomas (1) Bancroft, son of John and Jane Bancroft, was born in England, in 1622, and died in Reading, Massachusetts, August 19, 1691. He was called "Lieutenant" and was made a free-man in Reading in 1678.

Thomas (1) Bancroft married (first), at Dedham, March 31, 1647, Alice Bacon, who died in Dedham, March 29, 1648, daughter of Michael Bacon. He married (second), at Dedham, September 25, 1648, Elizabeth Metcalf, born in Norwich, England, October 4, 1626, died in Reading, Massachusetts, May 1, 1711, daughter of Michael and Sarah (Ellyn) Metcalf, of Dedham. Child of first marriage: 1. Thomas, born in Dedham, March 11, 1648, died March 24, 1648. Children of second marriage: 2. Thomas (2), of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born at Dedham, October 7, 1653; married, at Reading, May 26, 1674, Joseph Brown. 4. John, born at Reading, March 3, 1656. 5. Sarah, born January 14, 1657-58, died July 19, 1661. 6. Raham, born June 27, 1662, died May 19, 1688. 7. Sarah (again), born April 1, 1665, died at Reading, February 23, 1697; married there, July 7, 1686, John Woodward. 8.

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Ebenezer, born at Lynn, April 26, 1667. 9. Mary, born at Lynn, May 16, 1670.

("Dedham Vital Records." "Reading Vital Records." L. Eaton: "History of Reading," p. 43.)

III. Deacon Thomas (2) Bancroft, son of Thomas (1) and Elizabeth (Metcalf) Bancroft, was born in Dedham, "14 or 7 Mo." (September 14) 1649, and died in Reading, June 12, 1718. He left a will dated January 15, 1713, proved July 8, 1718. In it he named his wife Sarah, three sons: Thomas, Raham, and Samuel; three daughters: Sarah Briant, Judith Parker, Elizabeth Lampson; and grandson: Jonathan Bancroft. He was a lieutenant in King Philip's Indian War, having entered service in 1675. Deacon Bancroft lived in the westerly part of Reading, where the ancient Bancroft homestead stood and he built the fourth house in West Parish near the Abraham Temple place. He was a selectman of the town of Reading.

Deacon Thomas (2) Bancroft married, in Reading, in 1673, Sarah Poole, born about 1656, died in Reading, May 20, 1723, daughter of Jonathan and Judith Poole. Children: 1. Thomas, born September 18, 1673, died in Reading, November 9, 1731; married there, August 1, 1693, Mary Webster. 2. Sarah, born December 28, 1675, died at Reading, February 13, 1723-24; married Abraham Briant. 3. Mehitable, born February 1, 1678, died at Reading, July 18, 1703; married there January 2, 1699-1700, Jonathan Parker. 4. Jonathan, born October 3, 1681, died at Reading, January 28, 1702; married Sarah, whose surname is not known. 5. Raham, of whom further. 6. Judith, born March 7, 1687-88; married, at Reading, November 22, 1709, David Parker. 7. Samuel, born December 13, 1691, died January 27, 1692. 8. Samuel (again), born December 26, 1693. 9. Elizabeth, born June 22, 1696; married, at Reading, November 26, 1713, John Lampson.

(Middlesex Probate Files, Docket No. 987. "Reading Vital Records." L. Eaton: "History of Reading," pp. 22, 43, 44.)

IV. Deacon Raham Bancroft, son of Thomas (2) and Sarah (Poole) Bancroft, was born in Reading, Massachusetts, February 14, 1684, and died there September 5, 1758. He left a will dated March 14, 1754, and proved October 21, 1758, in which he named

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his wife Ruth; his sons, Joshua, David, and James; his daughter Judith and his grandson Ephraim Parker, son of his deceased daughter Ruth. He was a private in the Colonial service and like many of the Bancroft men, learned military tactics.

Deacon Raham Bancroft married (first), in Reading, Massachusetts, December 13, 1706, Abigail Eaton. (Second Eaton Line III.) He married (second), at Woburn, Massachusetts, January 2, 1729, Ruth Kendall, born in Woburn, April 23, 1703, died in Reading, September 18, 1758, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Locke) Kendall. Children of first marriage: 1. Joshua, of whom further. 2. David, born August 2, 1718; removed to Worcester. Children of second marriage: 3. James, born October 17, 1729, died young. 4. Ruth, born December 6, 1731, died in Reading, June 1, 1751; married there, December 14, 1749, Ephraim Parker. 5. Abigail, born February 12, 1733-34, died June 1, 1750. 6. Judith, born November 28, 1735, died February, 1796; unmarried. 7. James (again), born May 9, 1739, died in Reading, May 17, 1831; married (first), at Reading, May 11, 1758, Sarah Pearson; (second), November 16, 1786, Sarah Parker.

(Middlesex Probate Files, Docket No. 979. "Reading Vital Records." L. Eaton: "History of Reading" p. 44.)

V. Joshua Bancroft, son of Raham and Abigail (Eaton) Bancroft, was born in Reading, Essex County, Massachusetts, August 16, 1712, and died there in 1791. He was a private during the Revolution in Captain Thomas Eaton's company of Massachusetts troops.

Joshua Bancroft married (first), in Reading, Massachusetts, Mary Lampson, who was born about 1712 and died in Reading, January 17, 1776. He married (second), December 4, 1776, the widow Betty Eaton. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Mary, born July 17, 1733, died young. 2. Raham, born April 12, 1735. 3. Joshua, born March 2, 1737, died in Reading, May 11, 1782. 4. Mary (again), born August 1, 1739. 5. Kendall, born August 23, 1742, according to "Reading Vital Records." 6. Abigail, born February 8, 1744-45. 7. Jonas, born November 21, 1746. 8. Kendall (again), of whom further.

(D. A. R. National No. 133,930. L. Eaton: "History of Reading," p. 45. "Reading Vital Records." "Worcester Vital

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Records." James F. D. Garfield: "Fitchburg's Soldiers in the Revolution.")

VI. Kendall Bancroft, son of Joshua and Mary (Lampson) Bancroft, was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, March 13, 1751, died in 1806, in Montague, and is buried in the Dry Hill Burying Grounds. His birth record reads as follows: "Kendall, son of Joshua and Mary Bancroft, born March 13, 1751."

His record of service during the Revolutionary War is shown below:

Kendall Bancroft, Fitchburg, private Captain Ebenezer Woods Company, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, which marched April 22nd, 1775, in response to the alarm of April 19th, 1775, service 9 days; also Captain Mannasseh Sawyer's Company, Col. Dike's regiment, pay abstract for mileage from Fitchburg to Dorchester Heights, probably 1776; also Captain William Thurlow's Company, Major Ebenezer Bridge's Regiment, enlisting August 22, 1777, service 9 days; marched on an alarm to Bennington by order of Gen. Stark and Gen. Warner; dismissed after proceeding 90 miles; also Captain John White's company, Col. Abijah Stearn's regiment, enlisting April 5, 1778; discharged June 20, 1778, service two months, nineteen days, in and about Boston.

Kendall Bancroft, whose birth record indicates that the first Kendall Bancroft had died prior to his brother's birth, moved first to Fitchburg, where he lived ten years and then to Montague, where he died.

Kendall Bancroft married, in Concord, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, March 9, 1775, Susanna Ewers. (Ewers II, Child 4.) Banns for this marriage were published in Fitchburg, December 21, 1774. Child: 1. Abel, of whom further.

("Vital Records of Worcester, Massachusetts." "The Old Records of Fitchburg, Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 252, 293, 492, 494. D. A. R. National No. 133,930. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution," Vol. I, p. 565. James F. D. Garfield: "Fitchburg's Soldiers in the Revolution.")

VII. Abel Bancroft, son of Kendall and Susanna (Ewers) Bancroft, was born in Worcester Ward of Auburn, Massachusetts, August 25, 1782, and died in 1833. He moved to Montague, Massachusetts, and lived there most of his life.

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Abel Bancroft married, in Montague, Massachusetts, January 20, 1804, Susanna Woodbury. (Woodbury VII.) Children: 1. Julia Ann, of whom further. 2. Susan Ann. 3. Mary Ann.

(L. Eaton: "History of Reading." "The Old Records of Fitchburg, Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 293, 492, 494. D. A. R. National No. 133,390. "Montague, Massachusetts, Vital Records." Family records.)

VIII. Julia Ann Bancroft, daughter of Abel and Susanna (Woodbury) Bancroft, was born in Montague, Massachusetts, June 28, 1819, and died in Midland, Michigan, June 13, 1900. She married George Fordyce Ball. (First Ball Line VIII.)

(D. A. R. Record, National Nos. 133,929 and 133,930. "Vital Records of Montague, Massachusetts," p. 54. Tombstone records, Midland, Michigan.)

(The Woodbury (Woodburgh) Line)

Arms—Barruly of fifteen argent and azure three lions rampant gules crowned or.

Crest—A bundle of five arrows wreathed about the middle with a serpent proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Woodbury, as a surname, with its variants Woodberry, Woodborough and Woodburgh, is of locality origin meaning "of Woodbury," a parish in County Devon, England, or of Woodborough, a parish in County Nottingham. In 1216 Willin de Wodebere held a knight fee at Plymtree. The name occurs in Domesday Book (A. D. 1086) spelled Wodebere. Other early records were in 1273; of David de Wodebir of County Devon, Edmund de Wodeburg of County Suffolk, Henry and Ralph de Wodeburg of County Nottingham.

(W. R. Cutter: "Genealogical History of Massachusetts," p. 245. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. William Woodbury, earliest known ancestor of this line in America, was born about 1588, in England, and died in Beverly, Massachusetts, January 29, 1676-77. He is said to have come to America in 1628 and built a house, in 1630, at Mackerel Cove in what is now Beverly. He was made a freeman in Beverly, June 2, 1641.

He left a will, dated June 5, 1663, proved June 26, 1677, in which he named wife Elizabeth, sons Nicholas, William, Andrew, Hugh, Isaac, and daughter Hannah Haskell. He and his wife joined the Salem Church, October 21, 1640.

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

William Woodbury married, January 29, 1616, Elizabeth Patch. She married (second), March 12, 1678-79, John Walker. Children: 1. Nicholas, of whom further. 2. William. 3. Andrew. 4. Hugh. 5. Isaac. 6. Hannah, married Mr. Haskell.

("Essex Probate Records," Vol. III, p. 140. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 511. C. E. Leonard: "Fulton-Hayden Ancestry," p. 113. Sidney Perley: "History of Salem," Vol. I, p. 402. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 637.)

II. Nicholas Woodbury, son of William and Elizabeth (Patch) Woodbury, was born in England, in 1617, and died in Beverly, Massachusetts, May 16, 1686. He was a freeman in Beverly in 1673, made his will August 1, 1685, mentions widow Ann, children Isaac, Andrew, Benjamin, Joanna, Abigail, who were given the estate in America, and land in Yarmouth, England, to his son Nicholas.

Nicholas Woodbury married Ann Paulgrave (Palgrave), who was brought over from England by her "father-in-law" or guardian, John Young. She survived her husband and died June 10, 1701. Children: 1. Joanna, born in March, 1653; married, December 5, 1670, Samuel Plumer. 2. Abigail, born August, 1655; married, December 26, 1671, Richard Ober. 3. Nicholas, married, June 4, 1684, Mary Elliott. 4. Joseph, of whom further. 5. Isaac, baptized November 20, 1665. 6. Andrew, baptized April 20, 1665. 7. Benjamin, baptized April 26, 1668.

(Sidney Perley: "History of Salem," Vol. I, p. 402. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 636.)

III. Joseph Woodbury, son of Nicholas and Ann (Paulgrave) Woodbury, was baptized at Salem, Massachusetts, November 20, 1665, and died October 14, 1714, at Manchester, Massachusetts, where he had a large landed estate.

Joseph Woodbury married, at Beverly, Massachusetts, December 19, 1687, Elizabeth West, died at Manchester, October 27, 1714, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth West, of Beverly. Children: 1. Sarah, born August 27, 1688. 2. Joseph (twin), born May 22, 1690. 3. Elizabeth (twin), born May 22, 1690. 4. Abigail, born July 4, 1692. 5. Hannah, born August 21, 1694. 6. Sam-



BALL

Arms—Argent, a lion passant sable on a chief of the second three mullets of the first.

Crest—Out of clouds proper, a demi-lion rampant sable powdered with estoiles argent, holding a globe or.

(Arms in possession of the family.)

EATON

Arms—Or, a fret azure.

Crest—An eagle's head erased sable in the beak a sprig vert.

Motto—*Vincit omnia veritas.*

(Burke: "General Armory." Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

BANCROFT

Arms—Or, on a bend between six crosses crosslet azure, three garbs or.

Crest—A garb between two wings, expanded or.

Motto—*Dat Deus incrementum.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")



WOODBURGH (WOODBURY)

Arms—Barruly of fifteen argent and azure three lions rampant gules crowned or.

Crest—A bundle of five arrows wreathed about the middle with a serpent proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

KNOWLTON

Arms—Argent, a chevron gules between three crowns, or ducal coronets sable.

(Charles H. W. Stocking: "Knowlton Ancestry," p. 1.

Burke: "General Armory.")

BREWER

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant tail fourchée gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")



COAT OF ARMS AND CRESTS

ARMSTRONG—A lion passant guardant on a chief of the second third gules. (Arms in possession of the family.)
ARMSTRONG—A lion passant guardant on a chief of the second third gules. (Arms in possession of the family.)
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ARMSTRONG (WOODBURY)

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ARMSTRONG

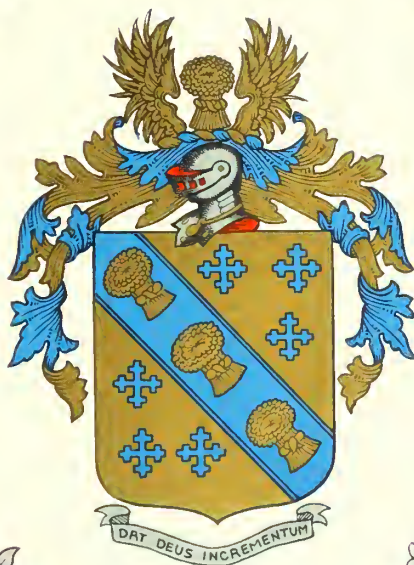
ARMSTRONG—A lion passant guardant on a chief of the second third gules. (Arms in possession of the family.)
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Hall



Eaton



Hancroft



Woodburgh
WOODBURY



Knowlton



Brewer

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uel, born April 15, 1697. 7. John, of whom further. 8. Anna, born September 5, 1703. 9. Benjamin, born June 24, 1705.

("Manchester Vital Records." J. H. Temple: "History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts," p. 796.)

IV. John Woodbury, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (West) Woodbury, was born in Manchester, Massachusetts, April 14, 1701, and died probably when lost at sea.

John Woodbury married, at Ipswich, April 2, 1722-23, Sarah Knowlton. (Knowlton V.) Children: 1. John, born February 27, 1723-24. 2. Elizabeth, born April 6, 1726. 3. Jeremiah, of whom further. 4. Sarah, born April 19, 1729. 5. Ezekiel, born December 4, 1734, died North Brookfield, October 21, 1821; married (first) at Brookfield, August 19, 1755, Mary Barnes; (second) Anna Hubbard, of Sunderland.

(Charles H. W. Stocking: "Knowlton Ancestry," p. 33. "Manchester Vital Records." J. H. Temple: "History of North Brookfield," p. 796.)

V. Jeremiah Woodbury, son of John and Sarah (Knowlton) Woodbury, was born in Manchester, Massachusetts, September 23, 1727, and died in July, 1820. He removed to Brookfield in 1750 and served in the French and Indian War from 1754 to 1763. He also served his country in Captain Obadiah Cooley's company in 1756 and was a private in Captain Jacob Abbott's company in 1757. His grandfather's farm on Barre plains was the first reached by the savages as they returned from assault on Medfield, February 21, 1765. The Indians called the place "Menamaset."

Jeremiah Woodbury married, in Brookfield, Massachusetts, March 22, 1750, Jerusha Tooker or Tucker, daughter of Arthur Tooker, who had come to Brookfield from Lancaster. Children: 1. Sarah, born October 10, 1750; married, in Brookfield, February 20, 1774, Thomas Ball, of Brookfield. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Mehitable, born February 14, 1755; married, in Brookfield, May 13, 1779, Jesse Cutler, of Brookfield. 4. Jerusha, born May 27, 1757; was of Sunderland; married Benjamin (2) Ball. (First Ball Line VI.) 5. Elizabeth, born December 24, 1759; married, in Brookfield, March 9, 1780, Reuben Hamilton, Jr., of Brookfield. 6. Diana, born Decem-

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ber 21, 1761. 7. Theodore, baptized November 18, 1764. 8. Hannah (twin), born October 27, 1767. 9. Thomas (twin), born October 27, 1767. 10. Sybil, born May 20, 1770.

(Rice: "Vital Records of Brookfield, Massachusetts," pp. 25, 241, 259, 443, 457. W. R. Cutter: "Genealogical History of Massachusetts," p. 245. "Brookfield, Worcester County, Massachusetts, Records," pp. 520, 521.)

VI. Captain John Woodbury, son of Jeremiah and Jerusha (Tooker) Woodbury, was born in Brookfield, Hampden County, Massachusetts, June 30, 1752, and died in Leverett, Massachusetts, in 1821. Five generations of this family are buried in Cave Hill Cemetery at Leverett. He was first a private in the Massachusetts troops under Colonels Porter and Bigelow during the Revolution. He was one of the Minute Men of Concord, Massachusetts, April 14, 1775, going with the New Salem company of soldiers under Colonel Ebenezer Learned. Later he was a lieutenant and captain as the following accounts of his war record show:

Lieutenant John Woodbury was chosen as one of the committee to procure thirty-six soldiers to serve in Continental service in 1780.

In 1781, Lieutenant John Woodbury was chosen one of a committee of correspondence, Inspection, and Safety for that year. In 1786, December 4, Captain John Woodbury was chosen on a committee of nine to treat with insurgents of Shay's Rebellion and instruct delegates and representatives.

Captain John Woodbury married, in 1774, Mary Ward. (Ward V.) Children: 1. Electa, born in 1776, died in 1832; married William Williams, and removed to New York State. 2. Jerusha, married, in 1805, Rev. Elisha Montague, of Leverett. 3. John, born in 1780; married (first), in 1805, Lydia Gunn; (second) Charlotte Ball. 4. Mary Elizabeth, born in 1782; married, in 1804, Deacon Silas Field, of Leverett. 5. Susanna, of whom further. 6. Lucy, born in 1786, died in 1815; unmarried. 7. Isaac, born in 1788, died in 1845; married, in 1813, Eunice Osgood. 8. Jeremiah, born in 1791; married, in 1814, Betsy Bartlett. 9. Sybil, born in 1794; married, in 1814, Joshua Hobart, of Leverett. 10. Ward, born in 1796; married, in 1822, Nancy Field.

(D. A. R. National Nos. 133,929, 133,930. Charles Martin: "The William Ward Genealogy," p. 141. "History of Sutton," pp.

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4, 127, 199, 783. W. R. Cutter: "Genealogical History of Massachusetts," p. 245.)

VII. *Susanna Woodbury*, daughter of John and Mary (Ward) Woodbury, was born in 1784 and lived in Leverett, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. She married Abel Bancroft. (Bancroft VII.)

(D. A. R. National Nos. 133,929, 133,930. Charles Martin: "The William Ward Genealogy," p. 141. J. M. Bancroft: "Thomas Bancroft and His Descendants.")

(The Ward Line)

Ward is a surname of official origin, meaning "the ward," being a guard or watchman. First written records of the name were of "Robert le Warde, county Oxford, 1273." In the same year were Simon le Ward of County Bucks, John le Warde of County Hunts, Warin Warde of County Cambridge.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *William Ward*, earliest known ancestor of this line in America, was a resident of Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1639, admitted a free-man in 1643, representative to the General Court in 1644 and select-man there for a number of years. He was one of the petitioners for Marlboro, Massachusetts, in 1656, whence he removed in 1660. He was chosen deacon at the organization of the church there.

William Ward married (first), in England, but the name of his wife is not known. He married (second) Elizabeth, surname not known, who died in Marlboro, December 9, 1700, in her eighty-seventh year. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born about 1626, died at Newton, July 8, 1708; married, about 1650, Hannah Jackson, daughter of Edward Jackson. 2. Joanna, born about 1628, died at Marlboro, December 8, 1718; married, about 1659, Abraham Williams. 3. Obadiah, born about 1632, died at Marlboro, January 5, 1718; married, at Marlboro, November 28, 1667, Mary, surname not known. 4. Richard, of whom further. 5. Deborah, born about 1637, died at Marlboro, August 9, 1697; married, at Sudbury, November 19, 1657, John Johnson. Children of second marriage: 6. Hannah, born about 1639, died in Marlboro, November 3, 1717; married, at Watertown, Massachusetts, March 26, 1657, Abraham Howe. 7. William, born January 22, 1640. 8. Samuel, born Sep-

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

tember 24, 1641, died in Marlboro, November, 1729; married (first), at Marlboro, June 6, 1667, Sarah Howe; (second), May 25, 1710, Elizabeth Beers. 9. Elizabeth, born April 14, 1643, died at Marlboro, April 26, 1710; married (first), at Sudbury, January 22, 1662, John Howe; (second), at Charlestown, February 18, 1677, Captain Henry Kerley. 10. Increase, born January 22, 1645, died at Marlboro, August 25, 1690; married, at Medfield, October 3, 1672, Record Wheelock. 11. Hopestill, born January 24, 1647, died at Marlboro, December 23, 1718; married there, April 22, 1678, James Woods. 12. William, born February 22, 1649, died at Marlboro, November 25, 1697; married there, August 4, 1679, Hannah (Brigham) Eames. 13. Eleazer, born about 1650, killed by Indians, April 20 or 21, 1676; married, at Marlboro, July 10, 1675, Hannah Rice, daughter of Henry Rice. 14. Bethia, born about 1659, died in Marlboro, December 8, 1721; married there January 10, 1681, Daniel Rice, son of Edward Rice.

(Charles Martin: "The William Ward Genealogy," pp. 60-67. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," p. 414.)

II. Richard Ward, son of William Ward, was born in England about 1635 and drowned in the Sudbury River, March 31, 1666. He married, at Sudbury, Massachusetts, September 8, 1661, Mary Moores, who died in Sudbury, June 10, 1703, daughter of John and Elizabeth Moores, of Sudbury. She married (second) Daniel Stone, of Sudbury. Children: 1. Obadiah, of whom further. 2. Lydia, born in Sudbury, March 16, 1664-65, died in Sudbury, January 10, 1740; married John Maynard.

(Charles Martin: "The William Ward Genealogy," p. 81. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IX, p. 412.)

III. Obadiah Ward, son of Richard and Mary (Moores) Ward, was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, April 19, 1663, and died in Worcester, Massachusetts, December 17, 1717. He removed to Worcester after 1712.

Obadiah Ward married, in Sudbury, December 20, 1693, Joanna (Mixer) Harrington, widow of Joseph Harrington and daughter

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of Isaac and Mary (Coolidge) Mixer. Children, all born in Sudbury, Massachusetts: 1. Richard, born in 1694, died in Holden in 1756; married, in Sudbury, January 1, 1718-19, Lydia Wheelock, of Sudbury. 2. Obadiah, born in 1695; married Eunice, surname not known. 3. Hannah, born in 1696, died in Worcester, February 24, 1760; married, in Marlboro, September 25, 1718, Daniel Heywood. 4. Daniel, born September 3, 1700, died in Worcester, May 21, 1777; married (first), Sarah, surname not known; (second), in Framingham, February 20, 1733, Mary (Stone) Coggin. 5. Domindo or Dorinda, born November 20, 1702. 6. Uriah, born December 3, 1704, killed by Indians at Rutland, August 3, 1724; unmarried. 7. Sarah, born in 1706. 8. Isaac, of whom further. 9. Thankful, born February 4, 1711-12; married Jonas Farnsworth, of Groton.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Isaac Ward, son of Obadiah and Joanna (Mixer-Harrington) Ward, was born at Sudbury, Massachusetts, March 25, 1707, according to "Sudbury Vital Records," yet the date of birth is given March 7, in the "Ward Genealogy." He died at Leverett, Massachusetts, October, 1777, the day the news of Burgoyne's surrender reached the town. He resided for a time in Petersham (although the printed records of the town do not contain his name), then he lived in Amherst and in 1775 removed to Leverett, where he died.

Isaac Ward married Sybil Moore, daughter of Nathaniel Moore. She died while the family was still living in Amherst. Children: 1. Sarah, born in 1735, died in 1815; married Joseph Clarey, of Leverett. 2. Isaac, born in 1738, died in the army in 1759. 3. Betsey, born in 1740, died in 1837; married, in 1764, John Adams, of Rome. 4. Sybil, born in 1742, died at Leverett, October 29, 1839; married, as his second wife, in 1768, Nathan Adams. 5. Lucy, born in 1747, died at Leverett, in February, 1817; married, in 1770, Gideon Lee, of Amherst. 6. Mary, of whom further. 7. Grace, born in 1752, died in Shutesbury, January 26, 1823; married, as his second wife, in 1771, Asa Adams. 8. Susan, born in 1755, died in 1838; married (first) Noah Dickinson, of Amherst; (second) Nathaniel Wilder, of Wendell; (third) John Dickinson, of Amherst. 9. Nahum, born in 1757; married Joanna (Hibbard) Hubbard, and removed to White Creek, New York. 10. Lois, born in 1759; married, in 1807,

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Mr. Cady, and was living in North Adams in 1850. 11. Lucretia, born in 1761; married Mr. Marsh and was living in Adams, New York, in 1850.

("Sudbury Vital Records." Charles Martin: "The William Ward Genealogy," p. 100.)

V. Mary Ward, daughter of Isaac and Sybil (Moore) Ward, was born in 1750 and died in 1829. She married Captain John Woodbury. (Woodbury VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Knowlton Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron gules between three crowns or ducal coronets sable.

(Charles H. W. Stocking: "Knowlton Ancestry," p. 1. Burke: "General Armory.")

Knowlton, as a surname, with its variant, Knowlden, is of locality origin, meaning "of Knowlton," a parish in County Kent. In 1658, record is found of the marriage of Thomas Godfrey and Anne Knowlden at the Canterbury Cathedral. In 1665, John Smyth and Mary Knolden were married at St. George's, Hanover Square.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Captain William (1) Knowlton, earliest known ancestor of this family in America came from Chiswick, County Kent, England. He married, but the name of his wife is not known. Child: 1. William (2), of whom further.

(Charles H. W. Stocking: "Knowlton Ancestry," p. 4.)

II. William (2) Knowlton, son of Captain William (1) Knowlton, was born in Chiswick, County Kent, England, about 1615 and died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1655. He came over with his father, was admitted as freeman in Ipswich in 1641-42 and earned his living there as a bricklayer.

William (2) Knowlton married Ann Elizabeth, surname not known, who was still living in 1688. Children: 1. Thomas, born in 1640; married, November 24, 1688, Hannah Green. 2. Nathaniel, born 1641; married, May 3, 1662, Deborah Grant. 3. William, born in 1642; married Susanna, surname not known. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Benjamin, born in 1646; married, November 30, 1676, Hannah Merrick. 6. Samuel, born in 1647; married, in 1669,

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Elizabeth Witt. 7. Mary, born in 1649; married, October 12, 1672, Samuel Abbe and removed to Windham, Connecticut.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *John Knowlton*, son of William (2) and Ann Elizabeth Knowlton, was born at Ipswich in 1644 and died in Manchester, Massachusetts. He was a carpenter and "Captain of Militia."

John Knowlton married Bethia Carter. Children: 1. John, born in 1670; married, in Manchester, December 20, 1697, Abigail Batchelder. 2. Robert, born in 1672. 3. Ezekiel, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. *Ezekiel Knowlton*, son of John and Bethia (Carter) Knowlton, was born in Manchester, Massachusetts, in 1679 and died there September 29, 1706. He was a weaver by trade. November 4, 1706, administration on his estate was granted to his widow Sarah.

Ezekiel Knowlton married, at Manchester, January 29, 1698-99, Sarah Leach, who married (second), at Beverly, January 20, 1712-1713, a Mr. Allen. Children: 1. Deborah, born October 29, 1699; married, April 27, 1722, Thomas Adams. 2. Robert, born July 17, 1701, died at Manchester, March 7, 1776; married there December 24, 1724, Lydia Bishop. 3. Ezekiel, born February 7, 1702-1703; married, at Manchester, December 23, 1724, Emma Foster. "Thought to have been shipwrecked at Islesables, March 18, 1734-1735." Widow Anne Knowlton died, Manchester, January 7, 1788, aged eighty-one. 4. Sarah, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* "Manchester Vital Records.")

V. *Sarah Knowlton*, daughter of Ezekiel and Sarah (Leach) Knowlton, was born October 24, 1704. She married John Woodbury. (Woodbury IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Second Eaton Line)

For Introduction see First Eaton Line.

I. *Jonas (1) Eaton*, earliest known ancestor of this line in America, was known to have been a resident of Watertown, Massachusetts, on January 6, 1646-47, when he sold to Richard Cutting, also of Watertown, his house and ground formerly bought of Simon

DOW, BALL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Onge, between Edward How and William Seger. In 1647, he removed to Reading, Massachusetts, where he lived on the northwest part of Cowdrey's Hill and was a town officer. In 1648 he and his wife, Grace, were church members.

Jonas Eaton left a will dated January 7, 1673, and two codicils, the first January 15, the second February 5; and the whole was proved February 5, 1674-75. In this he provided for his wife, Grace; gave his lands to his sons Jonas and John; cash bequests to sons Joseph, Joshua, and Jonathan each "when his new apprenticeship is out," and forty shillings per year to his daughter Mary.

Jonas (1) Eaton married Grace, whose surname is not known. She married (second), at Lynn, Massachusetts, November 18, 1680, Henry Silsbee, as his second wife. Children, all born at Reading, Massachusetts: 1. Mary, born February 8, 1643, died April 4, 1732; unmarried. 2. John, born October 10, 1645; lived on Cowdrey's Hill; married Dorcas Green and had eleven children. 3. Jonas, born September 28, 1647, died October 16, 1647. 4. Jonas (again), of whom further. 5. Joshua, born in 1653, died November 19, 1717; married (first), at Reading, Massachusetts, April 25, 1678, Rebecca Kendall; (second), December 18, 1690, Ruth, surname not known. 6. Jonathan, born December 6, 1655, died, Reading, July 8, 1743; married (first), at Reading, August 15, 1683, Elizabeth Burnap; (second), April 2, 1691, Mary, surname not known. 7. David, born September 22, 1657, died October 7, 1657. 8. Sarah, married, Reading, February 28, 1671, Joseph Dodge.

(Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 150. "Suffolk Deeds," Vol. I, folio 81. L. Eaton: "History of Reading," p. 63. Middlesex Probate Files, No. 6,754. "Lynn Vital Records," Vol. II, p. 27. "Reading Vital Records," pp. 76-78, 329. "Wakefield Vital Records," p. 278. Gravestone Records, Wakefield, Massachusetts.)

II. Jonas (2) Eaton, son of Jonas (1) and Grace Eaton, was born at Reading, Massachusetts, September 24, 1648. He became an early settler of the West Parish "near the Prescott place."

Jonas (2) Eaton married, at Reading, September 25, 1677, Hannah Mason. (Mason III.) Children: 1. Jonas, born October 9, 1678. 2. John, born October 24, 1680. 3. Mary, born December 29, 1683. 4. Hannah, born December 29, 1685. 5. Abigail, of

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whom further. 6. Jonas, born March 7, 1689-90. 7. Sarah, born March 25, 1693.

(L. Eaton: "History of Reading," pp. 64, 65. "Reading Vital Records," pp. 76-80.)

III. Abigail Eaton, daughter of Jonas (2) and Hannah (Mason) Eaton, was born in Reading, Massachusetts, February 11, 1687-88, and died March 26, 1728. She married Deacon Raham Bancroft. (Bancroft IV.)

("Reading Vital Records," pp. 76-80. "Wakefield Vital Records," p. 259.)

(The Mason Line)

Mason, as a surname, originates from two sources: one, occupational, that is, from the person who was a stone mason or a wood-mason. The other baptismal, signifying the son of Matthew, the old French term having been Mayheu, shortened to Maye, and, therefore, Mayeson.

Earliest records found of this name were: Gotte le Mazoun of County Hunts in 1272; Nicholas le Macun, County Bucks, 1273; in 1579, baptized Eliz. daughter of John Mason in Kensington Church.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Robert Mason, earliest known ancestor of this line in America, was an early resident of Roxbury, Massachusetts. He died in Dedham, October 5, 1667. He sold land in Roxbury, March 16, 1639-1640, to William Perkins and November 24, 1640, to Lambert Genery. On November 26, 1639, he was enrolled as a proprietor in Dedham. February 2, 1646-47, he mortgaged his house and eleven acres of land in Dedham as security for the purchase price of two oxen.

The inventory of Robert Mason's estate was taken October 23, 1667, and amounted to £187-03; administration was granted November 14, 1667, to his sons John, Robert, and Thomas. A certificate from Eben Lusher is still preserved and reads: "Abigail Mason, late wife of Robert Mason of Dedham, came yesternight before me and declared herselfe not willing to administer upon the estate of her Said late deceased husband."

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Robert Mason married, but the name of his wife is not known, although she was buried in Roxbury, Massachusetts, April, 1637. Other than the certificate, no mention is made of Robert Mason's widow, or of his even having one. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Robert, lived in Dedham; married there, November 10, 1659, Abigail Eaton. (Third Eaton Line I, Child 5.) 3. Thomas, killed with two of his sons by the Indians in their attack on Medfield, February 21, 1675-76, when his house was also burned; married in Medfield, April 23, 1653, Margery Partridge.

("Roxbury, Massachusetts, Vital Records," pp. 10, 222. "Land Records," pp. 1, 2. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 304. "Suffolk Deeds," pp. 1-81. "Probate Records," pp. 5-78. Probate files No. 472.)

II. John Mason, son of Robert Mason, was born in England and died in Dedham, Massachusetts, either January 18, 1688-89, or April 9, 1714.

John Mason married (first), at Dedham, Massachusetts, May 5, 1651, Mary Eaton. (Third Eaton Line II.) He married (second), at Dedham, January 5, 1676-77, Hannah Hawes, born in Dedham, February 1, 1654-55, daughter of Edward and Elione (Lumber) Hawes. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Mary, died young. 2. Mary (again), born March 1, 1653. 3. Hannah, of whom further. 4. John, born August 6, 1657. 5. Abigail, born January 6, 1659; married in Dedham, April 7, 1679, William Briggs. 6. Rebecca, born August 22, 1661; married at Dedham, February 5, 1682-83, Thomas Ockinton. 7. Judith, born January 27, 1665. 8. Elizabeth, born December 26, 1666.

("Dedham, Massachusetts, Vital Records," pp. 6, 17, 126.)

III. Hannah Mason, daughter of John and Mary (Eaton) Mason, was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, July 4, 1655. She married Jonas (2) Eaton. (Second Eaton Line II.)

("Dedham, Massachusetts, Vital Records," pp. 16, 17.)

(The Third Eaton Line)

For Introduction see First Eaton Line.

I. John Eaton, earliest known ancestor of this branch of the family, was born in England, in 1611, and was a resident of Water-

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town, Massachusetts, in 1636, and of Dedham in 1637. He died in this latter town November 17, 1658. His wife Abigail came over on the "Elizabeth and Ann" in 1635, aged thirty-five, with Mary, aged four, and Thomas, aged one; also Jane Damont, aged nine. He was a freeman at Watertown, in 1636, was a surveyor of boundaries, and built a bridge across the Charles River.

John Eaton left a will dated November 2, 1658, proved December 16, 1658. He named his wife Abigail, his children John, Mary, and Abigail and made bequests to John Damont of Reading, John Plimpton of Medfield, and "kinsman Edmund Hobson." John Plimpton had married Jane "Dummin," who with John "Damont" were children of Abigail Eaton, by her first husband, and therefore stepchildren of John Eaton. Children of John and Abigail (——— Damont) Eaton: 1. Mary, of whom further. 2. John, baptized at Dover, England, October 17, 1633; buried there January 27, 1634. 3. Thomas, born 1634, died Dedham, September 10, 1649. 4. John, had eight children at Dedham by his wife, Alice. 5. Abigail, born February 6, 1639-40, died at Medfield, September 21, 1714; married Robert Mason. (Mason I, Child 2.) 6. Jacob, born June 8, 1642; died March 20, 1646.

("Dedham Historical Register," Vol. II, p. 79. "Dedham, Massachusetts, Vital Records," pp. 15, 126, 128, 221.)

II. Mary Eaton, daughter of John and Abigail (——— Damont) Eaton, was baptized at Dover, England, March 20, 1630-31, and died at Dedham, Massachusetts, May 6, 1676. She married John Mason. (Mason II.)

("Dedham, Massachusetts, Vital Records," pp. 15, 126.)

(The Ewers Line)

Ewers, as a surname, with its variants, Yours, Eurs, Eeurs, Euers, and Ewer, was first applied to designate the duty of its earlier possessors. "The ewer" was an officer of the ewery, one who ministered at the table of his lord and carried water around for his guests.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Henry (1) Ewers, earliest known member of this family in America, was designated as "a sailor" at the time of his marriage

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in Concord. On October 21, 1725, Henry Ewer, "formerly of the Parish of Concord in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, now Indweller in the bay of Honduras," made his will. In this he named Mathew Bond of the Bay of Honduras, executor of the property there, and his wife executrix of the New England property. He named also his children: Henry, Robert, James, and Susanna. There is evidence that the will was proved or admitted to probate, but the original, somewhat faint and worn, is preserved in the Middlesex County Probate files. September 9, 1726, the widow Susanna was appointed administratrix of the estate of her husband, "Henry Yours late of Concord, deceased intestate beyond the seas in the Bay of Honduras." She gave bond for £300, with Nathaniel Ball as surety. The inventory taken March 14, 1726-27, £144-18-4, was attested by the widow October 21, 1727, and bears this notation in the hand writing of the Judge of Probate:

The admx. makes no mention of what she recd. of her father's estate and supposes she is not accountable for it. To be inquired into.

On February 5, 1727, her account was allowed, "present Nathaniel Ball, and Thomas Ball, uncles to the deceased's four children, namely, Henry, eldest, Robert, James and Susanna, and Samuel Merriam and Ebenezer Brooks, their guardians. On July 15, 1729, a citation was issued to Susanna Stoughtenburgh, formerly Yours, admx. of Henry Yours, formerly of Concord, July 21, 1729, an additional inventory, was filed of £50, note of Henry Bond, paid to her present husband Luke Stotenburg."

Henry (1) Ewers married, in Concord, Massachusetts, February 20, 1715-16, Susanna Ball. (Second Ball Line IV.) Children: 1. Henry (2), of whom further. 2. Robert, born in Concord, June 14, 1719. 3. James. 4. Susanna, born June 25, 1723.

("Vital Records of Concord," p. 109. "Middlesex Probate Files," Docket No. 7,103.)

II. Henry (2) Ewers, son of Henry (1) and Susanna (Ball) Ewers, was born in Concord, December 24, 1716, and died there August 30, 1757. Administration on his estate was granted November 7, 1757, to his widow Tabitha and division was made March 28, 1768. He named his widow and children: James, Tabitha, Susanna, Henry, and John.

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Henry (2) Ewers married, in Concord, January 10, 1743, by the Rev. Daniel Bliss, Tabitha Fox. (Fox IV.) Children: 1. James, born January 23, 1744; drowned in Kennebec River. 2. Henry, born December 7, 1746, died December 18, 1746. 3. Tabitha, born March 30, 1748. 4. Susanna, born December 2, 1750, died in Montague, Massachusetts, January 15, 1837; married Kendall Bancroft. (Bancroft VI.) 5. Henry (3), of whom further. 6. John, born May 13, 1756.

("Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts," pp. 88, 160, 180, 181, 182, 193, 205. "Middlesex Probate Files," Docket Nos. 7,106, 7,107.)

III. Henry (3) Ewers, son of Henry (2) and Tabitha (Fox) Ewers, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, March 7, 1753, and died in Montague, Massachusetts, March 9, 1833. His father having died when he was about four years of age, he went to live with Captain Severance Montague. When a small party of British came to the house to take the flag, he fought them, put them to flight and saved the flag.

He first served as a private, but later was promoted to the rank of corporal in Captain Asahel Gunn's company, Colonel David Wells' regiment, of the Massachusetts Troops, in the American Revolution.

Henry (3) Ewers married, in Montague, Massachusetts, March 12, 1775, Tryphena Scott. Child: 1. Charlotte, of whom further.

(D. A. R. National Nos. 133,929, 133,930. "Concord, Massachusetts, Vital Records, 1635-1850," p. 193.)

IV. Charlotte Ewers, daughter of Henry (3) and Tryphena (Scott) Ewers, was born November 11, 1783, and died April 13, 1878. She married Benjamin (3) Ball. (First Ball Line VII.)

(*Ibid.* Cemetery records, Midland Cemetery, Midland, Michigan.)

(The Fox Line)

Fox, as a surname, with its variants Foxce and Ffox, is derived from the nickname "the fox," applied first to one of a somewhat sly, cunning or clever turn of mind. Early written records of this popular name were of John Fox, of County York, in 1273, and of Richard Fox, of County Norfolk, in the same year.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

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I. Thomas Fox, earliest known ancestor of this family, was a resident of Concord in 1640, and was made a freeman in 1644. His will, dated January 25, 1657-58, proved June 15, 1658, reads as follows:

I Thomas floxe of Concord in the County of Middlesex in Massachusetts Colony being sicke & weake in body butt of pfect mind & memory doe make this my last will & Testamt in maner & forme following. ffirst I Comitt & Comend my soule into the hands of the Lord my God trusting in the Riches of his grace, that hee hath redeemed it by the precious blood of Christ Jesus, and my Body to bee decently buried, beleaving of that though soule & body bee sepe-
rated for a time, yeet they shall bee united againe at the resurrection of the Just to reigne with Christ in eternall glory. And for the out-
ward estate wch the Lord hath beene pleased to give me, I for the p'sent leave both house & lands Cattle & moveables in the possession of my wife Hannah, and my will is that shee have & hold all untill my eldest sonne Eliphalett shall accomplish the age of one & twenty years. And then in case my said sone Eliphalett will then undertake the payment of ffive pounds to each of the rest of my children as they shall come to the said age of one & twenty yeares, that then hee shall have & inioy two thirds of the said land & meadow, my said wife enioying the said dwelling house & a third part of the barne & of the land during the terme of her life, except in the Case hereunder expressed, and after her decease then the other 3d part of the Land wth the house & other appurtenances to come to my said sone Eliphalett. Butt in case hee shall refuse to pay the said portions to the rest of my Children, to my daughter Elisabeth five pounds within one yeare after, & to the rest at the Age of one & twenty years, that then my said wife Hanah shall pay or Cause to bee paid by her Executors & Assigns to my said sone Eliphalett the sume of ten pounds wthin six monthes after the said refusall. And shee shall have full power to dispose of the said house & Lands to one or more of the rest of my sones as shee shall thinke most meete, & shee he or they to whom they are disposed shall pay to the rest of my children the said sume of five pounds a peice at the time & age aforesaid. Also my will is that the said house & Lands shall remayne to one or more of my said sons except there (two or three words here omitted; original damaged, illegible) of selling of part of the Land for the payment of the said portions. And in case that part be sold, my will is that no part of the house lot bee sold from the said house, nor two Ackers of Land at the (sowne?) and in Brickilne feild, nor an Acre & halfe of Meadow in Bridge Meadow, nor two Ackers of Meadow at the upper end in Tomkins Meadow beyond Crane feild Butt what

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other pcells of the said Land or Meadow shee or they shall see cause to sell, they have Liberty & power soe to doe. Also my will is that in case my said sone Eliphalett shall accept the said two thirds of the Land at the age of one & twenty yeares on ther termes aforesaid, that then my said wife Hanah shall hold for her third part during her life with the house & a third part of the barne an Acker of plowland usually called the hollow on the top of the hill behind the house, & all the house lott below the house on the other side of the high way & the said two ackers in brickilne feild & the two pcells of Meadow before expressed, & six Ackers of Woodland adioying to my house lott Meadow. Also in Case my said wife Hanah bee married to another man & shall not live on the said house & Lands when the said Eliphalett shall be one & twenty yeares old, that then in case hee accept the Land on the termes aforesaid, hee shall also enioy the house & whole house lot & the other pcells before excepted, he payinge to my said wife yeerely duringe her life the third part of the yearely worth of the whole as it shall be judged to be worth by the yeare. Also in case my said wife Hanah dye before my said sonne Eliphalett come to the Age aforesaid, that then the Overseers of this my will hereunder mentioned or their Assignes for that purpose shall have power to deale in & dispose of things for the benefit of my said Children as the said Hanah hath in Case hee live & my said sonne Eliphalett refuse to accept the Land on the termes aforesaid. Also the overseers shall have power to dispose of all my children to trades & abroad as they shall see cause, only my said wife Hanah hath liberty to Choose any one of those I had by her to Continue with her. Also I appoint & Constitute my said wife Hanah the Executrix of this my last Will & Testamt for the payment of debts & ordering the Estate in Land & Chattles, untill my said sone Eliphalett bee at the said age of one & twenty yeares; & the two thirds of the Land to come to him if he accept thereof as aforesaid, but otherwise to dispose of things as is before expressed, And whether shee Live till that time or noe, shee hath, when shee dyeth full power to dispose of the cattle & moveables as shee shall Thinke best; Also I appoint & Constitute my Loving Unckle Thomas Brooks, my Loving brethren Moses Wheate & Thomas Bateman & my Loving ffriend & neighbor Robert fletcher the overseers of this my last will & testament. In Wittnesse whereof I the said Thomas Ffoxe have hereunto sett my hand & seale this ffive and Twentyth day of January 1657.

Witnesses hereof

EDWARD BULKELEY

ROBERT FLETCHER

THOMAS FFOXE

(Seal)

This was witnessed upon oath by those above written the:14:
(10:(mo 1658. before me

SIMON WILLARD

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At a Couy Court held at Charleston, June 15th 58. Major Simon Willard was appoynted by the Court to take ye attest & p'bate of the Will of Thomas Ffox as attest. Thomas Danforth R entered & Recorded 28 (10(58, p. 179. lib. 1 as attest.

THOMAS DANFORTH Recordr.

Thomas Fox married (first) Rebecca, whose surname is not known, and whom some authorities have concluded to be the sister of Moses Wheat, mentioned in the will of Thomas Fox; others conclude that she was the sister of Moses Wheat's wife, but no satisfactory proof of her identity has been found. Thomas Fox married (second), in Concord, December 13, 1647, Hannah Brooks, daughter of Henry Brooks, of Woburn. Children of first marriage: 1. Mary (twin), born September 18, 1642, died October 9, 1642. 2. Elizabeth (twin), born September 18, 1642, slain by Indians at Lancaster, with her husband and child, February 20, 1675-76; married, in Watertown, October 3, 1665, as his second wife, John (2) Ball. (First Ball Line II.) 3. Eliphalet, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 4. Hannah, born September 25, 1648; married, at New London, Connecticut, in October, 1668, Daniel Lester. 5. Thomas, born February 26, 1649-50, died young. 6. Samuel, born about 1651, died at New London, September 4, 1727; married four times and had seven children. 7. John, born about 1653, died at New London, April, 1730; married four times and had six children. 8. Daniel, born about 1656; married twice, but appears to have left no children. 9. Isaac, born October 17, 1657, lived in Medford until 1693, when he removed to New London; married, at Billerica, July 18, 1678, Abigail Osborn.

("Middlesex Probate Files," Docket No. 8397. William F. Fox: "Thomas Fox of Concord and His Descendants." "Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts." J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, pp. 196-97.)

II. Eliphalet Fox, son of Thomas and Rebecca Fox, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, about 1644, and was a freeman in 1690. He died in Concord, August 15, 1711, leaving the following will, dated August 13, 1711, proved September 11, 1711:

In the Name of the Lord God Amen I Eliphalet Ffox of the Town of Concord in the county of Middlesex in the province of the Massa-

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chusetts Bay in Newengland yeoman Being of sound good and Perfect memory Praise be given to god for the same yet Knowing the uncertainty of this Life on Earth and being willing to gett al things in order Do make and ordaine this to be my Last Will and Testament Hereby Revolking all former Wills by me made and signed to be null and of none Effect.

In Primas—My soule I give unto the hands of almighty god that gave it in sure and certaine hopes of eternal Life through our Lord Jesus Christ and my Body to the Earth from whence it came to be Decently interred at the Discretion of my executrix hereafter Mentioned and after my funerall expenses and debts satisfied and paid what world goods it hath please god to endow me withall. I Do give and Bequeath in manner as follows:

Item—I do give and bequeath unto my Loving Wife Mary ffox all my whole estate, Both Reall and personall of all sorts and kinds whatsoever and wheresoever during the time of her widowhood to Improve as she shall have occasion and in case she shall stand in need thereof then to sell any part or parcell of the reall estate for her comfortable subsistance.

Item—I Do give and Bequeath to my son Samuel Ffox my Lot in the plaine which is bounded south by John "Wheelers" Land and north with the Land of Jacob Taylor if it shall be left after my decease and after the time of My Wives widowhood if she doth not need to Make sale of it for her comfortable subsistance to him and his heirs forever.

Item—I Do give to my daughter Mary Harwood and her heirs my Lott in the Brickelfield and what moveable estate there shall be left of all sorts excepting my wearing apparel which I give to my son samuel ffox if the Land and estat of moveable goods be left as above mentioned after the time of my wive's widowhood.

Item—I Do give and Bequeath to my two sons John ffox and Nathaniel ffox all my Land and medow in the pastuer below nathaniel ffox's House to be equally divided in Quantity and Quality between them two both if it or any part of it be left as afore mentioned.

Item—I do give and Bequeath to my son Benoni ffox my homestead housings and Land it be Left after the time of my Wive's Widowhood: all the whole estate I give to my Wife so long as shee shall Live and Remaine a Widow in my name to Improve the Whole for her use and comfort and to make sale of any part or parcell of the estate both real and personal if she shall be in want thereof and what which may be Left to be for my Children as aforesd. Hereby authorizing and fully Impowering My Loving Wife Mary ffox to be Whole and Sole executrix of this my Last Will and Testament In Witness

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Whereof I the said Eliphalet ffox have hereunto set my hand and seal the thirteenth day of August Annodomini 1711 and in the tenth year of the Reign of our sovereign Lady Anne by the grace of god of Great Britain France and Ireland Queen Defender of the faith etc.

Signed sealed and published In the presence of us to be the Last Will & Testament of Eliphalet ffox.

his
DANIEL X HOAR
mark

ELIZOR FLAGE

JOHN MERIAM

Before signing and sealing this I
do give to my son Samuel Fox my
Lott Lying in the seader swamp.—
Middx.

At court 11 7ber 1711 Mary Fox exhibited this will. Elizar fflag and John Meriam made oath yt (that) they see the sd. testator sign seale & heard hime publish this instrument as his last will and Testament & yt. he was of sound mind & the admx. is comitted to the said Mary ffox and to prforme the same according to law.

Attest. Fra's Foxcrofte Jd. Prob.

Eliphalet Fox married (first), in Concord, Massachusetts, October 26, 1665, Mary Wheeler, born in Concord, September 6, 1645, died December 24, 1678-79, daughter of George and Margery (Stone) Wheeler. Eliphalet Fox married (second), at Concord, September 30, 1681, Mary (Stone) Hunt, born in Concord, in 1649, died before April 15, 1702, the widow of Isaac Hunt, the daughter of John and Ann Stone, of Sudbury, and granddaughter of Gregory and Margaret (Garrard) Stone. Eliphalet Fox married (third) Mary (Bishop) Coburn, widow of Robert Coburn, and daughter of Edward Bishop. She married (third) Joseph Lee; (fourth) Daniel Hoar. Children of first marriage: 1. Thomas, born September 10, 1666, not named in his father's will. 2. Eliphalet, born November 15, 1668, also not named. 3. Samuel, born September 11, 1670, died at Concord, January 15, 1733-34; married Ruth, surname not known. 4. Mary, born June 30, 1673; married, at Concord, November 7, 1700, Peter Harwood. 5. Joseph, born July 17, 1675, not named in his father's will. 6. Benoni, born February 17, 1678-79; married (first), in Concord, April 8, 1707, Mary Ball, who died May 23, 1711; (second), September 12, 1712, Experience Page. Children of second marriage: 7. John, of whom further. 8. Nathaniel, born February 18, 1683, died at Dracut, December 20, 1765, in his eighty-second year. He was a "Deacon" and married in Concord, January

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11, 1709, Hannah Merriam. (Merriam—American Line—II, Child 6.)

("Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts," pp. 12, 13, 15, 23, 25, 62, 186, 251. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 195. J. Gardner Bartlett: "Gregory Stone Genealogy." "Middlesex Probate Files," Docket No. 8,371.)

III. John Fox, son of Eliphalet and Mary (Stone-Hunt) Fox, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, July 15, 1682, and died there in 1754. He left the following will dated November 13, 1754, proved December 16, 1754:

In the Name of God Amen, I John Fox of Concord in the county of Middlx in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, at the present writing of this my Last Will & testamt, Being of sound and disposing mind and memory For which I bless God, And First I recommend my precious and mortal Sould into the merciful hands of God who gave it hoping in and thru the merit of Christ my gracious Redeemer to obtain the forgiveness of all my Sins, & my Body I comitt to the earth from whence it was taken to be Buried in a Decent & Christian maner By my Exect. hereafter mentioned.

And my wordly Goods I dispose of as follows, *viz.*:

Item—I give to my Dutiful son John Fox and his heirs my Gold ring & my shaft with an ivory head.

Item—I give to my Dutiful Son Isiah Fox and his Heirs my Sword & my gun & all my Utincils of husbandry of Every Sort and all my Carpenter & Joyner's Tools & my Chest that hath a Lock & Key & all my writings in it & my flock Bed and three Cows & all my wearing apparel and my mare.

Item—I give to my dutiful son Abel Fox The Sum of five Shillings Lawful money to be paid in one year after my Decease.

Item—I give to my Dutiful Daughter Susannah Soper and her heirs two pounds Lawful money and my red chest & one iron pot that she hath—& a little Box and my largest pewter platter.

I give to my Dutiful Daughter Abigail Miriam and her heirs two feather beds and Bolsters & pillows and two tables and one book entitled Mosers choice, & my Tongs & Slice & hand irons & my iron Pot & Skillet & my warming pan and four puter plates and one puter bason.

Item—I give to my Dutiful Daughter Tabitha Eurs & her heirs and one pound & six shillings & Eight Pence Lawful money to be paid in one year After my Decease.

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And I do nominate & appoint my Dutiful Son Jacob Fox to be the Sole exect. of this my Last Will and Testm't thereby ordering him to pay the Legacies above expressed & to Execute this my Last Will in every article thereof & I do utterly revoke and Disanul all other & former wills by me hereuntofor made. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this thirteenth day of November anno Dom 1754. In the twenty eighty year of his majes Reign.

Signed Sealed and Declared by the John Fox to be his Last Will and testam't in presence of

JOHN FOX

SIMON HUNT JR.

ESTHER KITTEREDGE

EBEN CUTLER

John Fox married, in Concord, Massachusetts, ceremony performed by the Rev. Joseph Estabrooke, June 6, 1704, Susanna Merriam. (Merriam—American Line—III.) Children: 1. John, born February 7, 1704-05, died February 17, 1705-06. 2. John (again), born July 18, 1707. 3. Eliphalet (twin), born January 21, 1708-09, died at Concord, July 24, 1746; unmarried. 4. Susanna (twin), born January 21, 1708-09; married Mr. Soper, who was probably Consider Soper, who had six children born in Concord, 1735-49. 5. Abigail, born May 26, 1713, died at Concord, January 16, 1759; married there, February 8, 1753, Ebenezer Merriam. 6. Tabitha, of whom further. 7. Jacob, born December 1, 1717; married Abigail, surname not known. 8. Abel, born June 4, 1719; married Sarah, surname not known.

("Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts," pp. 12, 13, 23, 25, 62, 186, 251. "Middlesex Probate Files," Docket No. 8,382.)

IV. Tabitha Fox, daughter of John and Susanna (Merriam) Fox, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, August 23, 1715. She married Henry (2) Ewers. (Ewers II.)

("Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts," p. 205.)

(The Merriam Line)

The Merriam family was chiefly identified with the county of Kent, England, where fifty-four original deeds, dating from A. D. 1354 to 1641, have been found referring mostly to lands belonging to the Merriams. Alexander, Stephen, and Henry Merriam, of Boughton, Monchelsea, were taxed in 1523 and later at Horsmonden. The his-

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tory of the family, as found in early records, centers in an eleven-mile radius, with the exception of descendants known to be at London and at Canterbury, where John Merriam was mayor in 1631. At Trinsted, in the Hundred of Eythorne, County Kent, is a very ancient manor called "Meriam's Court." The name was later corrupted and became known as "Madam's Court."

The name appears as "Meriam" on the parish registers with consistency. In some documents, however, one may find Merryham, Meryham, Mereham, Meriham, Mirrhiam, Mirriam, etc. The name is Saxon, derived from *murige*, *myrig*, or *merry*, and *ham*, a house or home, meaning "Happy Home."

In 1900, when the research of C. E. Gildersome-Dickson was made in England, a large number of wills and parish registers of Merriams were discovered in the county of Kent, but the American family descending from Joseph Merriam, of Concord, could not be traced back any earlier than his father, William Merriam, of Goudhurst, Kent. S. A. Merriam, writing in 1929, adds to this record, using many old deeds not found in the previous search, and these supply records for several generations.

(S. A. Merriam: "Ancestry of Franklin Merriam Peabody," p. 40.)

(The Family in England)

I. William (1) Meryham, as the name was then spelled, resided at Boughton, Monchelsea, when his will was proved in 1478. He was probably related to Robert Meryham, who lived there in 1381. While William Meryham's children are mentioned, their names are not given in his will.

William (1) Meryham married Benedict, whose surname is not known. Their children are mentioned in the wills of his brothers, John, in 1455; Robert, in 1468; and Henry, in 1483. Children: 1. Alexander. 2. Stephen, of whom further. 3. Henry.

(*Ibid.*)

II. Stephen Meryham, son of William (1) and Benedict Meryham, is mentioned in the will of his uncle Henry, in 1483, by which he received land called Clementes Brome. Stephen Meryham's will was dated October 3, 1506, and was proved May 18, 1507. He resided

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at Goudhurst, about seven miles from Boughton, Monchelsea. His will mentions his wife, Juliana.

Stephen Meryham married Juliana, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Richard, of whom further. 2. Joan.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.)

III. Richard Meryham, son of Stephen and Juliana Meryham, died in 1548. He was taxed in West Burnefield Hundred in 1543. The name of his wife is not known, nor is she mentioned in his will, which was dated February 1, 1547-48, and proved May 16, 1548. Children: 1. William (2), of whom further. 2. Henry. 3. Stephen. 4. John. 5. Johane. 6. Deonys. 7. Catheryn.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. William (2) Meryham, son of Richard Meryham, resided at Goudhurst, County Kent. His will, dated January 27, 1565-66, was proved March 10, 1565-66. He mentions his wife, Alice, and his children. He appointed John Horsmanden overseer. Henry Meryham, brother of William, in his will, dated 1567, mentions John Horsmanden as a kinsman. In 1578 John Horsmanden gave £30 to William the son of William Meryham. Since William and Henry Meryham both mention John Horsmanden, it is possible that their mother was a Horsmanden, but this cannot be proved.

William (2) Meryham married Alice, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. John, baptized Goudhurst, November 16, 1561. 2. William (3), of whom further. 3. Joane, baptized at Goudhurst, May 11, 1564, buried May 14, 1564.

(*Ibid.*, p. 54.)

V. William (3) Meryham, son of William (2) and Alice Meryham, was baptized at Goudhurst, County Kent, England, May 11, 1564, and died in 1635. He resided at Goudhurst and was a clothier. At Hadley, William Sumner Appleton, Esq., of Boston, discovered the will of William Merriam, of Hadlow, County Kent, clothier, dated September 8, 1635, proved November 27, 1635 (consistory of Rochester). This will names his wife and children.

William Meryham was taxed in Tudeley in 1598, 1599, 1600, 1610, and 1611; he also owned land at Yalding and Hadlow. In

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1616 Robert Pyper, of Tonbridge, also a clothier, mentions his brother-in-law, William Meryham, but at that time the term "brother," in addition to its usual sense, sometimes indicated a "step" relationship. The will of James Burgess, of Tudeley, in 1500, indicates a relationship.

William (3) Meryham married Sara, whose surname is not mentioned. Children: 1. Susan. 2. Margaret. 3. A daughter, who married Thomas Howe. 4. Joseph. 5. George, of whom further. 6. Joane. 7. Sara. 8. Robert, born about 1613, died in Concord, Massachusetts, February 15, 1682; married Mary Sheape, daughter of Edmond Sheape, of Branbrook, County Kent.

(S. A. Merriam: "Ancestry of Franklin Merriam Peabody," p. 43. Pope: "Merriam Genealogy in England and America," pp. 27-29, 30-31, 32, 36-37, 38-39.)

(The Family in America)

Ralph Waldo Emerson, in an ode honoring the pioneers of Old Concord, Massachusetts, wrote as follows:

Bulkeley, Hunt, Willard, Hosmer, Meriam, Flint,
Possessed the land which rendered to their toil
Hay, corn, roots, flax, hemp, apples, wool and wood;
Each of these landlords walked amongst his farm
Saying, "It is mine, my children's and my name—."

So long as the Nation exists and history remains recorded, at least one spot of land which was the pioneer Meriam's will continue to bear his name. The British, driven back from the North Bridge, were out-flanked by the pursuing "minute-men" at a corner of the Meriam farm where the roads forked, and were driven in the utter rout and confusion of retreat toward Boston.

Meriam's Corner is marked by a bronze tablet and shares equally in the victory of the day with the North Bridge, both having played their part in the famous "Concord Fight."

I. George Merriam, as the name came to be spelled, son of William (3) and Sara Meryham, was the earliest member of this branch of the family in America. He was born in England about 1603 and died in Concord, December 29, 1675. He was made a "freeman" June 2, 1641, and resided in Concord. George Merriam left a will dated October 8, 1675, proved April 4, 1676, in which he names his

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wife Susanna, only son Samuel and five daughters: Sarah Gove, of Cambridge; Elizabeth West, of Salem; Hannah Axtell, of Marlboro; Susan Scothford, of Concord; and Abigail Bateman, of Concord.

George Merriam married Susanna, whose surname is not known, and who died October 8, 1675. Children: 1. Mary, baptized at Tunbridge, County Kent, November 14, 1628. 2. Mary (again), baptized November 14, 1630, died at Concord, August 10, 1646. 3. Susan, died at Concord, February 2, 1707; married John Scothford. 4. Elizabeth, baptized January 18, 1635, buried May 14, 1636. 5. Joseph, baptized February 26, 1637, died young. 6. Sarah, born at Concord, 17-5 mo. 1639 (July 17th), died before 1681; married (first), at Concord, October 14, 1658, William Hall; (second) Mr. Gove. 7. Elizabeth, born November 8 or 11, 1641, died at Salem, in August, 1691; married, in Salem, September 7, 1664, Henry West. 8. Samuel, of whom further. 9. Abigail, born 15-5 mo. 1645, died at Concord, July 14, 1684; married there, April 25, 1672, Thomas Bateman. 10. Hannah, born 14-5 mo. 1647; married (first), at Concord, June 14, 1665, Henry Axtell; (second), July 16, 1677, William Taylor, of Concord.

(Pope: "Merriam Genealogy in England and America," p. 38. Concord printed records. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 197.)

II. Samuel Merriam, son of George and Susanna Merriam, was born in Concord, July 21, 1643. He married, in Lynn, April 25, 1671, Elizabeth Townsend, who died in Concord, November 19, 1705. Children: 1. Mary, born September 30, 1672; married Mr. Gates. 2. Elizabeth, born October 5, 1673; married, December 6, 1699, John Farrar. (Farrar II, Child 3.) 3. Sarah, born August 16, 1675, died October 25, 1738; married, November 23, 1697, Edward Wheeler. 4. Susanna, of whom further. 5. Samuel, born October 17, 1679, died at Concord, June 1, 1764; married, May 12, 1708, Abial Lea. Their only child Samuel died in 1736; unmarried. 6. Hannah, born February 16, 1682; married Nathaniel Fox. (Fox II, Child 8.) 7. Abigail, born October 19, 1684; married Mr. Marble, of Stow.

(C. H. Pope: "Merriam Genealogy in England and America," p. 47.)

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III. Susanna Merriam, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Townsend) Merriam, was born August 15, 1677, and died before 1754. She married John Fox. (Fox III.)

(William F. Fox: "Thomas Fox and His Descendants." Pope: "Merriam Genealogy in England and America," p. 47.)

(The Second Ball Line)

For Introduction and Generation I, see First Ball Line.

II. Nathaniel (1) Ball, son of John Ball, was born in England, in 1625, and died in Concord, Massachusetts, January 14, 1705-06. He came over with his parents and brother John and lived first in Watertown, then settled in that part of Concord which is now Bedford.

Nathaniel (1) Ball married (first) Mary, surname not known, who died in Concord, February 14, 1669. He married (second), February 7, 1670, Margery (Knight) Bateman, died April 10, 1709, and was widow of Thomas Bateman. Children, all of the first marriage and all born in Concord: 1. John, died 27-5mo., 1649. 2. Nathaniel, born 28-7mo., 1649, died 23-9mo., 1649. 3. Eleazer, born about 1651, died at Concord, November 15, 1698; married (first), in Concord, September 25, 1675, Priscilla Wood; (second), June 14, 1688, Sarah Miriam, of Cambridge. 4. Ebenezer. 5. John (again), born August 15, 1660, died at Concord, October 27, 1703; married (first), at Concord, 29-9mo., 1682, Martha Bignall; (second), October 16, 1690, Hannah Rugg. 6. Nathaniel (again), of whom further. 7. Hannah, born January 22, 1665; married, at Concord, December 12, 1705, John Whitaker, of Stow.

(Ruthena F. Warren: "The Descendants of John Ball of Watertown." "Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts," pp. 69, 74.)

III. Nathaniel (2) Ball, son of Nathaniel (1) and Mary Ball, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, July 3, 1663, and died there March 4, 1724-25. The administration on his estate was granted April 6, 1725, to widow Mary and son Nathaniel Ball, Jr.

Nathaniel (2) Ball married, in Concord, Massachusetts, April 19, 1688, Mary Brooks, born in Concord, April 3, 1666, and died there August 22, 1722, daughter of Caleb and Susanna (Atkinson) Brooks. Children: 1. Susanna, of whom further. 2. Caleb, born August 10,

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1690, died before 1753; married Experience Flagg. 3. Nathaniel, born April 1, 1692, died at Concord, June 3, 1749; married (first), in Concord, May 31, 1711, Sarah Baker; married (second), September 10, 1746, Sarah Merriam. 4. Thomas, born February 2, 1693-1694, killed at Brookfield, in the French and Indian War; married Abigail, surname not known. 5. Samuel, born March 24, 1696-97; married Abigail, surname not known. 6. Mary, born May 11, 1699. 7. Jeremiah, born May 1, 1701, died in Townsend, Massachusetts, April 12, 1780; married, in 1727, Mary Stevens. 8. Benjamin, born June 19, 1704, died March 5, 1738-39. 9. Ebenezer, born May 30, 1712, died October 26, 1726.

("Vital Records of Concord, Massachusetts," pp. 9, 11, 27, 33, 36, 38, 44, 47, 51, 61, 79, 100, 143. Ruthena F. Warren: "Descendants of John Ball of Watertown, Massachusetts." "Middlesex Probate Records," Docket No. 915.)

IV. Susanna Ball, daughter of Nathaniel (2) and Mary (Brooks) Ball, was born January 24, 1688-89. She married (first) Henry (1) Ewers. (Ewers I.) She married (second) Luke Stoughtenburg.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Wright Line)

Wright, as a surname, is of occupational origin meaning "the wright," used to designate the skilled worker in various metals. At a later date, more detailed distinction was made and people were called "Cartwright," "wheelwright" and the like. Earliest written records of the name were found in County Cambridge in 1273, as follows: Robert le Wricte, Roger le Wricte, Margery le Wrytte.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Dorothy Wright, earliest known member of this branch of the family to come to America, was in Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1639, for she shared in the division of meadow there at that date.

Dorothy Wright married (first), but the name of her husband is not known. She married, in Sudbury, March 10, 1642, John Blandford, as her second husband. His will of October 21, 1687, names his "son-in-law," Edward Wright. Children of Dorothy Wright and her first husband: 1. Edward (1), of whom further. 2. Samuel, died in Sudbury, August 21, 1664; married there May 3, 1664, Lydia

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Moore. 3. Lydia, married, at Sudbury, June 15, 1665, James Cutler. (She may have been the widow of Samuel above, rather than his sister.)

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 655. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," pp. 54, 56. Barry: "History of Framingham," p. 449.)

II. Edward (1) Wright, son of Dorothy Wright, died in Sudbury, August 7, 1703, and was called "Captain" in the settlement of his estate. The administration of his estate was granted September 6, 1703, to widow Hannah and eldest son Samuel. The agreement of the heirs, June 15, 1708, was signed by Samuel Wright, Edward Wright, Benjamin and Dorothy Moore, Noah and Mary Clap, John and Abigail Moore, Benoni and Sarah Larned, of Sherborn, Elizabeth Wright and Martha Wright.

Edward (1) Wright married, at Sudbury, June 18, 1659, Hannah Epson (according to the marriage record, but at Axtell according to Barry's "History of Framingham.") Children: 1. Hannah, born January 9, 1660, not named in 1708. 2. Dorothy, born October 20, 1662, died October 20, 1717; married there November 11, 1686, Benjamin Moore. 3. Sarah, born January 17, 1664-65, died in Sherborn, January 25, 1736-37; married, about 1689, as his second wife, Deacon Benoni Larned, of Sherborn. 4. Mary, born January 2, 1666, died in Sudbury, June 5, 1725; married there July 28, 1690, Noah Clap. 5. Elizabeth, born March 6, 1668, died May 12, 1669. 6. Samuel, born April 9, 1670; living in 1708. 7. Abigail, born September 15, 1672, died in Sudbury, December 17, 1729; married John Moore, of Sudbury. 8. Edward (2), of whom further. 9. Elizabeth (again), named in the agreement of 1708. 10. Martha, born December 25, 1681; not married in 1708.

(Barry: "History of Framingham," p. 449. "Sudbury Vital Records." "Middlesex Probate Files," Docket No. 25,665. "Middlesex Deeds," Vol. XVI, p. 491. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 655.)

III. Edward (2) Wright, son of Edward (1) and Hannah (Epson) Wright, was born in Sudbury, March 16, 1677. He married Hannah, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Nehemiah,

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born in Sudbury, May 23, 1707; married, at Framingham, May 24, 1733, Mary Gates. 2. Zerubabel, born August 14, 1708. 3. Bezeleel, born July 22, 1710, died in Framingham, September 10, 1759; married Susanna, surname not known. 4. William, born September 21, 1711; married, in Framingham, January 22, 1737-38, Mary Ball. (First Ball Line IV, Child 7.) 5. Tabitha, born March 27, 1713; married, at Framingham, October 12, 1742, James Arms, of Leicester. 6. Mary, born November 17, 1714. 7. Elizabeth, born March 11, 1716-17; married, in Framingham, December 1, 1737, William Newton, of Marlboro. 8. Hannah, of whom further. 9. Edward, born March 10, 1720-21. 10. Mehitable, died March 18, 1743-44. 11. Lois, born 1728, died 1813.

(Barry: "History of Framingham," p. 449. "Framingham Vital Records." J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 656.)

IV. Hannah Wright, daughter of Edward (2) and Hannah Wright, was born April 15, 1719, and died in Brookfield, August 21, 1785. She married Thomas Ball. (First Ball Line V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Brewer Line)

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant tail forchée gules. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Brewer, as a surname, is of occupational origin from "the brewer." Earliest written records were of William le Brewere, London, in 1273, and William le Brywer, County Devon, the same year.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John (1) Brewer, son of Christopher Brewer, the first of this line of whom we have definite record, was early in Cambridge, Massachusetts, about 1642, and removed to Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1647.

John (1) Brewer married (first) Ann, whose surname is not known. He married (second), October 23, 1647, Mary, at one time believed to be Mary Whitmore, daughter of the first John Whitmore, but later authorities state that this is not correct. Children of first marriage: 1. John (2), of whom further. 2. Hannah, born January 18, 1644-45; married, in Sudbury, Massachusetts, February 25, 1663, Daniel Goble. Children of second marriage: 3. Mary, born Septem-

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ber 23, 1648. 4. William, born October 6, 1653. 5. Sarah, born March 27, 1658.

(Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 67. "Cambridge Vital Records." Paige: "History of Cambridge," p. 500. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers in New England," Vol. I, p. 243. J. H. Temple: "History of Framingham, Massachusetts," p. 481.)

II. John (2) Brewer, son of John (1) and Ann Brewer, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 10, 1642, and died in Sudbury, Massachusetts, January 1, 1690-91. He married Elizabeth Rice, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Moore) Rice. She was born in Sudbury, August 4, 1648, and died before March 12, 1693-94, when her estate was settled. Children: 1. John, born September 29, 1669, died at Weston, in 1709; married, in Sudbury, July 5, 1693, Hannah Jones, of Watertown. 2. Elizabeth, born May 21, 1671. 3. Hannah. 4. Deacon James, born September 10, 1675, died at Sudbury, November 18, 1764; married (first), in Sudbury, December 30, 1703, Elizabeth Scott; (second), at Sudbury, March 12, 1719, Abigail Smith; (third), at Framingham, June 22, 1731, widow Joanna (Newton) Singletary. 5. Sarah, born January 14, 1678-79; married, at Framingham, November 26, 1700, Caleb Bridge. 6. Mary, of whom further. 7. Abigail, born April 5, 1682, died at Sudbury, June 6, 1758; married, at Sudbury, February 12, 1712-13, David Parmenter. 8. Martha, born March 5, 1685. 9. Jonathan, born June 21, 1689.

(J. H. Temple: "History of Framingham, Massachusetts," p. 481. William Barry: "History of Framingham, Massachusetts," p. 191. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 244. Paige: "History of Cambridge," p. 500. "Cambridge Vital Records.")

III. Mary Brewer, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Rice) Brewer, was born in Sudbury, March 17, 1679-80. She married Benjamin (1) Ball. (First Ball Line IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Bunnell Line)

Arms—Gules, three increscents argent.

Crest—On a ducal coronet a Cornish chough rising proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Several origins are assigned to the surname Bunnell or Bonnell. One is that it is of French origin, being brought over by one of the

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families which sought asylum in England, and there gained a position of prominence. The history of the name contains records of men of distinction in arms and statecraft, while two at least are reported as being knighted. Notable among these early members of the line is James Bonnell, who was born at Geneva, November 14, 1603, and became mayor of Norwich, England, where he had settled. O'Hart, in his "Irish Pedigrees," in naming the refugees who settled in Great Britain and Ireland before the reign of Louis XIV of France, lists one Thomas Bonnell, and mentions his son, Daniel Bonnell, merchant of London, father of Samuel Bonnell, who became accountant-general for Ireland and was succeeded in that office by his son, whose biography has been written by Archdeacon Hamilton of Armagh.

Another is that it is of locality origin, meaning of Bonehill, in Stafford, England.

(O'Hart: "Irish Pedigrees." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. William Bunnell, the progenitor of our line, came from England and was in New Haven, Connecticut, as early as April 3, 1650. On August 6 of the same year, William Bunill and two others were ordered to "pay 5s a peece because ye names of each of them a child was not brought in wth in three monethes after they were borne." At some time before October, 1651, he went to England, and returned again to New Haven, his wife and children remaining in New Haven while he was gone. In May, 1654, his wife and youngest child (Ebenezer) having died, William Bunnell returned to England.

William Bunnell married Ann Wilmot. Children: 1. Lydia, died April 1, 1708; married, April 10, 1661, Francis French, son of William French from Halsted, County Essex, England. 2. Benjamin (1), of whom further. 3. Nathaniel, removed from New Haven to Elizabeth, New Jersey. His descendants spell the name Bonnell. 4. Mary, born May 4, 1650, died July 20, 1724; married Eleazer Peck. 5. Ebenezer, born August 28, 1653, died before May, 1654.

(F. B. Dexter: "New Haven, Connecticut, Town Records," Vol. I, pp. 20, 44, 89, 208. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIX, p. 67. "New Haven Genealogical Magazine," Vol. II, p. 358. "Lieutenant William French and His Descendants," in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," October, 1890.)

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II. Benjamin (1) Bunnell, son of William and Ann (Wilmot) Bunnell, was born in 1631, baptized in New Haven, Connecticut, at First Congregational Society, in the year 1690, and died about 1696. He took the oath of fidelity on April 7, 1657. He was of New Haven in 1668, and became an early settler of Wallingford, Connecticut. He was made a freeman in 1670.

Benjamin (1) Bunnell married (first) Rebecca Mallory, born March 18, 1649, died March 12, 1691, daughter of Peter and Mary (Preston) Mallory. He married (second) Elizabeth (Post) Sperry, born in Saybrook, Connecticut, February 22, 1655, died in 1715, daughter of John and Hester (Hyde) Post, and widow of John Sperry. She married (third) Edmund Dorman. Children of first marriage: 1. Rebecca, born January 19, 1667, died January 26, 1667. 2. Rebecca (again), born February 11, 1668-69, baptized in 1691; married, November 27, 1684, Samuel Burnell. 3. Judith, born April 13, 1672, died July 21, 1746; married (first) Thomas Hodge; married (second) Daniel Bristol. 4. Benjamin, born January 4, 1675, died January 8, 1675. 5. Benjamin (again), of whom further. 6. Anna, born January 8, 1677, died February 23, 1690. 7. Hezekiah, born March 23, 1681-82, baptized April 27, 1690; married (first) wife's name unknown; married (second) Ruth Plumb. (Plumb—American Line—III, Child 8.) 8. Rachel, born December 16, 1683, baptized April 27, 1690, died July 21, 1728; married John Plumb. 9. Nathaniel, born in May, 1686, died May 4, 1732; married (first) Desire Peck; married (second) Mary Brooks.

(Ibid.)

III. Benjamin (2) Bunnell, son of Benjamin (1) and Rebecca (Mallory) Bunnell, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, November 29, 1675. He was one of the earliest settlers of New Milford, Connecticut, and died there August 20, 1749.

Benjamin (2) Bunnell married (first), Hannah Plumb. (Plumb—American Line—IV.) He married (second), August 2, 1717, Patience Miles. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Rebecca, born March 8, 1701; married Ebenezer Bostwick. 2. Hannah, born April 11, 1702. 3. Benjamin (3), of whom further. 4. Solomon, born

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October 27, 1706. 5. Gershom. 6. Isaac, born August 29, 1713. 7. Keziah.

(C. J. Headly: "New Haven Colonial Records (1638-49)," p. 149. D. L. Jacobus: "New England Genealogical Magazine," Vol. II-III, pp. 359-60.)

IV. Benjamin (3) Bunnell, son of Benjamin (2) and Hannah (Plumb) Bunnell, was born April 30, 1704. He married Mehitable Baldwin, of Derby, Connecticut. Children: 1. Abigail, died young. 2. Mehitable, born February 20, 1728. 3. Mercy, born August 30, 1729. 4. Benjamin, born March 7, 1731. 5. Abigail (twin), born June 12, 1734. 6. Isaac (twin), of whom further. 7. Luke, born September 20, 1736. 8. Charles, born September 15, 1738. 9. Lois, born September 18, 1740.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Isaac Bunnell, son of Benjamin (3) and Mehitable (Baldwin) Bunnell, was born June 12, 1734, and died at the age of seventy-two in Oxford, Connecticut. He married Anne Collins, born August 26, 1737, died August, 1822, daughter of Joseph and Hannah (Clark) Collins. Children: 1. Luke, born February 28, 1758. 2. Isaac, born May 11, 1759. 3. William, born December 16, 1761. 4. Mehitable, born February 6, 1765. 5. Philemon, of whom further. 6. Truman, born about 1770, lived in Oxford. 7. Probably David. 8. Hannah.

(D. L. Jacobus: "New Haven Genealogical Magazine," Vols. II-III, p. 365.)

VI. Philemon Bunnell, son of Isaac and Anne (Collins) Bunnell, was born in Oxford, Connecticut, between 1766 and 1770. He is the only Bunnell listed in the Derby Census of 1800, as follows:

Philemon Bunnell, head of family
three males under 10 years.
one male between 26-45.
one female under 10.
one female between 26-45.

Again in 1830, thus:

Philemon Bunnell, head of family
one male aged between 60-70.
one female aged " 10-15.
one female " " 60-70.

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He did not appear in the 1850 census so it is assumed that he died some time before 1850.

Philemon Bunnell married, but the name of his wife is not known. As he was the only head of the family in Derby at the 1800 census and had a son under ten and as Alva Bunnell's birth record stated that he was born in Great Hill, Seymour, then part of Derby, about 1798, it is concluded that Philemon Bunnell had a son: 1. Alva, of whom further.

(Census, Derby, Connecticut, 1800, 1830, 1850. Death Certificate of Alva Bunnell, "Derby, Connecticut, Town Records," Vol. IV, p. 582. D. L. Jacobus: "New Haven Genealogical Magazine," Vol. II-III, p. 365.)

VII. Captain Alva Bunnell, evidently the son of Philemon Bunnell, was born at Great Hill, Seymour, then a part of Derby, Connecticut, in 1798, died there, April 22, 1883. In his younger days he was a leader of the local militia as its sergeant, later as lieutenant and finally as captain.

He was a cooper by occupation and is thus recorded:

In the line of cooperage—Willis Hotchkiss, Levi Hotchkiss and Isaac Thompson at the Narrows, and Capt. Alva Bunnell and Deacon John Carrington at Sugar Street carried on extensive operations in the manufacture of casks. In one season Capt. Bunnell made one thousand casks and shipped them to New Orleans.

He first appeared in the 1850 census for Derby thus:

Alva Bunnell, head of family,
one male aged between 30-40.
one female aged under 5.
one female aged between 30-40.

And in the 1850 census he is listed with his family enumerated:

Alva Bunnell, cooper, aged 52, born Conn.

Estate \$1000.

Lucy	"	aged 44,	born Conn.
Hannah A.	"	21,	" Conn.
Roxanna	"	19,	" Conn.
George W.	"	16,	" Conn.
Sarah J.	"	12,	" Conn.
Mary E.	"	6,	" Conn.
Delia Barnes	"	20,	" Conn.

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Alva Bunnell left the following will:

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That I, Alva Bunnell, of the Town of Derby, County of New Haven and State of Connecticut, being of sound and disposing mind and memory and free from all restraint and compulsion, do make, publish and declare this instrument, as and for my Last Will and Testament, as follows; hereby revoking and declaring null and void all former wills by me made.

1. I order and direct my executor pay all my just debts and funeral expenses.

2. I give and bequeath my gold-headed cane to my grandson, Alva Bunnell.

3. I give, devise and bequeath to my beloved wife Lucy Bunnell, the homestead where I now live, being a lot sixty-feet wide on Elizabeth Street in the Borough of Birmingham, by One Hundred feet deep on Fifth Street, with the buildings thereon. To have and to hold, and to take the use, rents, issues and profits thereof during her natural life.

4. I give and bequeath to my grandson Herbert Dow, my large pictorial Bible.

5. I give and bequeath to my son George W. Bunnell, my said homestead subject to the previous devise of a life estate to my said wife, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, forever. I also give, devise and bequeath to my said son, all my estate, real and personal, not otherwise herein disposed.

6. I hereby nominate and appoint my said son George W. Bunnell the sole executor of this my last will and testament.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at said Derby this 21st day of February A. D. 1880.

ALVA BUNNELL (L. S.)

Subscribed by the testator and by him declared to be his last will and testament, and we, at his request, in his presence, and in presence of each other subscribed our names thereto as witnesses:

WM. SIDNEY DOWNS.

NELSON HINMAN

DAVID HUSKINGS

Witnesses

STATE OF CONNECTICUT

NEW HAVEN COUNTY, Derby, February 21st, A. D., 1880.

Captain Alva Bunnell married, about 1828, Lucy, whose surname is not known, who was born in Connecticut about 1806. Children, all born in Connecticut: 1. Hannah, born in 1829. 2. Roxanna, born in

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1831. 3. George W., born in 1834. 4. Sarah Jane, of whom further. 5. Mary E., born in 1844.

("Derby Town Records," Vol. IV, p. 582. Orcutt: "History of Old Town of Derby," p. 258. Census 1830, 1850, Derby, Connecticut. Probate Records, Derby, Connecticut.)

VIII. Sarah Jane Bunnell, daughter of Captain Alva and Lucy Bunnell, was born in Derby, Connecticut, April 20, 1838, and died in Midland, Michigan, January 1, 1909. She married Joseph Henry Dow. (Dow—American Line—VIII.)

("Derby Town Records," Vol. IV, p. 582. Tombstone Records, Midland, Michigan.)

(The Plumb Line)

Arms—Ermine, a bend vair or and gules cottised vert.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a plume of ostrich feathers, argent.

(H. B. Plumb: "The Plumbs.")

How the surname Plume, Plumme, Plumb and Plumbe originated, is uncertain. The first of the name is found on the "Great Rolls of Normandy," in 1180, during the reign of Henry II, of England. We find it next, in 1195, during the reign of Richard I, Coeur de Lion. The Plumbs are said to have settled first in Norfolk, England, but the earliest settlement by one of that name seems to have been in Apseden, Herts, in 1240. In 1274 the name was on record in Counties Herts, Norfolk, Cambridge and Somerset; in 1385 in County Essex; and in 1395 in County Northampton.

(H. B. Plumb: "The Plumbs," p. 3.)

(The Family in England)

I. John Plume, yeoman, of Toppesfield, County Essex, England, was born about 1505. He married Elizabeth, surname not known, who was buried October 1, 1586. They had seven children, including: 1. Robert (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.)

II. Robert (1) Plume, son of John and Elizabeth Plume, was a yeoman of Great Yeldham, County Essex, and was baptized about 1530. He owned Spaynes and Butlers manors, as well as Yeldham Manor and Hawkdon Hall in Suffolk.

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Robert (1) Plume married (first), about 1555, Mrs. Elizabeth Purcas, who was buried June 25, 1596. He married (second), about 1600, Mrs. Ethelred Fuller, who was buried in May, 1615. He had nine children, including: 1. Robert (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Robert (2) Plume, Gentleman, son of Robert (1) Plume, was baptized about 1558 and was buried July 22, 1615. He lived and died in Great Yeldham, where he was born.

Robert (2) Plume married, about 1586, Grace Crackbone, who was buried August 14, 1628. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. John Plume, son of Robert (2) and Grace (Crackbone) Plume, was born in Great Yeldham, County Essex, England, July 28, 1594, and died, probably in 1648, in Branford, Connecticut. He was seated in Ridgewell Hall, County Essex, England, in 1634, and the following year he came to America, where he appears early on the Colonial records of Connecticut. February 9, 1637, "Mr. Plum" was a member of the court, while on March 8 of that year the court appointed him to buy corn from the Indians. He was a member of the court from time to time and held various offices up to 1644. He was appointed to attend the clearance of vessels at Wethersfield, February 4, 1644. He sold land in Wethersfield in 1646, and is not found on the records there again. He removed to Branford, Connecticut, in that year.

John Plume married, about 1616, Dorothy, surname not known, who died July, 1648. She is recorded merely as "Mrs. Plume" on the Connecticut records, but the English records give her name as Dorothy. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. John, Jr., born May 27, 1619. 3. William, born May 9, 1621. 4. Ann, born October 16, 1623. 5. Samuel, born January 4, 1625, died January 22, 1703. 6. Dorothea, born January 16, 1626-27. 7. Elizabeth, born October 9, 1629. 8. Deborah, born July 28, 1633. 9. Dorcas, born about 1635; married, January 12, 1654-55, John Liman.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18. H. R. Stiles: "The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 532. J. H. Beers: "Commemora-

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tive Biographical Record of New Haven County, Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 694.)

II. Robert Plume, son of John and Dorothy Plume, was born in Ridgewell, England, December 30, 1617, and died in Milford, Connecticut, May 12, 1655. He came with his father to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where they settled, but later, in 1639, before his father left Wethersfield, for Branford, Robert Plume became one of the first settlers of Milford.

Robert Plume married, in Milford, Connecticut, January 9, 1642, Mary Baldwin. (Baldwin—American Line—II.) Children: 1. Mary, born in February, 1644-45, died after 1703; married, June 16, 1668, Matthew Woodruff. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Robert, born December 21, 1648, died December 4, 1703; married, about 1670, Ruth Clark. 4. Samuel, born February 16, 1652-53, died in 1691. 5. Joseph, born July 10, 1655, died young.

(H. B. Plumb: "The Plumbs," p. 18. "American Ancestry," Vol. V, pp. 178-79.)

III. John Plume or Plumb, son of Robert and Mary (Baldwin) Plume, was born August 12, 1646, according to Milford, Connecticut, church records, as given in "The Plumbs," and died in Milford, Connecticut, in March, 1728. His son Joseph was an administrator of his father's estate on April 10 of that year. John Plume spent his life in Milford and owned considerable land, deeding most of it to his sons. In one deed he signs himself "John Plume," in another John "Plumbe."

John Plume or Plumb married, November 24, 1668, Elizabeth Norton, probably the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Norton, of Saybrook, Connecticut, according to H. R. Stiles. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born November 1, 1669, died October 17, 1749; married Samuel Hickox. 2. John, born July 29, 1671, died about August, 1716. 3. Mary, born May 15, 1673; married, October 17, 1704, Joseph Kerby. 4. Sarah, born April 5, 1675, died August 17, 1712; married, November 25, 1702, Joseph Kellogg. 5. Hannah, of whom further. 6. Dorothy, born March 23, 1679; married, January 11, 1699, Samuel Prindle. 7. Joseph, born in 1683, died May 27, 1742; married (first), December 5, 1709, Elizabeth Bailey; (second) Thankful Gaylord. 8. Ruth, born November 29, 1685; married (first), July

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3, 1706, Hezekiah Bunnell. (Bunnell II, Child 7.) She married (second) a man whose name is not known; (third) John Wheeler. 9. Josiah, born February 6, 1686-87, died before 1719. 10. Robert, born April 19, 1691, died November 30, 1699.

(H. B. Plumb: "The Plumbs," p. 18. H. R. Stiles: "The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 532.)

IV. Hannah Plumb, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Norton) Plume or Plumb, was born April 15, 1677, and died November 16, 1716. She married Benjamin (2) Bunnell. (Bunnell III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Baldwin Line)

Domesday Book shows that the name of Baldwin, one of the oldest and most historic in England, was of record in the neighborhood of Dundridge, County Bucks, before the Conquest. Baldwin, son of Herluin, had several vassals in the northern part of Bucks and Gloucestershire, all of whom he lost, as they became vassals under the Conqueror. From the year 1200, the name of Baldwin is frequently found in the vicinity of Aylesbury, Bucks, and among those on record from 1212 to 1272 are John Baldwin and his wife Cecil.

(C. C. Baldwin: "The Baldwin Genealogy," Supplement, pp. 983-86. "New England Genealogical and Historical Register," Vol. XXVI, p. 300.)

(The Family in England)

I. Richard Baldwin, of "Donrigge" (Dundridge), in the parish of Aston Clinton, County Bucks, England, yeoman, left a will, dated 1552-53. In this document his name is spelled Bawldwyn and Baldwyn. He names his wife and children and makes his brothers, John Baldwin and John Apuhe, overseers of the will. It was proved in the Court of the Archdeaconry of County Bucks, February 21, 1552-53, by the executors given. Richard Baldwin left money, property and personal belongings, indicating that he was a man in comfortable circumstances. He removed his tenants and also mentioned a bequest "to every servant wch hath dwelt wth me xii months, iiid."

Richard Baldwin married Ellen Pooke, whose will was dated at Aston Clinton, County Bucks, 1566. Children: 1. Henry, of whom further. 2. John, under twenty-three years of age in 1552-53, when

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his father's will was made. 3. Richard, under twenty-three years of age, when his father's will was made. 4. Alice. 5. Agnes, died in 1567; married, in 1566, William Grange. 6. Cicely. 7. Lettice, in 1599-1600 was the wife of a Mr. Foster, and in 1615-16 was mentioned in the will of her nephew, Robert, as living in County Herts.

(C. C. Baldwin: "The Baldwin Genealogy," pp. 20, 22-24; Supplement, p. 988.)

II. Henry Baldwin, son of Richard and Ellen (Pooke) Baldwin, was executor of his father's will in 1552-53, and in 1577-78 became owner in fee of Dundridge, Aston Clinton, County Bucks. His will was dated January 2, 1599-1600, and proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, July 2, 1602, by Richard, his son and executor.

Henry Baldwin married Alice, surname not known, who left a will, dated June 4, 1622. Children: 1. Richard, died childless in 1636; married, at Cholesbury, in 1592, Christian Towksfield (Tucksfield), who died in 1641. 2. Sylvester (1), of whom further. 3. John, living in 1634; married Hannah, surname not known. 4. Robert, left a will, dated March 22, 1605-06, and proved at North Church, Herts, the following April; married Joane, surname not known. 5. Jane, married James Bonus. 6. Mary, married Richard Salter. 7. Agnes, baptized in 1579; married Henry Stonehill.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 24, 30. Supplement, pp. 988-90.)

III. Sylvester (1) Baldwin, son of Henry and Alice Baldwin, was living at the date of his grandmother's will, 1565-66, and also when his mother made her will in 1622. He had apparently died before his brother, Richard, made his will in 1632-33. As Richard died childless, the line continued through Sylvester, and Dundridge passed to his descendants, who held it until 1748, when the estate was sold out of the family.

Sylvester (1) Baldwin married, September 28, 1590, Jane Wells. Children: 1. George, died young, was buried in Cholesbury, November 21, 1596. 2. John, was living in 1599-1600, but was evidently dead in 1632-33; unmarried. 3. Henry, was a barrister-at-law of Clifford's Inn, London; left a will, dated in 1661; married Mary Hurst. 4. Sylvester (2), of whom further. 5. Richard, living in 1632; married, at Aylesbury, in April, 1607, Philippa Corbmann. 6.

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William. 7. Jane. 8. Alice, married, May 4, 1629, John Edwards, and died the same year.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 35-36; Supplement, pp. 988-89, 992, 994-95.)

(The Family in America)

I. Sylvester (2) Baldwin, son of Sylvester (1) and Jane (Wells) Baldwin, sailed for New England on the ship "Martin" in June or July, 1638. He was first mentioned in the will of his Uncle Richard, made in 1632-33, as executor and residuary legatee.

Sylvester (2) Baldwin married, in England, Sarah Bryant, who survived him, and married (second) Captain John Astwood, a leading citizen of Milford, Connecticut, who died in London, while serving as agent for the Colony. Her will was proved November 9, 1669. Children, baptized in Aston Clinton, County Bucks, England: 1. Sarah, baptized April 22, 1621; married the Hon. Benjamin Tenn, of Milford, Connecticut. 2. Richard, baptized in Aston Clinton, Buckinghamshire, England, August 25, 1622, died in Milford, Connecticut, July 23, 1665; married Elizabeth Alsop. 3. Mary, baptized in 1623-24, buried in 1625. 4. Mary (again), of whom further. 5. Martha, baptized April 20, 1628, apparently died without issue. 6. Samuel, baptized in 1632, buried the next January. 7. Elizabeth, baptized January 28, 1633-34, buried three days later. 8. John, baptized October 28, 1635, buried in Milford, June 21, 1681; married (first) Mary, surname not known; (second) Mary Bruen. 9. Ruth, not in record of baptisms, but her name is in her father's noncupative will at Boston; probably died young.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 36-41; Supplement, pp. 992-93, 1046.)

II. Mary Baldwin, daughter of Sylvester (2) and Sarah (Bryant) Baldwin, was baptized February 19, 1625-26. She married (first) Robert Plume. (Plumb—American Line—II.) She married (second), William East.

(*Ibid.*)

(The French Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron between three boars' heads erased azure.

Crest—A fleur-de-lis.

Motto—*Nec timeo, nec sperno.*

(Crozier: "General Armory." Vermont: "America Heraldica.")

French, as a surname, is of locality origin, meaning "the French." The earliest written records of this name are: Symon le Frensch,

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County Wiltshire, 1273; William le ffrench, of the Close Rolls, 33, at the time of Edward I; in 1564, Thomas Frenche and a widow, Cicelie Sylsey, applied for a marriage license in London.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John French, earliest known ancestor of this branch of the family in America, was born about 1612 and died in Braintree, Massachusetts, August 6, 1692, at the age of eighty. He was a resident of "Monoticott" (the part of Dorchester established as Milton, May 7, 1662) on February 24, 1639-40, when he was granted forty acres at Mount Wollaston, now Quincy, for five persons in his family.

A petition was filed with the Judge of Probate regarding the division of John French's lands and named the heirs as John French, eldest son, Dependence French, Thomas French, Samuel French, William French, orphan son of William French, deceased, Temperance, wife of John Bowditch, Elizabeth Wheelock of Mendon, and children of daughter Mary Lamb deceased, namely, Mary Poole and Alice Thayer by her first husband Poole, and John, Samuel, Margaret, Mary, Grace and Hannah Lamb. Also on file is the declination of the widow to administer John French's estate, dated October 12, 1692, signed "Helen French." Under date of the following day is filed the bond of administration signed by John and Dependence French, administrators, with John Baxter and Joseph Crosbey sureties. The inventory, taken October 24, 1692, by Samuel White, Nathaniel Wales and Joseph Allen, amounted to £317-10-4.

John French married (first) Grace, whose surname is not known, and who died in Braintree, Massachusetts, February 28, 1680-81. He married (second), July 8, 1683, Eleanor Veazie, of Braintree, widow of William Veazie. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Mary, married (first) Mr. Poole; married (second) John Lamb. She is named in the above mentioned petition as already deceased, but her children are listed therein. 2. John, born February 28, 1641; married Experience Thayer, and had seven children. 3. Thomas, born July 10, 1643, died October 20, 1656. 4. Dependence, born March 7, 1648-49; married (first) Mary Marsh; (second), at Milton, April 27, 1688, Rebecca Fenno. 5. Temperance, born March 30, 1651, died August 12, 1720; married, about 1682, John Bowditch. 6. William, born March 31, 1653, died at Braintree, February 22, 1691-

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1692; married Rachel Twells, and had an only child, William, of whom Robert Twells was guardian. 7. Elizabeth, born September 29, 1655; married a Mr. Wheelock, of Mendon. 8. Thomas (again), of whom further. 9. Samuel, born February 22, 1659-60, died at Braintree, October 13, 1718; married Anna Marsh.

(Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts." S. French: "Ancestors of John French of Stoughton, Massachusetts." "Suffolk, Massachusetts, Probate Files," Vol. XIII, p. 66. Elisha Thayer: "Thayer Memorial." J. A. Vinton: "Vinton Memorial.")

II. Thomas French, son of John and Grace French, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, March 10, 1657-58, and died there September 22, 1717. On March 4, 1696, Thomas French, of Braintree, husbandman, and wife Elizabeth, gave a quitclaim deed to their brother, Gregory Belcher, of their interest in the homestead and estate of their father, Samuel Belcher, of Braintree, deceased.

Thomas French married, about 1695, Elizabeth Belcher. (Belcher III.) Children: 1. Elizabeth, born December 16, 1696; married, in Braintree, November 9, 1720, Edward Dorr. 2. Thomas, born August 5, 1698; married (first) Rebecca, whose surname is not known; (second), at Braintree, November 5, 1723, Mary Owen. 3. Moses, of whom further. 4. Jonathan, born June 20, 1702; married Rebecca, surname not known. 5. Rachel, born March 26, 1704; married, in Braintree, April 28, 1730, Eleazer Thayer. 6. Samuel, born September, 1706. 7. Abijah, born March 25, 1709; married Joanna, surname not known, and settled in Mendon. 8. Ebenezer, born September 9, 1711; married Mary Fuller, and settled in Milton. 9. Sarah, born February 16, 1713-14. 10. Seth, born October 25, 1716; married, February 7, 1745, Patience Stevens.

("Braintree Vital Records." "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LX, p. 131. "Suffolk Deeds," Vol. XLI, p. 249. J. A. Vinton: "Vinton Memorial.")

III. Moses French, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Belcher) French, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, February 26, 1699-1700, and died there, September 19, 1768. He married, at Braintree, December 24, 1730, Esther Thayer. (Thayer IV.) Children: 1. Moses, born September 16, 1731, died at Braintree, January 19,

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1807; was called Deacon; married, August 11, 1756, Elizabeth Hobart. 2. Elisha, born January 12, 1733-34, died in Braintree, October 19, 1818; married Mary Ludden. 3. Esther, born December 21, 1735; married Richard Thayer. 4. Sarah, born January 15, 1737-38. 5. Jonathan (1), of whom further. 6. Deliverance, born November 7, 1742, died in Franklin, Connecticut, June 22, 1778; married, April 6, 1775, Rev. Nathaniel Emmons.

(J. A. Vinton: "Vinton Memorial," p. 320. Elisha Thayer: "Thayer Memorial," pp. 54, 95. "Braintree Vital Records.")

IV. Rev. Jonathan (1) French, son of Moses and Esther (Thayer) French, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, January 19, 1739-40, and died at Andover, July 28, 1809. He was graduated from Harvard in 1771, and was ordained pastor of the South Church in Andover, Massachusetts, September 22, 1772, and served thirty-seven years in the ministry.

Rev. Jonathan (1) French married, August 26, 1773, intentions published in Andover, June 18, 1773, his cousin, Abigail Richards. (Thayer III, Child 14.) Children: 1. Sarah, born November 18, 1774, died November 25, 1774. 2. Abigail, born May 29, 1776; married, in Andover, May 9, 1797, Rev. Samuel Stearns. 3. Jonathan (2), of whom further. 4. Mary-Holyoke, born August 6, 1781; married, in Andover, April 17, 1812, Rev. Ebenezer Peck Sperry, of Bedford. 5. Sarah (again), born December 13, 1784, died April 12, 1788.

(J. A. Vinton: "Vinton Memorial," p. 322. "Andover Vital Records." "Braintree Vital Records.")

V. Rev. Jonathan (2) French, son of Rev. Jonathan (1) and Abigail (Richards) French, was born in Andover, Massachusetts, August 16, 1778, and died in North Hampton, New Hampshire, December 13, 1856. He was graduated from Harvard in 1798 and received his degree as Doctor of Divinity at Dartmouth in 1851. He was ordained as pastor at North Hampton, November 18, 1801. His "Half-Century Discourse," delivered November 18, 1851, was printed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1852. The Rev. Alvin Tobey, of Durham, New Hampshire, preached the sermon at the

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funeral of the Rev. Jonathan French on December 16, 1856. This was presented in Boston the same year.

Rev. Jonathan (2) French married, in Lincoln, Massachusetts, December 4, 1804, Rebecca Farrar. (Farrar VI.) Children, all born in North Hampton, New Hampshire: 1. Jonathan, born December 13, 1805, was graduated from Union College, 1829; married Charlotte (Gibson) Fogg. 2. Rebecca Mercy, born February 2, 1807; died March 8, 1870; unmarried. 3. Samuel Farrar, born January 11, 1809; married, April 20, 1836, Ann R. Pickering. 4. Abigail, of whom further. 5. Mary-Holyoke, born November 23, 1812; married, April 16, 1833, Jonathan Hobbs. 6. James, born April 1, 1815; was living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1833; married Nancy S. Tenney, of Wilmot, New Hampshire. 7. John Farrar, born February 10, 1818; was living in North Hampton in 1883; married, November 8, 1843, Lemira Leavitt. 8. Sarah, born May 25, 1820; living in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1883; married, August 15, 1839, Rev. Serena T. Abbott. 9. Sperry, born January 9, 1823, living in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1883; married, October 31, 1853, Harriet N. Robinson. 10. Lucy Ann, born September 5, 1825, living in Andover, in 1883; unmarried. 11. Elizabeth Dorcas, born January 26, 1829; married John A. Farrar, of Lincoln, Massachusetts.

("Andover Vital Records." "Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society," Vol. III, "A Memoir of Rev. Jonathan French.")

VI. Abigail French, daughter of Rev. Jonathan (2) and Rebecca (Farrar) French, was born in North Hampton, New Hampshire, August 4, 1810, and died in Hampton, New Hampshire, January 28, 1870. She married Joseph Dow. (Dow—American Line—VII.)

(*Ibid.* J. Dow: "History of Hampton, New Hampshire.")

(The Farrar Line)

Farrar, as a surname, with its variants Farrer and Ferrer, is of occupational origin, meaning one who made horseshoes. It is derived from the old French verb *ferrer*, "to shoe horses." It is a popular Yorkshire trade-name, and is now a widely used surname of the same county. Earliest written records of this name were: Willhelmus

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Ferour, "ferour," in the Poll Tax Lists of Yorkshire in 1379; Hugo Farroure and Thomas Farroure on the same lists at the same date.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Jacob (1) Farrar, "younger brother" of John Farrar, was born, probably in England, before 1620, and died at Woburn, Massachusetts, August 14, 1677. Tradition says that he and his brother John came from Lancashire, England. John and Jacob Farrar signed the covenant September 24, 1653, at Lancaster, Massachusetts, four months and six days after the incorporation of that town. John Farrar died November 3, 1669, leaving a widow and children.

Jacob Farrar's wife and four children remained in England until about 1658, when they also emigrated to New England. "Young Jacob Farrar was appointed to assist in marking the bounds of the town" in 1659. In a list of Lancaster estates first made in 1654 and with later additions "entered since 1655" is that of "Jacob Farrar added when his wife came £168-7-0."

Two of his sons having been killed in King Philip's War in 1675, and the town having been taken by the Indians, February 10, 1675-76, he with his wife, his remaining son Joseph, and his daughter Mary with her husband, removed to Woburn. His widow Ann and her son-in-law, John Houghton, were administrators of Jacob Farrar's estate, which was divided among the widow, the "two children now surviving," and the children of his deceased son Jacob.

Jacob (1) Farrar married, supposedly in England, about 1640, Ann, whose surname is not known. She married (second), November 2, 1680, John Sears, of Woburn, as his third wife. Children, first four born in England, fifth at Lancaster, Massachusetts: 1. Jacob (2), of whom further. 2. John, married, June 30, 1667, Mary, surname not known. 3. Henry, was killed by Indians, February 10, 1675-76. 4. Mary, married, February 22, 1671-72, John Houghton. 5. Joseph, born August 6, 1660.

(Timothy Farrar: "Memoir of the Farrar Family," pp. 2-4. John W. Houghton: "The Houghton Genealogy," p. 299.)

II. Jacob (2) Farrar, son of Jacob (1) and Ann Farrar, was born in England, probably about 1642 or 1643, and was killed by the Indians at Lancaster, Massachusetts, August 22, 1675. "On that

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day eight persons were killed in different parts of the town. These are their names: George Bennet, grandson of Mr. Linton, William Flagg, Jacob Farrar, Joseph Wheeler, Mordicai McLoud, his wife and two children. Jacob Farrar lived on the Neck road, somewhere north of the house of S. R. Damon."

Jacob Farrar's widow, Hannah, was granted administration on his estate, October 3, 1676, and at the same time returned an inventory dated "27th 7th mo. 1675." After the four sons had all come of age they united in a deed, dated October 6, 1697, conveying to their uncle, John Houghton, all the real estate in Lancaster which they had inherited from their grandfather, Jacob Farrar.

Jacob (2) Farrar married, at Lancaster, Massachusetts, November 11, 1668, Hannah Hayward, daughter of George Hayward, of Concord, Massachusetts. She married (second), March 5, 1681, Adam Holoway, of Marlborough, Massachusetts. She married (third), January 2, 1705-06, Jonathan Furbush. Children, the first two recorded in Cambridge: 1. Jacob, died April 29, 1722; married, December 26, 1692, Susanna Radiate. 2. George, of whom further. 3. John, born about 1672, was "killed in Indian fight August 17, 1707, aged 35 years"; married, December 6, 1699, Elizabeth Merriam. (Merriam—American Line—II, Child 2.) 4. Henry, was living October 6, 1697.

(Timothy Farrar: "Memoir of the Farrar Family," pp. 4-5. Abijah P. Marvin: "History of the Town of Lancaster, Massachusetts," pp. 101-02. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVI, p. 358. Henry S. Nourse: "The Birth, Marriage and Death Register, Church Records and Epitaphs of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1643-1850," pp. 13-17.)

III. George Farrar, son of Jacob (2) and Hannah (Hayward) Farrar, was born at Lancaster, Massachusetts, August 16, 1670, and died May 15, 1760. He was carried by his mother to Concord when he was five years old, and brought up a farmer in the south part of the town, now Lincoln, by a Mr. Goble. "When he arrived at twenty-one years of age, he had but a quarter of a dollar in his pocket. He called together his associates and told them he would treat them with all he had, and begin the world square." He was for several years a selectman of Concord. While still a young man, he purchased a large

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tract of land near where he had been brought up, and "was a man of great energy and thrift." His will, dated March 17, 1749, proved June 9, 1760, mentions his wife and all his children except Joseph, and the five children of his son Joseph.

George Farrar married, at Concord, Massachusetts, September 9, 1692, Mary Howe, "who had been brought up with him in the same family, and with whom he lived, including *their* apprenticeship, more than eighty years." She was born in Concord, Massachusetts, January 17, 1674, and died April 12, 1761, the daughter of Sergeant Samuel and Mary (Woolie) Howe. Children, born at Concord, Massachusetts: 1. Joseph, born in 1693, died about 1731; married, in 1715, Mary, whose surname is not known. He was in Lovell's Fight. 2. Daniel, born November 30, 1696, died between April 2, 1755, and September 22, 1755; married Hannah Fletcher. 3. George, born February 16, 1704-05, died of smallpox May 28, 1777, "aged 73 years"; married Mary Barrett. 4. Mary, born October 12, 1706; married Abishai Brown, of Concord. (Another record says Nathan Brown.) 5. Samuel (1), of whom further.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VI, pp. 322, 324. D. W. Howe and G. B. Howe: "Howe Genealogies," Vol. II, pp. 406-07. "Concord, Massachusetts, Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1635-1850," pp. 37, 43, 62, 66, 71.)

IV. Deacon Samuel (1) Farrar, son of George and Mary (Howe) Farrar, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, September 28, 1708, and died at Lincoln, Massachusetts, April 18, 1783, "in his 75th year." He settled on the central or homestead position of his father's farm. "He was a deacon of the church, and much distinguished in his day."

Deacon Samuel (1) Farrar, "of Concord," married there, January 13, 1731-32 (by James Minott, Esq.), Lydia Barrett, "of Concord," who died at Lincoln, Massachusetts, June 27, 1802, "aged 90 years." Children: 1. Lydia, born September 2, 1735; married, March 6, 1755, William Bond. 2. Samuel (2), of whom further. 3. Rev. Stephen, born September 8, 1738, died June 23, 1809; married, in 1764, Eunice Brown. He was graduated from Harvard in 1755. 4. James born July 24, 1741, died July 11, 1767. 5. Rebecca, born August 13, 1743; married, November 29, 1764, Dr. John Preston.

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6. Lucy, born April 27, 1745; married Humphrey Farrar. 7. Timothy, born June 28, 1747, died February 21, 1849, aged one hundred and one years, seven months, twelve days; married, October 14, 1779, Anna Bancroft. He was graduated from Harvard in 1767; was Chief Justice of the Superior Court, in New Hampshire. 8. Mary, born at Lincoln, Massachusetts, July 5, 1754, died September 2, 1756.

(L. Shattuck: "The Minot Family," in "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. I, pp. 175, 258. D. W. Howe and G. B. Howe: "Howe Genealogies," Vol. II, p. 407. "Vital Records of Lincoln, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850," pp. 33, 160. Timothy Farrar: "Memoir of the Farrar Family," pp. 13-14. "Concord, Massachusetts, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1635-1850," pp. 71, 124, 140, 141, 148, 154, 157, 169, 170.)

V. Samuel (2) Farrar, son of Samuel (1) and Lydia (Barrett) Farrar, was born at Concord, Massachusetts, February 14, 1736-37, and died at Lincoln, Massachusetts, September 19, 1829, "aged 93 years, 7 months." He resided on the paternal estate in Lincoln, and succeeded his father as deacon of the church. "He was a man of great energy of character and strength of mind." He was "captain of the militia, and much distinguished in active service during the Revolution."

Samuel (2) Farrar married, at Lincoln, Massachusetts, February 13, 1772, Mercy Hoar, who died at Lincoln, Massachusetts, December 31, 1829, "aged 79 years." Children, born at Lincoln: 1. Samuel, born December 13, 1773. 2. James, born October 12, 1776; married Dorcas, whose surname is not known. 3. John, born July 1, 1779. 4. Rebecca, born November 21, 1782. 5. Rebecca (again), of whom further.

(Timothy Farrar: "Memoir of the Farrar Family," pp. 12-14. "Concord, Massachusetts, Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1635-1850," p. 141. "Vital Records of Lincoln, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850," pp. 33, 106, 160.)

VI. Rebecca Farrar, daughter of Samuel (2) and Mercy (Hoar) Farrar, was born at Lincoln, Massachusetts, December 21, 1785. She married, at Lincoln, Massachusetts, December 5, 1804, Rev. Jonathan (2) French. (French V.)

(Timothy Farrar: "Memoir of the Farrar Family," p. 13. "Vital Records of Lincoln, Massachusetts, in the Year 1850," pp. 35, 105.)

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(The Thayer Line)

Arms—Per pale ermine and gules, three talbots' heads erased counterchanged.

Crest—A talbot's head erased or.

Motto—*Fœcundi calices.*

(Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book" (1923), p. 330.)

Thayer, originally Tayer, is a name of Saxon origin, thought to be derived from the Saxon "taw," to tan; hence, tawer or tayer, a tanner. The Tayer family owned lands in the parish of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England, from the reign of Edward II, and its members were described with the prefix "gent."

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXVII, p. 84; Vol. LX, pp. 284, 287.)

I. Thomas Thayer or Tayer, the first of this line to be of definite record, was probably identical with the Thomas Tayer who was baptized in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England, August 16, 1596, with Thomas Gibbs and William Dimery as godfathers. He died in Braintree, Massachusetts, June 2, 1665. He was a brother of Richard Tayer, who was baptized in the same church, April 6, 1601, with Richard Dimery and Nicholas Tayer as godfathers and Elizabeth Griffing as godmother. This Richard is believed to be identical with the one who married, April 5, 1624, Dorothy Mortimore, and removed to New England.

Thomas Thayer was in Boston, Massachusetts, before February 24, 1639-40, when land was granted him at Mount Wollaston (Braintree), for "9 heads" in his family. Possibly two of the "heads" were servants or children who died young. "Thomas Thayer, of Braintree, in the County of Suffolk, in the Massachusetts Colony, of New England, shoe maker, being in perfect health and memory," made his will June 21, 1664. It was proved September 13, 1665. To his "wife Margery, that now is," he bequeathed the life use of all his estate in Braintree. After his wife's decease, his son Thomas was to have "all that my ground lying and being over the Monotoquott River," in Braintree. The testator's son Ferdinando was to have "my house and orchard thereunto adjoining," in Braintree, "with all the planting ground and pasture, lying between the highway and river called Monotoquott river, aforesaid, and on the other side of the highway from the south side of the barn to the end of the lot";

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also the right to cut "fire wood for his and his now wife's own burning" from the twenty-acre lot. The testator's son Shadrach was to have a parcel of land in Braintree, "which shall begin at the corner of the barn next his dwelling house and shall run with a straight line to upper end of the lot"; also the twenty-acre lot from which Ferdinando has the right to cut wood. All his "goods and chattles" he bequeathed to his grandchildren. As executors, he named his wife Margery and his son Ferdinando.

Thomas Thayer or Tayer married, in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England, April 13, 1618, Margerie or Margery Wheellar, died in Braintree, Massachusetts, February 11, 1672-73, daughter of Abell and Jane (Shepherd) Wheellar or Whillar. Children, the first three baptized in Thornbury, England: 1. Thomas. 2. Ferdinando. 3. Shadrach, of whom further. 4. (Perhaps) Sarah, married, in Braintree, May 6, 1663, Jonathan Hayward. 5. (Perhaps) Hannah, married, in Braintree, October 28, 1664, Samuel Hayden.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXVII, p. 84; Vol. LX, pp. 284, 287, 290; Vol. LXIV, p. 185. Bezaleel Thayer: "Memorial of the Thayer Name, from the Massachusetts Colony of Weymouth and Braintree, Embracing Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of Richard and Thomas Thayer and Their Descendants," pp. 184, 185, 221, 587. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Shadrach Thayer, son of Thomas and Margerie or Margery (Wheellar) Thayer or Tayer, was baptized in Thornbury Parish, Gloucestershire, England, May 9, 1629, his godfathers being John Alpas and John Pendock, and his godmother Katherin Tayer. He died at Braintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1678. He came to New England with his parents and settled in Braintree, Massachusetts. By his father's will he was to inherit, after his mother's decease, "a parcel of ground in Braintree,—which shall begin at the corner of the barn next his dwelling house, and shall run with a straight line to upper end of the lot"; also another twenty acres, subject to the right of his brother Ferdinando and wife to "take wood thereof for their own burning."

After Shadrach Thayer's death at the age of about fifty, his widow bought and sold land in Suffolk County. By deed dated March

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3, 1681, "William Pen of Braintry in the County of Suffolke in the Colony of the Massathussets," for twelve pounds conveyed to "Deliverance Thayer widow of Braintry Relict of Sydrach Thayer, one plot or parcel of upland adjoining to the homestead of Sydrach Thayer deceased containing Six Acres bounded South-erly by Monotoquod highway, Eastward and Northward with the land of Sydrach Thayer dece'd westward butting upon the Eastern edge of two Rocks, and upon a streight line to the fence of s'd Thayer." By a deed dated April 14, 1687, "Deliverance Thayer wido. of the town of Braintry," for seventeen pounds, conveyed to Jacob Nash, Senr., "her messuage or tenement at the North-erly End of the towne of Boston with all the Land belonging to the sd. Tenement," thirty-one feet by one hundred feet.

Shadrach Thayer married (first), at Braintree, Massachusetts, 1mo.-1-1654 (January 1, 1654-55) Mary Barrett, who died 2mo. (April) 2, 1657-58. It is probable that Mary Barrett, who married Sidrath Thayer in 1655, was a daughter of Thomas and Margaret Barrett. Shadrach Thayer married (second), about 1661, Deliverance Priest, born in 1644, died at Braintree, Massachusetts, January 17, 1723, "in ye 79th year of her age," daughter of James and Elizabeth Priest. Children of first marriage: 1. Rachel, born 9 mo.-9-1655, died 9mo.-23, 1656. 2. Tryall, born 12 mo.-7-1657. Children of second marriage: 3. Freelove, born 4 mo.-30-1662, died 6 mo.-5, 1662. 4. Mary, born 10 mo.-4-1663. 5. Timothy, born 3mo.-1666. 6. Samuel, born 7 mo.-7-1667, (died in 1710; married, January 18, 1694, Susanna Scant. 7. Ephraim, of whom further. 8. Hannah, born 8 mo.-2-1672, died 12 mo.-5-1677. 9. William, born 6 mo.-1-1675; married Mrs. Hannah Haywood, a widow.

(Bezaleel Thayer: "Memorial of the Thayer Name from the Massachusetts Colony of Weymouth and Braintree, Embracing Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of Richard and Thomas Thayer and Their Descendants," pp. 184-85, 587, 590, 642. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LX, p. 285. "Suffolk Deeds," Liber XII, p. 59; Liber XIV, p. 132. Samuel A. Bates: "Records of the Town of Braintree, 1640-1793," pp. 634, 637, 638, 643, 645, 650, 651, 656, 657, 716, 726. George E. Foster: "The Priest Family," pp. 3-7. William Barrett: "Genealogy of Some of the Descendants of Thomas Barrett, Senior, of Braintree," p. 10.)

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III. Ephraim Thayer, son of Shadrach and Deliverance (Priest) Thayer, was born 11mo.-17, 1669 (January 17, 1669-70). His death is thus noticed in the church records:

1757, June 15, died Ephraim Thayer, suddenly, in the 88th year of his age, occasioned as is supposed by the sharp end of a rail at the barn door, where he was found dead. A great concourse of people attended his funeral.

He settled in Braintree, and became a member in full communion, of the First Congregational Church of Braintree, at the time of the settlement of Rev. Samuel Niles as its pastor in 1711; and his wife was presumably the "Sarah Thayer" who was also a member at that time. At a Braintree meeting, March 5, 1693-94, Ephraim Thayer was chosen one of the two "haywards or feild drivers for manaticutt." He was chosen a fence viewer several times between 1705 and 1715; constable in 1714, tithingman in 1717, selectman in 1725, tithingman in 1730, and in 1731 on a committee to let the town lands.

Ephraim Thayer, of Braintree, weaver, in his will dated April 10, 1755, proved at Boston, July 15, 1757, mentioned his wife Mary, his sons Ephraim, Philip, Joseph, Shadrach, Naphtali, Peter; granddaughter Ruth Vinton, daughter of daughter Sarah Dorman deceased; daughters Hannah Blanchard, Ruth Capen, Esther French, Priscilla Ford and Abigail Richards; sons Christopher and James, who were to be executors.

In a poem of eighteen stanzas, on the death of Mrs. Sarah Thayer, written by Edward Chesman, of Braintree, in 1751, the following appear:

Her grandfather, he was a man
Who did the truth reveal;
And to defend Christ's kingdom great,
He burned with Holy Zeal.
From old England he did come o'er,
Where heathen did possess,
For to enjoy religion pure,
And God this man did bless:—
And made him once a ruler here,
Let's not forget his fame;
He lived above the age of man,
JOHN ALDEN was his name.

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She wedded was in youthful days,
To Mr. Ephraim Thayer;
He lived a good religious life,—
This truth I can declare.

They lovingly together lived,
And never did provoke—
But like two lambs they did agree,
And both pulled in one yoke.

Ephraim Thayer married (first), by "Mr. Peter Thacher," January 7, 1691-92, Sarah Bass. (Bass III.) He married (second), about 1754, Mrs. Mary Burrill Kingman, widow of Mr. Burrill and of Thomas Kingman. She was born about 1675. Regarding his second wife, whom he married when he was eighty-four years of age, "Tradition is that his children provided for her comfort in old age with dutiful attention." Children, all of first marriage: 1. Sarah, born January 22, 1692-93, died June 12, 1753; married, August 4, 1715, Seth Dorman. 2. Ephraim, born July 8, 1694; married, April 1, 1718, Mary Copeland. 3. Philip, born April 14, 1696; married, April 1, 1718, Mary Wilson. 4. Hannah, born January 13, 1698; married, in 1724, Nathaniel Blanchard. 5. Joseph, born July 28, 1699, died January 8, 1778; married (first), December 16, 1725, Sarah Faxon; (second), November 16, 1738, Eunice Luddon. 6. Shadrach, born April 18, 1701, died February 17, 1783; married, May 2, 1723, Rachel White. 7. Christopher, born March 4, 1703, died December 10, 1787; married, in 1735, Mary Morse. 8. Ruth, born April 1, 1704; married, September 20, 1722, John Capen. 9. Esther, of whom further. 10. Naphtali, born January 30, 1706-07; married, February 3, 1731-32, Bathsheba Bass. 11. Peter, born July 12, 1708, died September 27, 1778; married, June 1, 1732, Anna Porter. 12. Priscilla, born March 7, 1710, died about 1795; married (first), July 11, 1732, Elijah Hayden; (second), between 1735 and 1739, Joseph Ford; (third), about 1781, William Spear. 13. James, born March 16, 1712, died June 19, 1790; married, December 6, 1748, Deborah Arnold. 14. Abigail, born November 15, 1713, died March 10, 1765; married, November 21, 1734, Dr. Benjamin Richards. Their daughter, Abigail Richards, born in Braintree,

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November 17, 1742, died in Andover, August 28, 1821; married Rev. Jonathan (1) French. (French IV.)

(Bezaleel Thayer: "Memorial of the Thayer Name from the Massachusetts Colony of Weymouth and Braintree, Embracing Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of Richard and Thomas Thayer and Their Descendants," pp. 587, 590, 593, 596, 620, 625, 626, 629, 634, 642. "A Church Manual of the First Congregational Church in Braintree," p. 9. Samuel A. Bates: "Records of the Town of Braintree, 1640 to 1793," pp. 29, 61, 65, 74, 77, 82, 83, 90, 112, 135, 141, 647, 649, 668, 670, 674, 675, 677, 680, 682, 684, 686, 687, 689, 692, 697, 716, 720, 743, 744, 746, 748. "The Mayflower Descendant," Vol. XVIII, pp. 105, 113-15. William S. Pattee: "A History of Old Braintree and Quincy," p. 158. Bradford Kingman: "Descendants of Henry Kingman, Some Early Generations of the Kingman Family," p. 26. "New England Genealogical and Historical Register," Vol. LX, p. 42.)

IV. Esther Thayer, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Bass) Thayer, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, July 24, 1705, and died December 13, 1800, "aged 95 years, 5 months." "Esther Thayer" was in 1727 "admitted to full communion" in the First Congregational Church of Braintree. Her father, in his will, bequeathed to "my Daughter Esther French a Feather Bed & furniture belonging to it."

Esther Thayer married Moses French. (French III.)

(Bezaleel Thayer: "Memorial of the Thayer Name from the Massachusetts Colony of Weymouth and Braintree, Embracing Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of Richard and Thomas Thayer and Their Descendants," pp. 590, 625. "A Church Manual of the First Congregational Church in Braintree," p. 10.)

(The Bass Line)

Bass, as a surname, has for its derivation a nickname meaning "of low stature," that is, short and stout, corresponding to the French "le Bas."

The Bass family has an ancient lineage in England, and its members were early established in the counties of Somerset, Bucks, and Oxford, as shown by the following examples listed in early records: Nicholas Basse, County Somerset, in Kirby's Quest, 1 Edward III;

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Hugh Basse, County Bucks; John Basse, County Oxford, in the Hundred Rolls of 1273; Edward Basse, St. Michael, Cornhill, in 1646.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. Deacon Samuel Bass, first of our line to be of record, was born in England about 1600, died September 13, 1694, and is buried in the First Church Cemetery at Quincy, Massachusetts. He came to the American Colonies with his wife and probably one or two children in 1630 or soon after. They settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where they were numbered among the earliest members of the first church there. Deacon Samuel Bass was admitted a freeman, May 14, 1634, and remained a resident of Roxbury for several years. In 1640 he settled in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, and became a member of the First Congregational Church there, being chosen and ordained the first deacon of the church and remaining in that office for about fifty years. He was a man of vigorous personality and was held in high esteem in the town. He was deputy to the General Assembly from Braintree for several years, ranging variously from 1641 to 1664.

Deacon Samuel Bass married, probably in England, Ann, surname not known, who was born in England about 1600 and died at Braintree, Massachusetts, September 5, 1665. She was buried in the First Church Cemetery at Quincy. Children: 1. Samuel, born in England; married Mary Howard. 2. Mary, born in England; married, in 1647, Elder John Capen. 3. Hannah, born in England; married 9 mo.-15-1651, Stephen Paine. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Thomas, married, October 4, 1660, Sarah Wood. 6. Joseph, died about January 16, 1714; married Mary, surname not known. 7. Sarah; married (first) Deacon John Stone; (second) Deacon Joseph Penniman, who died November 5, 1705.

(Elisha Thayer: "Family Memorial," Parts I and II, pp. 54-65. C. P. Ohler: "Ancestors and Descendants of David Paine and Abigail Shepard, of Ludlow, Massachusetts," pp. 230-31.)

II. John Bass, son of Deacon Samuel and Ann Bass, was born probably in Roxbury, Massachusetts, about 1632 and died in September, 1716, in his eighty-fourth year. He was a resident of Braintree,

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Massachusetts, of which town he was made fence-viewer in 1695 and one of the "tithing men" in 1701.

John Bass married (first), 3mo.-12-1657, Ruth Alden. (Alden II.) He married (second), 7 mo.-21-1675, Hannah Sturtevant, of Plymouth, who was dismissed from the church of Plymouth and admitted to the church of Braintree, 8mo.-30-1676. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born June 3, 1658; married (first), Abigail Adams; (second), in 1698, Rebecca Savil. 2. Samuel, born 1mo.-25-1660; married Mary (Adams) Webb, who died March 9, 1706, widow of Samuel Webb. 3. Ruth, born 11mo.-28-1662. 4. Joseph, born in Braintree, Massachusetts, 10mo.-5-1665, died in Boston, November 22, 1732-33; married (first), June 5, 1688, Mary Belcher. (Belcher I, Child 4.) He married (second), February 23, 1708, Lois Rogers. 5. Hannah, born 4 mo.-22-1667; married Joseph Adams. Through this marriage Herbert H. Dow was a blood connection of the two Presidents, John and John Quincy Adams, as follows: John (1) Adams, son of Joseph and Hannah (Bass) Adams, married Susanna Boylston, and they were the parents of: John (2) Adams, second President of the United States, who married Abigail Smith, and they were the parents of: John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States. 6. Mary, born 12mo.-11-1669; married (first), 3mo.-24-1686, Christopher Webb, who died in March, 1690; (second), April 13, 1694, William Copeland. 7. Sarah, of whom further.

(Elisha Thayer: "Family Memorial," pp. 55-56, 59, 61-62, 65. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 135. S. A. Bates: "Records of the Town of Braintree, Massachusetts," pp. 31, 49. Family records.)

III. Sarah Bass, daughter of John and Ruth (Alden) Bass, was born 1 mo.-29-1672, and died August 19, 1751. She married Ephraim Thayer. (Thayer III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Alden Line)

Alden, as a surname, originated from the baptismal name Aldwin, a variation of Ailwin and Aylwin. The Alden family was well known in England at the time of the Norman invasion of 1066, and is mentioned in all the eastern counties from Hertfordshire to York in

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Domesday Book. Many Aldens are mentioned as landowners in the time of Edward the Confessor, while others are described as tenants-in-capite, or holding lands directly from the King. William Aldyn, of County Somerset, is recorded in Kirby's Quest, and in the Hundred Rolls of 1273 we find Richard Aldewyn of County Wilts, Alexander Aldeyn and Robert Aldun of County Oxford.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." F. W. Alden: "Descendants of Daniel Alden," p. 6.)

I. John Alden, whose birthplace and parentage like that of many other passengers of the "Mayflower" is not known, was "hired for a cooper" at Southampton just prior to the sailing of the expedition, according to Bradford. While the name Alden is found at Southampton, it has been impossible, up to the present, to identify him with these families. A Richard Alden was buried April 30, 1598, according to the register of St. Michael and the marriage of Widow Avys Alden occurred three months later. George Alden, an arrowmaker, resided in the parish of All Saints, and his name is frequently mentioned in the Court Leet Books of Southampton between 1587 and 1620. Jane Alden, a widow, was his mother and Richard and Avys Alden may have been the grandparents. However, the fact that John Alden joined the company at Southampton, does not necessarily mean that he resided there, and he may have been a member of any of the many Alden families living in other parts of England. According to Charles E. Banks, in his "English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers" (1929), an equally probable and more plausible identification has recently been suggested by B. Carlyon-Hughes, who is compiling a history of Harwich, England, and who found an Alden family there, which was related by marriage to Captain Christopher Jones, of the "Mayflower." This family was engaged in seafaring pursuits, and a John appears among them of about the same age as the American pioneer.

John Alden was born about 1599, as is shown from a deposition made at Plymouth, July 6, 1682, in which he stated that he was eighty-three years of age. Bradford, in his "History of Plymouth Plantation," informs us that he was "hired for a cooper at Southampton, where the ship victualed; and being a hopeful young man was much desired but left to his own liking to go or stay when he came

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here; but he stayed and married here." He identified himself with the Pilgrims, and was a devoted and useful member of the Colony during his long life. At the time of his arrival in America he was twenty-one years old and the youngest to sign the Mayflower Compact, drawn up a few days prior to the landing of the company. In 1633, he was elected a member of the board of assistants to the Governor, a position which he held with few interruptions as long as he lived. From 1666 to 1687, he was the head of that body and styled Deputy Governor, presiding in the absence of the Governor. He was made a member of the Council of War in 1646, and acted in that capacity for many years. From 1641 to 1650 he was deputy in the General Court and from 1658 to 1659 a treasurer of the Colony. Constant devotion to public service at a time when salary was small so reduced his estate that the court voted: "In regard that Mr. Alden is low in his estate and occasioned to spend time at the courts on Contrey's Actions and so hath done these many years, the Court have allowed him a small gratuity, the sum of ten pounds to be payed by the treasurer."

After residing in Plymouth until 1627, John Alden removed with Miles Standish and others to Duxbury, Massachusetts, which is about eight miles from Plymouth, and he located there on a farm at "Eagle Tree Point." His home was near the site of the house built by his son, Jonathan, where he resided after his first homestead was destroyed by fire. The house now standing and known as the John Alden house is regarded by some as the one built by Jonathan and the one in which John Alden spent his last days, while others believe it was built in 1700 by his grandson, Colonel John Alden. It is now a part of the original farm controlled by the Alden kindred of America. It has never left the possession of some of his descendants. He died at Duxbury, Massachusetts, September 12, 1687.

John Alden married, probably in 1621, Priscilla Mullins, daughter of William and Alice Mullins, who also came to America in the "Mayflower." The romance of their courtship and John Alden's friendship for Captain Miles Standish, as recorded by Longfellow, is familiar to all American readers.

William Bradford, in his "History of Plymouth," states that at the time of his writing, John Alden and his wife were both living and

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had eleven children, but he does not name them. The administration of John Alden's estate mentions eight or nine children, depending upon the identity of the Priscilla Alden who signed it as widow or daughter. However, the following eight children are generally accepted by authorities. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born about 1624, died at Little Compton, Rhode Island, May 13, 1717; married William Peabody. 2. John, born about 1626, as his gravestone gives his age as seventy-five at the time of his death, March 14, 1702; was a mariner of Boston; married (first) Elizabeth, surname not known; (second) Elizabeth (Phillips) Everell, widow of Abiel Everell. 3. Joseph, born about 1627, died at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, February 8, 1697; married Mary Simmons, daughter of Moses Simmons, Jr., and Sarah Simmons, of Duxbury, who came to America in the ship "Fortune" in 1621. 4. Sarah, born about 1629, died before June 30, 1688; married Alexander Standish, son of Captain Miles Standish of the "Mayflower." 5. Jonathan, born about 1632, as his gravestone states that he died February 14, 1697, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; was a captain of the militia; married Abigail Hallett. 6. Ruth, of whom further. 7. Mary, date of birth unknown, died prior to 1699, when her husband remarried; married Thomas Delano, of Duxbury. 8. David, born in 1646, died in 1719; believed to have been the last born of the children of John and Priscilla Alden; active in church and public affairs at Duxbury; married Mary Southworth, daughter of Constant Southworth. C. H. Alden, in his "Eliab Alden," also lists the following three children, completing the number to the eleven as given by Bradford, who were born prior to 1646, but of whom very little is known. 9. Zachariah, according to one authority, was the father of Anne Alden, who married, in 1699, Josiah Snell. 10. Rebecca, mentioned in Colonial records as of marriageable age in 1661. 11. Priscilla, signed the settlement of John Alden's estate; however, it is doubtful whether she was the widow or a daughter.

(C. H. Alden: "Eliab Alden," pp. 12-14. C. E. Banks: "English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers," pp. 27-28. F. W. Alden: "Descendants of Daniel Alden," pp. 6-11. "Mayflower Descendant," Vol. III, p. 11.)

II. Ruth Alden, daughter of John and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, died October 12, 1674. She married John Bass. (Bass II.)

(*Ibid.*)

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(The Belcher Line)

Belcher, as a surname, and its variant Belchier, is derived from the nickname "belsire," meaning grandfather or "bel cher," good friend. Earliest records of the name in print were the following in 1273: Richard Belechere, County Gloucester; John Belsire, County Kent. (Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Gregory Belcher, earliest known ancestor, was born about 1605, according to his deposition made in June, 1665, giving his age as about sixty. In 1637, he was a proprietor at Braintree, was made a freeman in 1640, and a selectman in 1646. He and his wife Katherine sold land in Braintree on June 6, 1667. His widow Katherine was granted administration on his estate January 30, 1674, and his son Josiah was afterwards joint administrator.

Gregory Belcher married Katherine, whose surname is not known, whose will was dated September 3, 1679, and proved July 20, 1681. In it she named her sons Josiah, John, and Moses, and her daughters Elizabeth Gilbert and Mary, wife of Alexander Marsh. Children: 1. Elizabeth, married Thomas Gilbert. 2. Josiah, was a wheelwright in Boston, and died April 3, 1683; aged fifty-two; married, in Boston, March 3, 1654-55, Ranis Rainsford. 3. John, died in Braintree, in 1693; married Sarah, whose surname is not known. 4. Moses, died in Braintree, July 5, 1691, was called "corporal"; married, Braintree, May 23, 1666, Mary Nash, daughter of James and Alice Nash, of Weymouth. Their daughter, Mary, married Joseph Bass. (Bass II, Child 4.) 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. Mary, born July 8, 1639; married, at Braintree, December 19, 1655, Alexander Marsh. 7. Joseph, born December 25, 1641, resided in Milton.

(C. H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 41. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LX, p. 128.)

II. Samuel Belcher, son of Gregory and Katherine Belcher, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, August 24, 1637, and died there June 17, 1679. "His father-in-law and two of his brothers," Roger Belling, Alexander Marsh and Moses Belcher, were granted administration on his estate, May 6, 1680. His inventory amounted to £576-17-6.

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Samuel Belcher married, in Braintree, December 15, 1663, Mary Billings, daughter of Roger Billings, of Dorchester, who died before 1727. She married (second), in Braintree, April 20, 1680, Samuel Niles. Children, born at Braintree: 1. Gregory, a deacon, born February 28, 1664-65, died there July 4, 1727; married, in Braintree, March 25, 1689-90, Elizabeth Ruggles. 2. Samuel, born September 21, 1666, died at Braintree, December 19, 1714; married, about 1688, Comfort Harbor. 3. William, born May 3, 1668, died in 1701; unmarried. 4. Mary, born October 16, 1670; died at Milton, June 22, 1758; married, at Milton, December 16, 1696, Nathaniel Vose. 5. Moses, born August 14, 1672, died at Preston, Connecticut, May 4, 1728; married, at Milton, December 19, 1694, Hannah Lyon. 6. Abigail, born October 24, 1674; married, in Milton, April 28, 1697, William "Wadle," of Stonington, Connecticut. William "Wattle," of Lebanon, Connecticut, and wife Abigail, made a deed August 8, 1727, to Samuel Belcher, of Braintree, of their interest in their mother Mary Niles' dower rights in estate of her former husband "our father Samuel Belcher." 7. Elizabeth, of whom further. 8. Silence, born June 24, 1679, living in Westerly, Rhode Island, in 1698; married John Saunders. 9. Rebecca, married Jacobus Eallmanturp, of Braintree. On August 15, 1727, he a physician, and his wife Rebecca, "one of the daughters of Samuel Belcher," deeded to Gregory Belcher.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LX, p. 131. "Braintree Vital Records." "Suffolk Deeds," Vol. XVI, folios 253, 254.)

III. Elizabeth Belcher, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Billings) Belcher, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, June 22, 1677, and died there December 23, 1718. She married Thomas French. (French II.)

(*Ibid.* S. French: "Ancestors of John French of Stoughton, Massachusetts.")

(The Moulton Line)

Arms—Argent, three bars gules between eight escallop shells sable; three, two, two and one.

Crest—On a pellet a falcon rising argent. (Henry W. Moulton: "Moulton Annals.")

When William the Conqueror embarked for England, Sir Thomas de Moulton was one of the brave knights who accompanied him and

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fought at the battle of Hastings, A. D. 1066. In or about the year 1100, the town of Moulton on the River Mole was founded in England and its name was so spelled until about 1900. The remote origin of the family name has not been fully traced. Some claim that it is of occupational origin coming from the trade of working "molten metals." It is interesting to note that William Moulton, son of William, the emigrant, who settled in Newbury in 1682, was founder of the silversmith industry in New England. The family name is also supposed to be of French origin. It may also be of locality origin, meaning "of Moulton," a parish name occurring in several counties. Variants of it are Multon, Molton, and Mowlton. In old English records the name of Moulton was often spelled by dropping either the "o" or the "u," although some descendants of those who dropped the "o" resumed its use.

(H. W. Moulton: "Moulton Annals," pp. 9, 12, 329. Thomas Moulton: "A Genealogical Register of the Moulton Family," pp. 5-12.)

I. John (1) Moulton, emigrant ancestor of this line, was born in Ormesby, County Norfolk, England, about 1599 and died between January 23, 1649, the date of his will, and October 1, 1650, the date of its probation. In an English record of persons "desirous to pass beyond seas," under date line of April 11, 1637, appears this entry: "The examination of John Moulton of Ormsby, in Norfold, husbandman, aged 38 years, and Ann, his wife, aged 38 years, with five children: Henry, Mercy, Anne, Jane and Bridgett, and two servants, Adams Gooddens, aged twenty years and Allis Eden, aged 18 years; all desirous to passe to New England, there to inhabit and abide." John Moulton embarked either on the ship "John and Dorothy" of Ipswich, William Andrews, master, or the "Rose" of Yarmouth, commanded by a son of the same Andrews, which two ships seem to have sailed together.

From the records it appears that John Moulton, his wife Anne, and their one son and four daughters came to New England in the spring of 1637. Like the Marstons, these immigrants first went to Newbury, Massachusetts. They were accompanied to Newbury by Thomas Moulton and wife Martha, of Ormesby, St. Margaret, England. Thomas was born about 1605 and was perhaps the brother of

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John, although no record has been found to prove that this was so. Thomas and John, and their families, had land grants at what is now Hampton, New Hampshire, as shown by the following entry in "Provincial Papers," Vol. I, p. 236, dated September 6, 1638: "The Court grants these petitioners . . . John Molton, Thomas Molton, . . . and divers others, shall have liberty to begin a plantation at Winnacunnett, apportioning a separate quantity of land to each man." John's house lot lay on the west side of that of Thomas, and was transmitted in his family down to Daniel Moulton of the sixth generation, who sold the larger part of it in 1866, the rest after 1886. Thomas and John lived at Hampton as neighbors until about 1654, when Thomas sold his property to Rev. Timothy Dalton, and removed to York, Maine. John Moulton was a useful citizen in Hampton. He was admitted freeman, May 22, 1639, and was chosen first deputy of Hampton to the General Court at Boston in September, 1640.

John (1) Moulton married, at Ormesby, St. Margaret, England, September 24, 1623, Anne Green, who was born in 1599 and died April 12, 1668. Children: 1. Henry, born in England, died September 8, 1701; married Sobriety Hilton. 2. Mary or Mercy, born in England, died October 11, 1686; married William Sanborn, of Hampton. 3. Anne, born in England; unmarried when father's will was made. 4. Jane (twin), born in England about 1634, died March 19, 1699; unmarried. 5. Bridget (twin), born in England about 1634, died March 19, 1699, only a few hours apart from Jane; unmarried. 6. John (2), of whom further. 7. Ruth, baptized at Hampton, New Hampshire, March 7, 1641, died September 7, 1718; married, April 3 1660, Peter Johnson, who was drowned in Hampton River, November 15, 1674.

(H. W. Moulton: "Moulton Annals," p. 208. "Norfolk Parish Register," Vol. VII, p. 42. Joseph Dow. "History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 862. Thomas Moulton: "A Genealogical Register of the Moulton Family," pp. 10-11. "Americana," Vol. XVI, pp. 172-73. Cuyler Reynolds: "Hudson Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs," 1911, Vol. I, p. 371.)

II. Lieutenant John (2) Moulton, called "The Giant," son of John (1) and Anne (Green) Moulton, was baptized at Newbury, Massachusetts, March 16, 1638, and died in 1705. He remained on the homestead.

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Lieutenant John (2) Moulton married, March 23, 1666, Lydia Taylor, who was born in 1646 and died in 1729, daughter of the first Anthony Taylor. Children: 1. Martha, born in 1666; married Humphrey Perkins, son of Abraham Perkins, of Hampton, New Hampshire. 2. John (3), of whom further. 3. Lydia, born July 13, 1671, died July 13, 1678, aged seven years. 4. Daniel, born January 16, 1674, died January 14, 1718; married Mary, surname not known. 5. James, born July 29, 1675; married, October 15, 1702, Dorothy Clements, who died March 23, 1704, soon after the birth of her only child Dorothy, who was brought up by her grandparents, John and Lydia Clements. 6. Nathan, died (probably) February 5, 1733; married Sarah Reaser. 7. David, died (probably) February 5, 1733; married Sarah Leavitt. 8. Anna, born March 2, 1679; married, about 1696, Caleb Marston. 9. Lydia, born July 19, 1681; married, July 1, 1702, Thomas Marston. 10. Jacob, born June 21, 1688, died March 7, 1751; married, December 10, 1714, Sarah Smith, who died in 1739, daughter of John and Rebecca (Marston) Smith. 11. Rachel, born October 4, 1690, died June 8, 1758; married, May 21, 1718, Jabez Smith.

("Essex Institute Historical Collections," Vol. LIII, p. 248. Thomas Moulton: "A Genealogical Register of the Moulton Family," pp. 11-12. H. W. Moulton: "Moulton Annals," pp. 209, 253. Joseph Dow: "History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 863. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, pp. 248-49. "Americana," Vol. XVI, p. 172. Cuyler Reynolds: "Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs, 1911," Vol. I, p. 371.)

III. John (3) Moulton, son of John (2) and Lydia (Taylor) Moulton, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, May 30, 1669, and died there April 1, 1740. He married, December 11, 1713, Rebecca Smith, born June 25, 1687, and died February 25, 1741, daughter of John and Rebecca (Marston) Smith. Child: 1. John (4), of whom further.

(Joseph Dow: "History of Hampton, New Hampshire.")

IV. John (4) Moulton, son of John (3) and Rebecca (Smith) Moulton, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, August 11, 1717, and died there July 8, 1779. He married Mary Marston, born in

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1724, died January 19, 1804, daughter of Jeremiah and Mary (Smith) Marston. Child: 1. Hannah, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Hannah Moulton*, daughter of John (4) and Mary (Marston) Moulton, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, May 6, 1766, and died August 11, 1839. She married (first), February 1, 1791, John Moulton, who died March 4, 1794, no issue. She married (second) Josiah Dow. (Dow—American Line—VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(Mayflower Descent of Herbert Henry Dow)

I. *John Alden*, immigrant ancestor, whose birthplace is not known, was born about 1599. He came to America on the "Mayflower" in 1620.

John Alden married Priscilla Mullins. Among their children was: Ruth, of whom further.

II. *Ruth Alden*, daughter of John and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, died October 12, 1674. She married John Bass. (Bass II.) They had a daughter: Sarah, of whom further.

III. *Sarah Bass*, daughter of John and Ruth (Alden) Bass, was born 1 mo.-29-1672, and died August 19, 1751.

Sarah Bass married Ephraim Thayer. (Thayer III.) Among their children was: Esther, of whom further.

IV. *Esther Thayer*, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Bass) Thayer, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, July 24, 1705, and died in 1800.

Esther Thayer married Moses French. (French III.) A son was: Jonathan (1), of whom further.

V. *Rev. Jonathan (1) French*, son of Moses and Esther (Thayer) French, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, January 19, 1739-40, and died in Andover, Massachusetts, July 28, 1809.

Rev. Jonathan (1) French married, intentions published in Andover, June 18, 1773, Abigail Richards. (Thayer III, Child 14.) A son was: Jonathan (2), of whom further.

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VI. Rev. Jonathan (2) French, son of Jonathan (1) and Abigail (Richards) French, was born in Andover, Massachusetts, August 16, 1778, and died in North Hampton, New Hampshire, December 13, 1856.

Rev. Jonathan (2) French married, December 4, 1804, Rebecca Farrar. (Farrar VI.) They had a daughter: Abigail, of whom further.

VII. Abigail French, daughter of Jonathan (2) and Rebecca (Farrar) French, was born in North Hampton, August 4, 1810, and died in Hampton, January 28, 1870.

Abigail French married Joseph Dow. (Dow—American Line—VII.) They had a son: Joseph Henry, of whom further.

VIII. Joseph Henry Dow, son of Joseph and Abigail (French) Dow, was born in Pembroke, New Hampshire, April 22, 1836, and died in Midland, Michigan, January 12, 1902.

Joseph Henry Dow married, November 24, 1863, Sarah Jane Bunnell. (Bunnell VIII.) They had a son: Herbert Henry, of whom further.

IX. Herbert Henry Dow, son of Joseph Henry and Sarah Jane (Bunnell) Dow, was born in Belleville, Ontario, February 26, 1866, and died in Rochester, Minnesota, October 15, 1930.

Herbert Henry Dow married Grace Ann Ball. (First Ball Line X.)

